THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, HISTORY, LITERATURE, LANGUAGES, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, FOLKLORE, &c., &c., &c.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR AND REPORTER TO GOVERNMENT, WESTERN INDIA.

VOL. IX.—1880.

BOMBAY:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.
LONDON: TRÜBNER & Co. PARIS: E. LEROUX. BERLIN: A. ASHER & Co.
NEW YORK: B. WESTERMANN & Co.

1880.

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ERRATA IN VOL. IX.

p. 73*a*, note [5], last line, *for* ! *read* |

p. 81*a*, l. 38, for *Sivasûtras* read *Śivasûtras*.

p. 81*b*, last line, for *li* read *ḷi*.

„ note, „ „ „ „

p. 87*a*, l. 8, *for* on authoritative *read* unauthoritative.

p. 97, transcription l. 4, for *nûtna*, read *nûtna*-

p. 100*a*, l. 22, insert a comma after P a l l a v a.

p. 101, transcription l. 7, *for* dêva-ku lassâ, *read* dêva-kulassa.

p. 118*b*, l. 30, *for* pûraṇakambam *read* pûrṇakumbha.

p. 119*a*, note [4], l. 2, *for* Bhadrakâti *read* Bhadrakâli.

„ note [4], l. 6, *for* Bakshira *read* Dakshina.

p. 131*a*, note [40], for *da(dha)kkâ*, read *da(ḍha)kkâ*.

p. 145, l. 2, the Chinese letter is printed sideways; it should be thus 㔾

p. 145*a*, l. 13, for (*phalaṁ*) read (*phalam*).

p. 147*a*, last line, for (*kshanti*) read (*kshânti*).

p. 147*b*, l. 2, for (*prajna*) read (*prajña*).

„ l. 8, for (*sitavana*) read (*sîtavana* or *sîtarana*).

p. 148*b*, l. 30, for *Sitavana* read *Sîtavana*.

„ last l., *for* Śravâsti *read* Śrâvasti.

p. 149*a*, l. 19, *for* Mahaloma *read* Mahâloma.

„ l. 24, *for* Mahatyaga *read* Mahâtyâga.

p. 149*b*, l. 14, *for* Mahirakula *read* Mihirakula.

p. 150*a*, l. 15, for *Chandaṁ* read *Chandaṁ*.

„ ll. 30 and 43 *for* Lambâdies *read* Lambâdis.

„ l. 33, *for* Kampalamma *read* Kampalammâ.

„ l. 36, *for* Kavêripuram *read* Kâveripuram.

„ l. 45, *for* whether of the same *read* whether they are of the same.

p. 150*b*, l. 34, *for* Dindigul *read* Dindigal.

p. 151*a*, l. 34, *for* recent work *Turkestan*, *read* recent work on *Turkestan*.

„ l. 37, *for* ramshorns *read* ram's horns.

p. 151*b*, note [3], *for* Taiyuanfu, *read* Tai-yuan-fu.

p. 153*b*, l. 28, *for* Kouli and Tchikislar *read* Kûli and Chikislar.

p. 192*a*, l. 29, *for* Matszendranâtha *read* Matsyêndranâtha.

p. 194*a*, l. 14, from bottom, *for* Prithvînaragaṇa, *read* Prithvînârâyaṇa.

„ l. 6, from bot. *for* Girvâṇâyuddhavikrana *read* Girvâṇâyuddhavikrama.

p. 231*a*, l. 2, *for* Persian Gulf accumulated *read* Persian Gulf, accumulated.

„ l. 32, *for* Guptas he regards as dated from *read* Guptas, he regards as dating from.

„ l. 34, *for* Huns whom *read* Huns, whom.

„ l. 38, *for* follows and *read* follows, and.

„ l. 44, *for* Hontem *read* Hontum.

p. 231*b*, l. 47, *for* Ruhistan *read* Kuhistan.

p. 232*a*, ll. 42 and 43, *for* trained philologist by the scientific method and—*read* philologist trained by the scientific method, and

p. 232*b*, l. 3, from bottom insert , after Gujârati

p. 233*a*, l. 8, *for* Marâthi *read* Marâṭhi.

„ l. 12, *for* its *read* their.

p. 236*a*, l. 2, *for* known that *read* known, that.

p. 254*a*, note [2], *for* 18° 28′ N. long. 55° 26′ E. *read* 24° 55′ N. long. 49° 11′ E. (see p. 308).

p. 286*b*, note [28], l. 1, *for* from *read* form.

„ „ l. 4, for *Jaar tell* read *Jaartell*.

„ 287*b*. note [55], l. 4, for *i.e.* read *i.e.*

p. 288*a*, l. 7, for *pitaka* read *piṭaka*.

„ l. 14, for *atthakathâ*, it read *aṭṭhakathâ*. It

p. 289*a*, l. 10, for *Angas* read *Aṅgas*:

„ l. 13, *for* Brâhmaṇs *read* Brâhmaṇas.

„ l. 23, *add* commas after *Brâhmaṇa* and after *Itihâsa*.

„ l. 36, *for* applies, as *read* applies. As

„ l. 49, for *anguttara-nikâya* read *aṅguttara-nikâya*.

p. 289*b*, l. 6, *for* Gâtaka *read* Jâtaka.

p. 290*a*, l. 12, *for* Viśravaṇa *read* Vaiśravaṇa.

„ l. 14, for *Mahotsâha* read *mahotsâha*.

p. 296*b*, note [3], l. 5, *for* Arahas *read* Arahats.

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BENGALI FOLKLORE LEGENDS FROM DINAGEPORE.

BY THE LATE G. H. DAMANT, M.A.

1. *The Brâhmaṇ and the Merchant.*

IN a certain village lived a poor Brâhmaṇ who by begging all day collected half a seer of rice; whether he begged at ten houses or at one, or whether he remained at home, he still had half a seer of rice and nothing more, and he and his wife used to eat it. At the extremity of the village was a temple of Gaṇeśa where he used to worship Śiva and Durgâ. One day Śiva and Durgâ came down from heaven, and after visiting many places went to the temple of Gaṇeśa.

Durgâ said to Śiva, "This poor Brâhmaṇ has been worshipping you for a long time, show him a little favour to-day and free him from his poverty." Śiva hearing this said, "Gaṇeśa, the day after to-morrow before sunset give the poor Brâhmaṇ two lâkhs of rupees." Gaṇeśa said he would do so, but the poor Brâhmaṇ heard nothing about it. In the village lived a very wealthy man who had that day lost one of his cows, and gone to look for it; a storm of rain happened to come on, and he went into the temple of Gaṇeśa, and overheard everything that Śiva and Durgâ said from the beginning to the end. When he came out he thought that he might as well buy the Brâhmaṇ's chance of receiving anything on the next day but one, so he went to the Brâhmaṇ's house and said, "Sir, will you sell me the chance of what you may receive the day after to-morrow?" The Brâhmaṇ considered that he only received half a seer of rice daily and nothing more. So he agreed to sell his chance, and asked the merchant what he would give for it; the merchant said he could afford to give Rs. 15,000. The Brâhmaṇ then went to consult his wife, and she told him not to take less than a lâkh. He then informed the merchant, who being under the impression that he would still gain a lâkh agreed to give it him. Early the next morning the merchant weighed out the rupees, and sent men with them to the Brâhmaṇ's house, and he then went to the temple of Gaṇeśa. The whole day passed, but he received no money, and thought, "Do Śiva and Durgâ speak falsely, or is Gaṇeśa acting treacherously?" Thinking this he became very angry, and gave a kick at the temple door, and his foot went through, so that he could not extricate it. Some time after the merchant was caught in this way, Śiva and Durgâ came, and asked Gaṇeśa, "Has the Brâhmaṇ we spoke of received the two lâkhs of rupees: have you paid him or not?" Gaṇeśa answered, "One lâkh has been paid him this morning, the remaining lâkh has not been paid, but the defaulter's foot is held fast in the door." The merchant hearing this thought that he had already paid the Brâhmaṇ one lâkh, and would be obliged to give him another, or his foot would not be released, so he ordered some of the people who lived with him to take another lâkh to the Brâhmaṇ's house. His foot was then released. The Brâhmaṇ took his two lâkhs of rupees, and lived in wealth and

happiness. If God wishes to give a man anything, no one can tell in what way he will give it.

2. *Adi's Wife.*

In a certain country there lived a gentleman's son named Adi; when his father died he left him a large sum of money, but Adi spent the whole of the money and sold his house. He then said to his wife, "There is nothing more left, what are we to do? I have not a single two-anna piece, I must go and take service in some country far away; as it will be mean service my relations will not see me there, and so I shall not be ashamed. I am now going to look for work, but must first tell you how you are to manage matters while I am away. In the first place you will have to buy back all the gardens, houses, and other things which belonged to my father; and in the next place a son must be born to me." With these words Adi departed.

Now Adi's father had borrowed some money from a man for the expenses of his marriage, so the man came to Adi's wife, and said, "Where is Adi? His father, who is dead, borrowed some money of me for his marriage; produce Adi that he may pay me." Adi's wife answered that he had gone to another country, and she knew nothing about the money. Now she was extremely beautiful, and the man thought if he could get her he would want no more money, so he determined to lay a complaint that very day before the Kotwal, saying that Adi's father had borrowed money of him to marry his son, and that Adi had gone away, so there was no one left but his wife, and as Adi's father had spent the money on the marriage of his son, he was entitled to the son's wife. The Kotwal replied, he was entitled to her, and she should be summoned to appear before him, so he sent a pyada with orders to bring Adi's wife. The pyada went to her, and said, "A complaint has been made against you, and the Kotwal has summoned you." So Adi's wife dressed her hair, and put on her clothes, and went in a palki to the Kotwal's Court, but she ordered the palki to be put down at a little distance from it, and sent word to the Kotwal, that she did not appear in public, and could not come into Court, so she would be obliged by his coming to her, and talking over the case. When the Kotwal received her message, he went to the palki and said, "Open the screen of the palki, and tell me what you have to say." Then she opened the screen, and when the Kotwal saw Adi's wife, he determined he would drive away the man, and keep her as his own wife. So he said to the man: "Go to the person to whom you lent the money, and get it from him; who ever heard of getting a woman instead of money? go, you scoundrel, you will have nothing here."

So he drove the man away, and came and invited Adi's wife to go home with him. She said, "I have no other friend but you; give me 200 rupees, and when I have paid all my debts, I will come to your house. When I send for you, or you receive any letter from me, you must come to my house." She then took the two hundred rupees from the Kotwal, and went home, and gave orders that her father's ruined house should be rebuilt.

In the meantime the man laid another complaint before the Nazir, and the Nazir summoned Adi's wife. She put on finer clothes than before, and went in a palki to the Nazir's Court, and when the Nazir saw her beauty, he was astonished. She said to him, "Sir, I belong to you since my husband has gone away; you are my only friend." When the Nazir heard this, he went and drove away the man, and then invited Adi's wife to come to his house, but she answered, "My husband has incurred some debts, lend me 500 rupees, and when I have paid everything, I will come; but whenever I send you word, you must come to my house." Then she took the money and went home. After this, the man, thinking it was useless trying again in that place, laid a complaint before the Wazir of the country. The Wazir summoned Adi's wife, and the moment he saw her face he became senseless with wonder. Then he determined to make her his wife, so he first drove away the man, and then told her he wished to marry her. She replied, "My husband has gone to another country leaving some debts unpaid; if you will give me 1000 rupees, I will pay them, and then I can come to your house." So she took the money, and as she was going away, she said, "Come to my house whenever I send you word."

The man finding there was no hope of redress from the Wazir, laid a complaint before the King, who also summoned Adi's wife. She put on her very best clothes, and went to the King, and when he saw her astonishing beauty, he

determined to make her his queen. He then ordered the man to be driven from the country, and went to Adi's wife, and said, "I wish to marry you, do you agree?" She replied, "I am very much honoured by your wishing to marry me, and make me your queen, but I am acting as agent for my husband, and if you will give me 2000 rupees, I will pay off my debts, and then come to your house." So the King gave the money, and she went home, and had a wardrobe made by a carpenter with four compartments, which she put in her house. She then invited the Kotwal, the Nazir, the Wazir and the King, and told the Kotwal to come at midnight, the Nazir at one o'clock, the Wazir at two o'clock, and the King at three o'clock. So the Kotwal came at midnight, and Adi's wife treated him very politely, and they were talking together, when the Nazir sent word to say he was coming; the Kotwal was alarmed at that, and said "What am I to do? where can I go?" She replied, "I have no place to hide you unless you can get into this wardrobe." The Kotwal said: "Very well, that is the best place, fasten me up quick." So Adi's wife fastened him in, and the Nazir arrived and sat down till two o'clock, when the Wazir came and knocked at the door. The Nazir recognized his voice, and exclaimed: "Find some place to save me from this misfortune." She said she would hide him, but there was no place except the wardrobe, so the Nazir agreed, and she fastened him up in the second compartment. She then invited the Wazir to enter, and made him sit down.

Nearly an hour passed while she was preparing something to eat, when the King came, and as the Wazir was very much alarmed, she concealed him in the third compartment of the wardrobe, and then received the King with great respect. While she was preparing some food for him, she went out of the room, and told one of her servants to put on her husband's clothes, and after a short time to come and knock at the door. The servant did as he was told, and the King hearing the knock enquired who it was, when the woman replied it was her husband. The King said: "I must conceal myself." Adi's wife answered—"I will hide you, but there is no place except this wardrobe, whatever is done must be done quickly." So the King was put into the wardrobe, and Adi's wife placed a purdah over it, and put out the candle, and went to sleep.

The next day everybody was much surprised that the King, Wazir, Nazir, and Kotwal did not come to court at the usual time. In the meanwhile Adi's wife sent her servants with the wardrobe into the bazaar to offer it for sale for four lâkhs of rupees. Now the sons of the King, Wazir, Nazir, and Kotwal were wandering about the city, each in search of his father, and when they reached the bazaar, they heard a man crying—"A wardrobe to be sold for four lâkhs of rupees." The King's son said—"What is the meaning of this? Nobody can buy it but ourselves, so send for the money and take it." They did so, and one of them took the key, and opened one compartment, and found his father, and the three others did the same, so they all felt very much ashamed, and went home.

Adi's wife then took a band of singers, and wandered from country to country, till she came to a place where her husband was a servant in the King's palace. The singers were invited to the palace, but Adi's wife remained at home to take care of her property while all the others went away to perform a *nâch*. As she was alone, they requested the King to send a trustworthy servant to guard the property. Now, the King had no other trustworthy servant but Adi, so he sent him, and he went and kept guard in the usual way. His wife recognized him, and asked, "Where do you live, and whose son are you?" So he told her, and she was sure he was her husband, but he did not recognize her. Then she called him in, and the next morning gave him two hundred rupees, and told him she had no further need of his services. After this, she left that country, and went home, and some time after a son was born. Now when Adi was with her, he had put a ring on her finger, and about a year afterwards he returned home, and found all his father's property had increased fourfold, and a son had been born, at which he was very angry. His wife was much distressed, and said, "Sir, why are you angry? I have done what should please you." Adi replied: "It is a very wonderful thing: I have been out of the country, and a son has been born!" Then she told him—"He is your son," and showed him the ring.

3. *The Prince and his two Wives.*

There was once a king named Dharmaśila, who was nearly forty years old, but he had neither son nor daughter. One night he said

to his wife, queen Sukhâvatî, "Up to the present time, God has given us no son who might take care of our kingdom and perform our funeral rites when we are dead." So thinking all their kingdom and wealth were worthless to them, they invited all the Brâhmaṇs and beggars from every country, and gave them handsome presents, and sent them away. From that time forth the king and queen began to worship Mahâdêv. After a while the queen had a son, and the king was so rejoiced that he gave almost all his remaining wealth to the Brâhmaṇs. When the ceremony of giving his son the first rice had been performed, the king began to bring him up with the greatest care, and when he was eight years old, he married him to the daughter of another king. Then, in order that he might not be deficient in learning, the king sent his son to a school, which was distant about ten or twelve days' journey. While the son was studying at the school, it happened one day that the king and queen both died. The son's wife performed their funeral ceremonies, and ordered the diwan to let the king's son know the ill tidings, in order that he might come and rule his kingdom. The diwan said, "Yes, I will send him a letter immediately"; but he merely spoke with his lips, and did not write the letter. After three or four years, when he had ruined the kingdom and wasted the treasure, the diwan said to the prince's wife, "I am continually writing letters to your husband telling him to come and rule his kingdom, but he does not mind me, and by this time the kingdom is ruined, and the treasure spent; so now I ask you to let me go to some other king, and support myself." Then the diwan and the other amlah left the capital, and went each to their own home. The princess continued to live there for some time, and supported herself by selling her ornaments and house, and when they were all gone, she built a thatched hut, and began to live by begging. At last she could no longer endure such hardships, and having given up all hope of her husband's return, she left the place, and begging as she went along, in two or three months' time reached her father's house. Then she told him that her father-in-law and mother-in-law and husband were all dead; and when her father and mother heard it, they wept exceedingly in sorrow for their son-in-law. The princess put on a widow's dress, and continued to live in her father's house.

After some time the prince having finished his education, returned to his own country, and found that the king's palace had utterly disappeared, and there was nothing to be seen but a thatched hut. Then he enquired of the people of the town, and when he learnt what had happened, he began to cry. After a little while he stopped crying, and determined to go to his father-in-law's house, and see how his wife was, and whether she would remember him or not. So he cut a stick, and supported himself by begging on the journey, and, after two or three months, arrived at his father-in-law's kingdom. Then he sold his stick, and gave up begging, and gained his living by collecting fruits and other things in the forest, and selling them. The prince had undergone so much hardship that no one could recognize him. It happened one day that he had brought some plums from the forest, and was selling them in the bazaar, when one of the princess' servants bought, and took them to the princess. The princess having eaten them, thought them so good that she ordered her servant to bring some more of the same sort on the following day. The prince went early the next morning to the plum tree, and having taken a branch from it, was on his way to sell it in the bazaar, when the servant of the princess called to him, and said, "The princess praised your plums very much yesterday, so come now to the side door, and bring your plums, and you will be well paid for them." So the prince took up his plums, and followed the servant to the side door, and the servant agreed she would give four annas for them; so she took them, and went away.

Now the princess was in love with the kôtwal of the town, and he used to come to her house and return home, and no one knew anything about it; so the princess having eaten some of the plums herself, put some aside for her friend the kôtwal. When the kôtwal came in the evening as usual, he ate the plums, and then said to the princess, "I am very thirsty, give me some water to drink." The princess replied, "Where can I find water at this time? There is however a cocoanut tree near the house door, if you could get a young cocoanut from it, you could quench your thirst,

but I cannot find any one to fetch it now." After some time she remembered that she had never paid the plum-seller, and he was still standing at the side-door; then she sent her servant to call him and tell him that he would receive four annas for his plums, and four annas more if he would get a young cocoanut from the tree, and that he was to come for the eight annas early the next morning. So the prince agreed and fetched the young cocoanut from the tree, and the city kôtwal drank its water and quenched his thirst. After this, the princess was disturbed in her sleep by a leg of the bed breaking, so she thought, "If the plum-seller will come and sit under the bed and support it like a leg, I will give him another four annas; so that he will receive twelve annas in the morning." She sent a message to him by her servant, and he agreed and came into the princess' house, and sat under the bed like a leg. Then he began to reproach himself, saying, "Good God! it is written in my ill fate that I am to sit under this bed and support it like a leg while my wife sleeps on it." So he was much troubled in his mind. When the morning came the plum-seller thought, "If I stop here for my money, the princess will recognize me, so I will conceal myself and see what she will do;" then he went away.

That day the king's diwân met him, and when he saw his appearance he thought that he must be the son of some great person, and being much pleased with his conversation, he said to him, "Come and live in my house and I will support you," so the prince went to the diwân's house and lived there. Now the diwân had neither son nor daughter, so he treated the plum-seller as if he were his own son. After some time the diwân said to him, "You can read and write very well, you must come with me every day to the king's court and write in my office." From that day forward he went to the office, and wrote; but one day, after the office was closed, the prince was going home with the diwân, when the princess saw him from the top of the house and knew that he was her husband, so she was very much disturbed and began to reflect on what she should do; but being in love with the kôtwal, she had no mercy on her husband, and determined to have him killed and his body thrown away, that she might live with the kôtwal without annoyance. When she had determined on this, she called her servant and said to her, "The boy who was walking behind the diwân came in front of the house, and looked and winked his eye at me. Now, go and tell my father all about it, and say that he must cut the boy in pieces and send his blood to me, and if he will not do so, I will kill myself." So the servant went and told the king, and when the king heard of it, he sent a messenger to seize the diwân and the boy. The messenger went quickly as he was ordered by the king, and seized the diwân and the boy, and the king told them what he had heard from the princess' servant. Then the prince began to cry, and the king seeing this, felt pity for him, and he remembered that the princess had only wished to see his blood and did not ask for his head, so she would be satisfied if the blood of some animal were shown her, and the boy might be banished to another country. He determined on doing this, and calling a messenger, gave him his instructions privately. Then the messenger took the boy down to the ghât where bodies were burnt and said to him, "The princess' life will be saved if you are cut in pieces and your blood given to her, and she has given orders that this is to be done, but I will save you; you must fly from this kingdom, and I will kill a dog and give its blood to the princess." So saying, the messenger let the boy go, and killed a dog and put its blood in a pot and gave it to the princess. When she saw it, she was very much pleased and said laughing, "I was always sending you letters to come to me and you never came, and now you have paid the penalty for all the trouble you caused me. How do you feel now? I will have your blood given to a crow." She then ordered a servant to give it to a crow, and when the crow had drunk it, her anger was appeased, and she lived at ease with the kôtwal. In the meantime the king's son left the kingdom in tears, and gained his livelihood by begging. At last he went back to his own country, and lived in the thatched hut, and when he laid down and fell asleep, his father appeared to him in a dream, and said, "My son, why do you suffer such hardships? Whilst I was alive, I lent your father-in-law seven crores of rupees, and he gave me a bond engraved on a copper plate. I put this bond into a tin box and buried it under a champak tree; go and dig it up and obtain the money." When he had said this, he departed.

In a little while the prince woke up, and believing in what had been told him in the dream, he borrowed a spade from a neighbour and began to dig under the champak tree. After digging for some time he found the tin box, and inside was the bond for seven crores of rupees; he read it through, and saw that it was all correct. He then took the bond to the house of his diwân and showed it to him, telling him to provide 500 sepoys and 500 carts, that they might take the bond to his father-in-law's house and bring back seven crores of rupees, and if he would not give the money, the sepoys were to take him prisoner. When the diwân saw the bond he was very much pleased, and provided sepoys and carts and sent them to the king's palace with a letter and the bond; and after they had shown it him, they said, "If you do not give us the money, we will seize you and take you away." When the king saw the letter and the bond, he thought a little, and then went to the queen and showed them to her, and calling his daughter he said to her, "Child, why did you tell me your husband was dead? He has just written to me, and sent for seven crores of rupees. Why did you give this false account of his death?" Both the king and queen began to abuse her, and when the princess learnt her husband was alive and heard all the abuse which was bestowed on her, she was very much troubled, and began to think the man who had been cut in pieces and whose blood she had given to the crow, could not have been her husband but some one else. So the princess kept thinking over the best thing to be done. At last the king with a great deal of trouble collected four crores of rupees and gave them to the sepoys, and promised to give the other three crores in a month's time. After some persuasion the sepoys took the four crores and an answer to the letter, and gave them to the prince. The prince then restored the old diwân to his office, and ordered him to buy a kingdom and palace like the former ones. According to the orders he received the diwân, in a month's time, bought a palace and estate, and they began to rule the kingdom happily. In the course of a month the sepoys brought the remaining three crores of rupees, and the prince bought a still larger estate than before.

Some time after this, the prince thought he would like to be married, so he told the diwân of his intention, and ordered him to take care of the kingdom while he was away, and he further ordered him to kill a jackal and give it to him. The diwân ordered the sepoys to bring a jackal, and they went into the wood and brought one and gave it to the prince, who sent for a skinner, who took out the inside and dried the skin in the sun. Then the prince put inside the jackal's skin many kinds of gold, pearls, and jewelled ornaments, and a beautifully embroidered dress, and sewed it up. He then gave the diwân authority to manage his kingdom, and taking the jackal's skin, some elephants, and horses, and many soldiers with much treasure, he started to find a wife. He went from the court of one king to the court of another, till at last he reached the country of a king who had a very beautiful daughter. She was twelve years old and unmarried; this he learnt from the talk of the people, and he determined on staying there. At the same time he thought if he appeared at the king's court in such state, the princess could not refuse to marry him, so, in order that he might discover whether she were virtuous or good for nothing, he determined to put her to the test before marrying her. He then concealed his soldiers, elephants, and horses, and rubbed ashes on his body, putting on only a small piece of cloth and the jackal skin on his shoulders, and wore the dress of a madman. He ordered his soldiers to come and protect him whenever he should call out and say "Forward," and having made these arrangements, he went away, and began to wander about like a madman. After wandering in this state for two or three days, the people of the city began to say, "Whence has this madman come?" and the rumour reached the ears of the king. Now the people of that country had never seen a madman before, so the king wished to look at him, and ordered a messenger to go and bring him into his presence. When he was come, the king heard what he had to say, and the king and all his court began to laugh at him. Then the madman did still more mad things, and began to joke with the king; and the servants saw him and told the princess about him, so that she became very anxious to see him. At noon when the king came into the palace to eat his breakfast, she began to cry, and said she wanted to see the madman. The

king thought, "How can I bring the madman inside the palace, and yet I must, for the child is crying for him." So he ordered a servant to promise the madman some good things to eat, and to bring him inside. The servant went to the madman and said, "Come in with me and I will give you good things to eat," and enticed him in several ways, so that at last he came; and when he saw the princess he did more mad things, so that she could not stop laughing. Then the princess called the madman into her own part of the house, and told him to stop there and she would give him some sweetmeats; but he said, "What are sweetmeats, how shall I eat them?" and did more mad things. At night he lay down at the door of the princess' room, and slept there till the next morning. When the princess had bathed, she took husked rice, plantains, sugar, and flowers in her hand, and was going to worship Śiva, but the madman was lying at the door, so she could not pass out. She told him to go away from the door, but he told her to step over his body; the princess tried to persuade him to go away from the door, but he only did mad things, and in the meanwhile the time for worshipping Śiva was passing by. The princess began to consider what she should do, when the madman said, "If you will promise to give me whatever I ask, I will go away from the door." The princess without thinking promised three times to give him whatever he asked, so he went away. Then the princess went into the temple to worship Śiva, and when she had finished, she came back and called for the madman and said to him, "Now, tell me what you want." He replied, "Will you really give me what I ask?" and she promised to do so. Then he did more mad things, and laughing, said, "Princess, you must marry me." When she heard that she beat her forehead with her hand and began to cry, and crying a great deal she said, "God has written a mad husband on my forehead, and although I have worshipped Śiva constantly till now, yet he has given me a mad husband," so saying, she fell on the bed insensible and went to sleep. Then the image of Śiva appeared to her in a dream and said, "Princess, I have given you the best of husbands, he is no madman, but has put on a madman's dress to prove you, he is a king's son, you must not dislike him, and you will presently know his real condition." When the princess had heard this, she woke up and told the madman that she would take him for her husband. As soon as the king and queen knew it, they were very much troubled, and the queen, weeping and beating her head with her hands, said, "It was always my greatest wish that our daughter should marry a king's son, and have a prince for a son, and be the mother of a king, but God has made my hope of no avail." Then the princess came and said, "I have obtained what was written in my fate, now bid me farewell for I must go with the madman." She saluted her father and mother, tied up her ornaments in a bundle, and put them under her arm, and started with the madman. He put the dried jackal's skin on his shoulder, and went in front, and the princess followed behind. After they had gone some distance, the madman asked her what was in the bundle under her arm, and she said it was her jewellery, so the madman said, "If you wish to go with me, you must throw away all your clothes and ornaments and come naked, otherwise go back to your father." The princess would not take off her clothes and ornaments, but continued to follow the madman; presently he turned round, and saw that she had not thrown away her dress and ornaments, so he began to beat her with the jackal's skin. A labourer saw him and went and told the king, so the king ordered a messenger to take some soldiers, and drive the madman away and bring his daughter home. The soldiers went as quick as they could, but the madman saw them from afar, and called out, "Where are my soldiers and elephants and horses? Come forward." When they heard this, all his army and elephants and horses came, and beat the king's soldiers, and drove them away; then the madman tore open the jackal's skin, and made the princess wear his ornaments and dress. He also took off the madman's dress, and put on a king's robe, and went with his army to his own kingdom, where he lived with the princess.

One day the king laughed, and said to the princess, "I have another wife, who is the daughter of a certain king, and still lives in her father's house." Then the princess said to her husband, "I am alone in the house and have no one to talk and walk with, send off a palki

and bearers to-morrow morning, and bring her here, then we shall be able to talk together and live happily." So the king wrote a letter to his father-in-law, and sent off the palki and bearers. When they arrived at the king's palace, they gave the letter to the king; he read it and went in and told the queen, and they agreed that their daughter must be sent, so they took leave of her. While in the palki the princess began to think that if the prince had heard of her bad conduct he would kill her as soon as she arrived; but afterwards she grew more bold, and thought he could not possibly know anything about it. So she came to her journey's end, and the two wives were introduced to each other. The eldest wife lived in one house and the youngest in another; but the king always used to sit with the youngest, and not only would not sit with the eldest, but would not even look at her. One day the second wife said to the king, "You have been to sit with me every day for nearly a month, and you have never been once to see your first wife; what is the cause of this?" The king replied, "I have a reason for it which I will tell you afterwards." Some time passed when one night the second wife said to the king, "To-morrow is the day for bathing in the Ganges; I and the other wife wish to go and bathe, so you must give us 100 rupees each." The king promised to do so, and put up in two bags 100 rupees for the second wife, and 100 rupees less twelve annas for the first wife, and giving the bags to a servant, he told her to take the first bag to the second wife and the other to the first wife. When the second wife opened her bag she counted the money and found there was 100 rupees, but the other wife found there was twelve annas short of 100 rupees in her bag. The second wife said "He has given me 100 rupees, he must have given you twelve annas short by mistake; the king will give you the other twelve annas when he comes in at noon to breakfast." After the two queens had bathed, the second went to cook for the king, and the other went on the roof of the house to dry her hair in the sun. When the cooking was finished, the king came and had his breakfast, and whilst the second wife was giving him his betelnut, she asked him why he had given the other wife twelve annas short of 100 rupees. The king said, "She owes me twelve annas, so I have deducted it." The queen enquired how that could be, and the king answered, "When the queen was in her father's house I was a plum seller, and she bought four annas worth of plums from me but did not pay for them, and in the evening, because the city kôtwal was thirsty, I climbed a cocoanut tree and brought down a young cocoanut, and for that she promised me another four annas; and again, when she was sleeping in the night, it happened that one of the legs of the bed broke, so I sat underneath and supported it with my head, and for this I was promised another four annas, twelve annas altogether; this sum I have deducted from what I gave her." When the first queen heard what was said, she jumped from off the top of the house, and was killed.

The second queen was running to pick her up, but the king forbid her, saying, "It is not your business to pick up that wretch." Nevertheless the queen went and found she was dead. Then the king called her relations, and had the first queen burnt, and her funeral ceremonies performed, and began to rule happily over the kingdom with the second queen.[1]

REPORT ON THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE OF CEYLON.

BY DR. E. MÜLLER, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR.

The inscriptions in the North-Western Province belong, with a few exceptions, to the first four centuries of the Christian era; they are nearly all engraved on rocks and written in the square or so-called Nâgarî character, which is only a slight modification of the Aśoka alphabet. They are dispersed all over the province, sometimes in places very little known, and I am therefore very doubtful about the completeness of my collection.

[1] Mr. Gaybon Henry Damant, M.A., B.C.S., late Deputy Commissioner of the Nâga Hills, came out to India in 1869. He has been a valuable contributor to this Journal ever since its commencement. Immediately after sending us the above three legends, to our great regret, he was killed by the rebel Mozoma Nâgas, in Mozoma, 14th October 1879.

According to tradition, the first settlement of the Gangetic tribes was at Tambapanni Nuwara or Tammana Nuwara, seven miles from Puttalam. Wijaya is said to have landed there, and to have taken his way from there to Anurâdhapura. The ruins, however, that are to be found at Tammana Nuwara are undoubtedly of a much later date, and the whole story of Wijaya, as given in the *Mahâwamso*, being more mythological than historical, I do not believe that the mere coincidence of name proves anything.

Tambapaṇṇi, or Tâmraparṇî in Sanskrit, was originally the name of a river in Tinnevelly, Southern India (*conf.* Lassen *de Taprobane insula veteribus cognita*, p. 6; Caldwell, *Comp. Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introd. p. 120), and was most probably also applied to a river by the immigrants when they first came over from the continent to Ceylon. Which river that was, is difficult to say, but I do not think that it can have been the Mî-oya nor any other river that is to the south of Anurâdhapura. According to the *Mahâwamso* p. 50, the first settlements of the followers of Wijaya were Anurâdhapura, Upatissa Nuwara (the modern Tantrimale), Wijitapura near the Kalawæwa tank, and Uruwela, of which the position cannot be made out with certainty. Now, Anurâdhapura and Upatissa Nuwara are both on the Kadamba river (Malwatta-oya), and Upatissa Nuwara was the seat of Government before Anurâdhapura, so that it seems most likely that the immigrants came up this river from the sea coast. I therefore believe that if the ruins of Tammana Nuwara are ever to be found, they will be found a considerable distance to the north of Puttalam.

I now proceed to the inscriptions. The oldest that I found here, as elsewhere, were the cave inscriptions. In a historical sense they offer no peculiar interest; the names that occur are nearly always the same, mostly Abhaya and Tisa, which I have found more than a hundred times in inscriptions of this province, they do not contain any other name that, with our present knowledge of old Siṁhalese history, we can identify. For philological purposes, however, these names are of great interest, and therefore I give here a few specimens of the cave inscriptions:—

(1.) Wirandagoda, five miles to the north of the road from Puttalam to Anurâdhapura, turning off at the 17th mile-post. There are four inscriptions close to a temple which, according to tradition, was built by prince Sâli Kumâra, the son of Duṭṭhagâmiṇi, about 137 B. C. To judge from the inscriptions, I do not think that this can be correct, as they contain blunders which generally do not occur in inscriptions older than the 2nd century A.D.

I put in brackets and italics the words or letters that are missing:—

I. Jotiteraha [*putaha*] mahasudasane upasaka Tisaya teraha nagalene—

'The large and beautiful rock cave of the thera Tisa, son of thera Joti.'

Upasaka, 'lay-devotee,' which I have omitted in the translation, is the contrary of *thera*, and therefore cannot be applied to the same person; one or the other must stand by mistake.

II. Parumaka Sumanâ putaha Chuḍa Sumana cha bata Tisagutaha cha [*tudisa*] lene sagasa—

'The cave of Tisaguta, son of the Brahman Sumana, brother of Chuḍasumana [*is given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters.'

Chudasumana is a name similar to Chuḍanâga (*Mah.* 225) given to distinguish him from his grandfather, Mahallaka Nâga.

The two remaining inscriptions are of no peculiar interest.

(2.) Gallena wihâra, four miles to the west from Mahâgalkaḍawala on the road from Padeniya to Anurâdhapura. There I found five inscriptions very much alike as to their contents, but of which one is at least two centuries older than the others. It runs as follows:

Dewânapiya maharâja Gâmaṇî Abhayasa puta Tisayasa mahâlene agata [*a*]nagata chatudisa sagasa—

'The great cave of Tisa, the son of the great king, beloved of the gods, Gâmiṇi Abhaya, [*is given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent.'

These names seem to be easy enough to identify, but unfortunately neither Duṭṭhagâmini nor Amandagâmiṇi nor Gajabâhu had a son of the name of Tisa. To judge from the shape of the letters the inscription must belong to the first century B. C. The other four shew a remarkable difference in the language, as they write throughout *a* instead of *â* and *b* instead of *bh*; that is to say, they must have been engraved at a time when the long vowels and aspirated

consonants had entirely disappeared from the language.

(3.) Paramakanda, one mile from Tonigala on the road from Puttalam to Kurunægala (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1855, p. 181 *ff.*):—

Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisaha Duṭaka . . . . [*lene*].

'The cave of the brahmin Tisa Duṭaka. . . . son of the Brahman Abhaya.'

This most probably refers to Duṭṭhagâmiṇi, and is, as far as I know, the only inscription in which he is called by his full name. It might be objected that the relationship is not given correctly, as, according to the *Mahâwaṁso*, Duṭṭhagâmiṇi was the son of [Kâkawanna] Tisa and grandson of [Golu] Abhaya, but these inaccuracies occur frequently in inscriptions, as I have shewn in my last report, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 226.

Inscriptions similar to these are to be found at Mailâwa and Giribâwa, five miles from Gallena wihâra; at Galwæwa wihâra, two miles from Wâriyapola; at Mulagama and Labugala, six miles from Anamaduwa (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1853, p. 82); at Pichchhandiyâwa, two miles from Mulagama; at Gallæwa wihâra near Mediyâwâ; at Ganekande wihâra near Mahânîkawæwa; at Nagolla wihâra, Petiyagala, Kabællalena, all three near Rambawæwa on the road from Kurunægala to Anurâdhapura; and at Patahamulla near Hiripiṭiya on the same road.

Besides these short cave inscriptions, there is one of some length engraved flat on the rock, which doubtless belongs to the same period, as it bears the name of Duṭṭhagâmiṇi. It is that at Tonigala, about fourteen miles from Puttalam on the road to Kurunægala (*cf. Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1853, p. 81). As far as I know, this is the only inscription in the Island which can be proved with certainty to be previous to the Christian era; for that at Rukam (Battikaloa) which was published in the proceedings of the *Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1870-1, p. xxviii., although it bears the name of Duṭṭhagâmiṇi's grandfather [Golu] Abhaya, the son of Yaṭṭhalaka Tisa, shews by the shape of its letters that it must be of later date.

The inscription at Tonigala has two different versions, of which one is engraved near the tank Kuḍawæwa, the other in the jungle a quarter of a mile off:—

(*a*) Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisaha wapi Achagirika Tisa pawatahi agata anagata chatudisa sagasa dino—Dewanapi maharaja Gamiṇi Abayo niyate Achanagaraka cha [*Tawi*]-rikiya nagaraka cha parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisa niyata pite rajaha agata anagata chatudisa sagasa.

'The tank of [*Kâkavaṇṇa*] Tisa, the son of Abhaya, at the mountain of Achagirika Tisa, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent. The great king, beloved of the gods, Gâmiṇi Abhaya, ordered: Achanagara and Tawirikiyanagara, which have been established by my father king Tisa, son of king Abhaya, [*are given*] to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent.'

(*b*) Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisa niyate Ima wapi Achagirika Tisa pawatahi agata anagata chatudisa sagasa—Dewanapiya maharaje Gamiṇi Abaye niyate Achanagaraka cha Tawirikiyanagaraka cha Achagirika Tisa pawatahi agata anagata chatudisa sagasa—Parumaka Abaya puta parumaka Tisaha wisara niyate pite.

'King Tisa, son of king Abhaya, ordered: This tank at the Achagirika Tisa mountain is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent. The great king, beloved of the gods, Gâmiṇi Abhaya, ordered: Achanagara and Tawirikiyanagara [*are given*] to the priesthood in the four quarters present and absent. The tank of king Tisa, son of king Abhaya, is established by my father.'

The contents of the inscription are not quite clear, although the words cannot easily be mistaken. As far as we learn from the *Mahâwaṁso*, Kâkawaṇṇa Tisa was only king of Mâgama, and never entered the northern kingdom, which was then governed by a Tamil sovereign. We therefore cannot but assume that this inscription was engraved by his son Duṭṭhagâmiṇi at the time when he conquered the north, instead of a monument for his dead father, and that the names in the inscription do not at all refer to the locality where it is. The tank mentioned is most probably the Dûratissa tank in Rohana mentioned several times in the *Mahâwaṁso*, but not yet identified. About the other names I cannot yet venture to express an opinion.

The alphabet in which this inscription is

written is the oldest form of the Aśoka character, only for *s* we always find the Greek digamma, as described in Goldschmidt's report, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 318. I however believe that this is quite accidental, and that there is no difference of sound between the two *s*'s, as in other inscriptions equally old—for instance, that at Gallena —we find the round form throughout.

Regarding the language of this inscription, we find in (*b*) several instances of the ancient Mâgadhi nominative in *e* as *raje*, *pile*, *niyate*; this termination is also used for the feminine gender in *wapi......dine*. *Niyate* I have translated first by 'ordered,' afterwards by 'established,' according to the context. It has the same meaning in Pâli; for instance, "*porânarâjaniyatam puññakammam*," 'meritorious practices established by former kings.' (*Mah.* 213.) *Wisara* in the last line of (*b*) stands probably for *wapisara* or *warisara*, which occurs frequently in later inscriptions.

We now proceed to the inscriptions of the first centuries of the Christian era. They are much more numerous than the oldest, but as the letters are not cut very deep, some of them are much damaged by rain, and besides they are full of mistakes and clerical errors of all kinds.

The alphabet in which they are written is that of the Western caves, as given in Prinsep's *Essays*, but in addition to this I found several letters which apparently do not occur in India. It is to this period that the inscriptions belong of Habarane and Tissamahârâma (now in the Colombo Museum), which were published by Dr Goldschmidt in his last report, but none of the inscriptions in the North-Western Province are so well preserved as these. Also the large inscription at Mihintale is of the same date—not that which is alluded to in Alwis's *Introduction to the Sidatsangaráwa*, p. xxxvi., and translated by Armour in the *Ceylon Almanac* for 1834, and which is much later, but that which was published by Captain Chapman in 1850. Goldschmidt ascribed this inscription to Gajabâhu Gâmiṇi (*cf.* his *Report*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 319), but I think it belongs to Meghavaṇṇa Abhaya (A.D. 248), not only because the king mentioned is said to be the grandson of king Tisa, which alone would not be conclusive, but because it is stated that he repaired the abode of Mahidatera and Badusalatera at Mihintale, just as we find it related concerning Meghawaṇṇa Abhaya in *Mahâwanso*, p. 232.

The finest specimen of these inscriptions is that from the Ruwanwæli dâgoba, Anurâdhapura, now in the Colombo Museum, of which I annex a copy and translation, as it has never been published:—

(1) Sidha Wahaba rajaha manumaraka T[*i*]sa maharajaha puti maharaja

(2) Gayabâhu Gâmiṇi Abayo Dakiṇi Abaya araba wihera karaya wa rakawiya

(3) bajika patisawanak tiri koṭu papa(?) takarahiya Jina paṭisatara

(4) Koṭu dine dakapati bikusagaha aṭaya chatari paceni paribujanak koṭu dine.

'Hail! The great king Gajabâhu Gâmiṇi Abhaya, grandson of king Wahaba, son of king Tisa, having built (or restored) the Dakshiṇa Abhaya and other wihâras, and having protected them, made them inhabited (?), having strengthened the faith, having made obeisance to the faultless Jina, after having given [*the wihâras*], he gave to the priesthood the enjoyment of the four pratyayas.'

According to *Mah.* p. 206, the Dakshiṇa and Abhaya[*giri*] wihâras were already built under the reign of Waṭṭagâmiṇi, B.C. 89, so that we must either assume that Gajabâhu was also one of the names of Waṭṭagâmiṇi, or that *karaya* is to be translated 'restored,' not 'built.' The latter seems more probable, as the names of Gajabâhu's father and grandfather are given, and from the whole appearance of the inscription in general.

Among the inscriptions in the North-Western Province, one of the oldest is at Pûjâgala three miles from Hiripiṭiya (on the road from Kurunægala to Anurâdhapura) on the top of a rock. It bears the name of a son of the minister Mahânâga, but there are too many words and letters effaced to allow of a translation. One letter in this inscription is of peculiar interest, as I have found it nowhere else; it is very much like the modern Tamil *s*, but I could not yet make out the meaning of it.

Nearly as old as this is the inscription at Ridiwihâra (Ambaṭṭhakola lena) between Kurunægala and Matale. This wihâra was built by king Amandagâmiṇi (21—30 A.D.), but I do not think that the inscription is quite as old. It begins: *Siddhisaddhamake siri*. . . . After this comes most probably the name of the

king, which is not quite legible on the stone, and in the second line I believe I have deciphered a part of the ancient name of the place—Abaṭṭha-[*kola*].

There are several inscriptions of the same age, which all refer to the construction and dedication of tanks, a favourite subject also in the North-Central Province and in the district of Hambantoṭa. Unfortunately we know so little about the ancient geography of Ceylon that we only seldom can identify the names given in these inscriptions. Celebrated tanks like the Padiwilkulam and Kantalai tank are not at all mentioned in the earlier part of the *Mahâwaṁso*, which should give us an account of their construction, and so there is little hope to learn from thence anything about minor tanks as they exist in the North-Western Province. Still more difficulty of course prevails about the names of the paddy fields which are served by these tanks, and so there remains but very little matter to discuss in inscriptions like the following from A l u t g a l w i h â r a:

Siddha mahârâjaha bikawawiya chetakarihi sagawiye chetakarihi talatarawiketahi chetakarihi

(2) uliwawiya chetakarihi punagamakawawiya chetakarihi wihirakaketahi chetakarihi

(3) pariwatakaketahi chetakarihi talawiyaketahi chetakarihi.

(4) Tisa teraha kalahi likitaka.

We have here four tanks and four corresponding paddy-fields :

bikawawiya	talatarawiketa
saga[*wa*]wiya	wihirakaketa
uliwawiya	pariwatakaketa
punagamakawawiya	talawiyaketa

The only word to explain is *chetakarihi*, of which the second part *karihi* is equal to the Pâli *karîsha*; *cheta* is most probably a numeral, which indicates the extent of paddy-land that was served by each tank, but I cannot trace the etymology of the word.

The concluding sentence—"This is written at the time of the thera Tisa"—helps us just as little in finding out the date of the inscription as the mere title "mahârâja" ('great king') in the first line.

One of the oldest and best preserved inscriptions is on a rock near G a l g a m u w a tank on the road from Padeniya to Anurâdhapura. It runs as follows :

Raja Abayisa puti Waḍamana gama mabama bariha sagasa wawi cha.

[Under this is a line of smaller characters, which are not so clear.]

'W a ḍ ḍ h a m â n a, the son of king A b a y a, gave the village . . . . and the tank to the priesthood.'

The words left blank may be names, but I am not sure about it. Galgamuwa tank was built by king M a h â s e n a, the son of Meghawaṇṇa Abhaya, according to the *Râjaratnâkari* (Upham, *Sacred and Historical Books*, II. 69, III. 237), and to him I think the inscription must be ascribed. Whether Waḍḍhamâna was really a name or only a title, must remain undecided at present. (Cf. *Journal Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1879, p. 7.)

Another equally well preserved inscription is at D e w a g i r i y a w i h â r a, three miles from Galgamuwa :—

Sisitawanaka wiharahi nawahagamaketahi chetahi karihi kubare—

'In the Sisitawanaka wihâra on the Nawahagama field the paddy land [*extends*] over. . . karîshas.'

Similar inscriptions concerning tanks are to be found at Y a p a h u (Subhaparwata), six miles from Balalli, and at G a l w æ w a near Wâriyapola.

All the inscriptions mentioned until now are not later than the beginning of the 4th century A.D. At this time we notice a change in the alphabet; the square character begins to go over gradually into the round form, and sometimes we find the same letter in two or three different forms in the same inscription.

I only came across one cave inscription written in this mixed character at G a n e k a n d e w i h â r a near Mahânîkawæwa, on the road from Kurunægala to Anurâdhapura. I give it here as it is of some interest :—

Sidawiya pukaṇalene chatudisika sagasa Chuḍa(?)tisa jeṭaka Baranake anajiwi.

'The tank cave of Siddhawiya (?) [*is given*] to the priesthood in the four quarters. Chuḍatisa the chief, and Bharana his bondsman.'

Pukaṇa is the old form for the modern *pokuṇa*, Sanskrit *pushkariṇî*.

There are two short inscriptions of this kind at Kadigala near the Kalâ-oya river, and two long ones at Meḍiyâwa (Raṭgallegâma wihâra), of which one is hopelessly destroyed by burn-

ing. The other one, as well as a very fine inscription at Rajângane, three miles from Mahâgalkadewala, treat both about the building of dining halls for the priest (*danasala*) and the offering of water-strainers (*palisavana*) to them, a practice that is known from *Mahâwanso*, p. 220. I reserve a full transcript and translation of these for a later occasion. The alphabet in which they are written is very difficult to decipher, and some characters can only be found out by conjecture, as we have nothing like them in any of the Indian alphabets that are given in Prinsep's *Essays* and Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*.

As in the North-Central Province, there are here also no inscriptions between the 5th and 9th centuries, and so we go on at once to the reign of Kassapo V. (937—954.) There is a fine pillar of this king at Ingirimitiya, eight miles from Anamaduwa, discovered by Mr. Parker, the irrigation officer of the district. The king styles himself, as usual, Siri Sang Bo, and it would be difficult to say which king of this name it is, if not for the name of a minister (Mahale=*mahâlekha*) Sena, which must be the same mentioned in *Mahâwanso* ch. 52, 33, as the founder of Mahâlekhapabbatawihâra. It contains a grant to a temple, the name of which is not clear on the stone. I give the first lines and a part from the middle of the inscription:—

A.—(1) Swasti
(2) Siri Sanga Bo
(3) ma purmukâ
(4) sawanaga pu-
(5) ridase hima
(6) ta puradisa
(7) wak dawas
(8) . . . . ma
(9) hâpaṇan
(10) wahanse
(11) wadâleṇi—

'Hail! Siri Sanga Bo, the king in the. . . th year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of the month Himata. . . . the great sage declared.' . . .

Sawanaga must serve to indicate the year of the king's reign in which this order was given; generally we find a numeral instead, as *pasaḷoswanne* in the inscription of Mahâkalattæwa.

C.—(1) . . . . . . su,
(2) sama me ga-
(3) m no wad-
(4) nâ koṭ i-
(5) sâ gæl mi-
(6) wun wæriya-
(7) n gam gen-
(8) no ganna
(9) koṭ isâ
(10) ataṇin nepanna
(11) koṭ isâ.

'Having ordered that noblemen shall not enter the place, that enemies shall not take the cart buffaloes from the village, and having made them independent.' . . . .

Ataṇin nepanna I think stands for Pâli *attanâ nipphannâ*—'dependent upon themselves.'

Inscriptions of this king and of his successor, Kassapo VI., are to be found at Makulâna wihâra, seven miles from Kurunægala, on a large rock close to the dâgoba, and on pillars at Mædagama and Segelena wihâra, nine miles from Kurunægala on the Kandy road, and at Yakdessa Gala, two miles to the east of the road to Puttalam.

Of king Parâkramabâhu I., I only found two inscriptions: one on a pillar which stands now before the Assistant Government Agent's house in Puttalam; the other one on a stone tablet at Galasne Malâsane, eight miles from Kurunægala, near the road to Anurâdhapura. The pillar was formerly at Puliankulam, ten miles from Chilaw, where it was discovered by Mr. Brodie, who gave a very rough and imperfect transcript of it in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society*, 1855, p. 181 ff. The contents seem not to differ greatly from those in his other numerous inscriptions all over the Island.

Last of all, I mention three Tamiḷ inscriptions on two pillars and one large slab at Budumuttâwa wihâra near Nikaweratiya. The character is very much the same as the present Tamil, but there are two or three letters which have disappeared now from the alphabet. Unfortunately I am not well enough acquainted with Tamiḷ to be able to give a translation of these inscriptions; they bear the name of the son of a Kalinga king ("Kalinka makan"), and date, without doubt, from the time of the great Tamiḷ invasion of Ceylon, 1013—1153 A.D.

These are the inscriptions I found, partly by inquiring from the natives, partly with the help of the Government archæological returns; but I am convinced that if a systematic search

were made by Government in all the temples of this province, a great many more would be found, which perhaps might give us some valuable information in addition to what we know from books on the ancient history of Ceylon.

Colombo, 3rd June 1879.

THIEN-CHU—INDIA.

EXTRACT FROM MA-TWAN-LIN, BOOK CCCXXXVIII. FOL. 14.

Translated from the French of M. Stanislas Julien.[1]

The following notice of India by Ma-twan-lin, being made up of fragments from the great Chinese historians, not one of whom probably was acquainted with the languages of India, we may expect to find in it a great many words disfigured, first by the original writers, and afterwards by the various editors of the *Wen-hien-thong-khao.* Thus we find *Ki-li-chi* and *Tsa-li* for 'Kshattrya' (a man of the warlike caste), *So-tu* for 'Stûpa' (a tomb), *Shi-lo-y-to* for Śilâditya (name of a king), *Kia-mo-lo* for Kapila (a town). I have removed these alterations in the case of words the correct form of which I have learned from other sources, but what could I do, in the case of Indian words of which I could find no trace in my Buddhist accounts, and also in the case of names of foreign countries, which perhaps appear only once in the solitary fragment from which Ma-twan-lin has taken them? I believe I have taken the only plan which I could prudently have done. If, in a particular case I have attempted a transcription I have placed it between parentheses, followed by a note of interrogation, or else I have limited myself to simply transcribing the Chinese sounds, hoping that others, more fortunate or better acquainted with Sanskrit than I am, may succeed in re-establishing the original spelling.

As for the Chinese proper names, which appear to me evidently drawn from the Sanskrit, I have taken the liberty of giving the translation of them, not according to any dictionary, but by making use of Indian words already to my knowledge employed by Buddhist writers in translating the same words into Chinese; and, as the Sanskrit language often offers several translations of a given word, I have always placed a note of interrogation (?) after the word proposed, even in cases in which I am almost certain of having found the correct one.

I cannot conclude these remarks without adding that the fragment from Ma-twan-lin here given, has presented to me, as much on account of the names of foreign products and Indian names as of passages altered by the editors, difficulties which one is not accustomed to meet with in Chinese historians. I have been obliged in order to correct the text to search patiently for the original notices extracted by the author, and although in more than one place this species of investigation has succeeded, I have not in every instance recovered the passage at which he must have been looking, or else I have found even it spoiled by mistakes.

It was under the later Han dynasty that China came into relations with Thien-chu.[2] This name is the same as Shin-tu employed in the time of the Han dynasty.

First, Ma-twan-lin remarks in a note[3] that the General Chang-kien being sent[4] on a mission to Ta-hia (Baktria) saw canes of the *Khiong*

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[1] *Journal Asiatique*, IVme Sér. tome X. (1847) pp. 81—121. The following extract first appeared in the *Asiatic Journal* for July and August 1836 without any translator's name. It was reprinted with additional notes by Prinsep in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VI. (Jan. 1837) pp. 61-75. The same extract is included in M. Pauthier's *Examen Méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-Tchu ou l'Inde* published in the *Journal Asiatique*, IIIe Sér. 1839, pp. 257—400, and also separately, Paris: 1840. This work also includes 48 pages of "Considérations Générales" drawn from the *Ta-thang Si-yu-ki* of Hiwen Thsang. M. Julien alludes to neither of the versions that preceded his own, but M. Pauthier mentions (p. 273) that the English version was due to himself. Some notes from Prinsep's reprint, together with others, are added here.

[2] According to the Buddhist work *Ling-yen-tsi-chu* (bk. I. fol. 2) the word Thien-chu signifies *moon* (in Sanskrit इन्दु). From this etymology we discover that both syllables of this word have been altered, and one wonders how this corrupted spelling should be preserved to the present time by Chinese writers. Let us see the origin of this change.

In the dictionary *Ching-tseu-thong* under the word *chu* we find that, in *Shin-tu*, the same word as *Thien-chu*, the word *tu* ought to be pronounced as *tu* (*du*). Now the sound of *shin-tu* has been changed into *thien-tu*, because the word *tu*(*du*) has been abridged into *tu* (Khang-hi mentions this abbreviation under the word *tu*); finally the abbreviation *tu* has received the sound of *chu*. According to the historian Sse-ma-thsien (the *Ching-tseu-thong* adds), the character *shin* should be pronounced *yuen* (a word which in Khang-hi is also sounded *yun*, a sound very close to *yn* or *in*).

From this we understand how the word for India, which according to Hiwen-Thsang, should be written *in-tu* (*in-du*), the phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit *indu* (moon), has come to be written (Conf. *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi*, bk. vii., fol. 8 and *Khang-hi*) by Chinese travellers ignorant of its derivation, as *Thien-tu*, *Shin-tu* and *Shin-tu*, *Yun-tu*, *Hien-teu* (*teu* representing the sound of दु,) and lastly *Thien-chu*,—in consequence of the alteration of the two syllables of this Sanscrit word (इन्दु) *indu*, the moon.

[3] Pauthier's *Examen*, p. 4.

[4] According to the historian Sse-ma-thsion, the country of Tahia is situated about 200 leagues to the south-west of Ta-wan (now Tashigan, in Arabic, Thashkend; according to the universal geography *Thai-thsing-i-tong-chi*; Khokand, according to the *Thai-kue-thu-chi*), is south of the river Wei (in Sanscrit Vach), the Oxus.

reed and cloth of *Shu*. 'Whence have you got these things?' asked he of the people of T a-h i a. 'Our merchants,' they said, 'are sent to buy them in S h i n-t u, which is the same country as T h i e n-c h u (India). Some call it M o-k i e-t h o (Magadha) and others P o-l o-m e n (*kue*) *Brâhmaṇarâshṭra*, 'the kingdom of the Brahmans.' It is to the south of the T s o n g-l i n g mountains and is many thousand *li* to the south-east of the Y u e ï-c h i. This country extends 30,000 *li* (3,000 leagues); it is divided into five Thien-chu (Indies), viz.: middle Thien-chu, eastern Thien-chu, southern Thien-chu, western Thien-chu, and northern Thien-chu, each division measures many thousand *lis*, and contains many cities large and small.

Southern India is bounded by a great sea, the northern extends to the snowy mountains (S i u e-s h a n,[5] the Himâlayas). On all sides are mountains which form a sort of wall. Towards the south is a valley by which one might enter, and which is reckoned as the *gate* of that part of India.

"Eastern India is bounded on the east by a great sea, it is near F u-n a n[6] (Siam) and L i n-i (Tsiampa), it is only separated by a narrow sea.

"Western India touches K i p i n (Kâbul) and P o-s s e (Pars'a, Persia).

"Central India is situated in the middle of the other four divisions of India.

"All the countries of India are governed by kings. In the times of the Hans, there still existed the kingdom of Y u e n-t u[7] which was 9800 *li* from the city of Chang-'an, and 2800 *li* from the residence of T u-h u (the Chinese generalissimo of the S i-y u). On the south it touches the Tsong-ling mountains, on the north it is bounded by the country of the U-s u n.[8] The inhabitants dressed like the U-sun; like them, also, they wore a pastoral people. They belonged to the ancient race of the Sâï. We are informed by Yen-sse-ku that the word *Yuen-tu* is the same as *Shin-tu*. The expression *Saï-chong* is the same as *Shi-chong*, the race of Ś â k y a s, or children of Śâkya (the tribe to which belonged the founder of the Buddhist religion, surnamed Ś â k y a m u n i or the monk of the Śâkya family). We have here, the commentator adds, a slight alteration of sound, namely, *Shi* instead of *Sâi*."

All the countries, continues Ma-twan-lin, which extend from the south-west of the Y u e ï-c h i and the kingdom of Kao-fu[9] (Kabul) to the *western sea* (*si-hai*), and on the east to Pan-khi, (or as it is sometimes written Pan-yueï), belong to S h i n-t u (India). Many towns are subject to powerful chiefs; there are also many separate kingdoms which are governed by kings. Although these kingdoms differ a little from one another, they are all comprehended under the name S h i n-t u (or India).

The capital is near the river H e n g-h o (Gaṅgâ), which is also called K i a-p i-l i-h o, or the river of Kapila.

The Vulture mountain L i n g-t s i o ü-s h a n, is called in the language of the barbarians K i-t u-k u e-s h a n (Gṛidhrakûṭa). It is formed of blue stones, and its summit resembles the

[5] *Siuĕ-shan*, an exact translation of the Sanskrit *Himâlaya*, 'abode of snow,' or rather *Himâlayagiri*, 'mountain whereon the snow rests.'—*J. A. S. Beng.* vol. VI. p. 61.

[6] We read in the history of the kingdom of F u-n a n (Siam) the kingdom of S h e-w e ï (Śrâvasti) is a dependency of India, the kingdom of K i a-s h i (Kâśi), is also called Po-l o-nai (Varaṇasi, Benares), and S h i-p o-l o-n a i (Śrîvaraṇaśi, the glorious kingdom of Benares). It is said in the work entitled *Chu-fa-wei-Fo-kue-ki*, or Memoirs of the Buddhist kingdoms, by the Saman Chu-fa-weï (in Sanskrit Dharmapâla?) The kingdom of Po-lo-naï, (Varanaśi, Banaras) is situated 1480 *lis* south of the kingdom of K i a-w e ï-l o-y u e ï (Kapilavastu, Kapila). The law of Śâkyamuni flourishes there (Author's *note*).

Ma-twan-lin then relates a fact, taken from the work

dom, live to a very advanced age. This species of ox l
as long as the men. The present king (says the author of the *Li-kuĕ-ch'uen*) is a hundred years of age; his kingdom forms part of T h i e n-c h u, that is to say India."

[7] The author of the Han annals, from which work Ma-twan-lin make extracts, has not observed that the kingdom called by mistake Y u e n-tu is identical with the one which he has before spoken of under the name of S h i n-t u; he is also wrong in comparing the Indians to the U-sun, a nomadic race, who, in their continual migrations, look for water and pasturage. The first error is rectified further on by Yen-sse-ku, commentator on the Han annals.

[8] This division of India must include the modern Kaśmir, the description of which, by Masudi, the Arabian historian, coincides in a striking manner with that of the Chinese author: "The kingdom of Kaśmir," he says, "which forms part of India, is surrounded with very high mountains; it contains a prodigious number of towns and villages; it can be entered only by a single pass, which is closed by a gate."—*J. A. S. B. ut sup.*

[9] The following account of this kingdom is given by Ma-twan-lin elsewhere (b. cccxxxviii, f. 27): "The kingdom of Kao-fu was known in the time of the Hans. It is situated to the south-east of the great Yuĕ-che. It is likewise a considerable state. Their manners resemble those of the inhabitants of India, and they are gentle and humane. They carry on much commerce with India. India, Kophene, and the country of Asæ, are three kingdoms which are *conquered by force and lost by weakness*," the latter expressions are borrowed from the *Taou-tĭh-king* of Laou-tsze.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 62.

Tsieu bird (*gṛidhra*, vulture).[10] At this period all these kingdoms belonged to the Y u e ï-c h i.[11]

The Y u e ï-c h i slew the kings of these kingdoms, and filled their places with generals, to whom they gave the governorship. The people practise Buddhism (*Feü-t'u-tao*), which forbids the taking of the life of any living creature and the drinking of wine. This prohibition soon passed into the customs of the people. The soil is low and damp, and the climate is extremely warm.

This kingdom is near (that is to say watered by) a large river. The soldiers fight mounted on elephants. The inhabitants of the country are not so strong as the Yueï-chi.

The emperor Wu-ti, of the H a n dynasty, (which reigned from 140 to 85 B. C.,) sent officers twelve times out of China by the south-west, to try to effect an entrance into S h i n-t u (India), but they were stopped by the K u e n-m i n g, and none of them succeeded in penetrating into the country.[12]

India several times paid tribute to the emperor H o-t i, (who belonged to the later Han dynasty, and reigned from 89 to 105 A. D.,) but soon after, this homage[13] was interrupted by the revolt of the S i-y u people.

In the second year of the *Yen-hi* period during the reign of the emperor H w a n-t i (158—159 A.D.), Indian ambassadors passed the boundaries of J i-n a n (the present Tonquin), and paid tribute to the emperor of China.

Tradition relates that the emperor M i n g-t i (of the later Han dynasty, who reigned from 58 to 76 A. D.) saw in a dream a tall man of the colour of gold, from whose head a flame of fire issued. He questioned his officers for the subject, and one of them said to him—"In the West there is a god called *Fo* (Buddha), he is six *chi* high, and yellow like gold[14]."

Upon hearing this the emperor sent messengers to T h i e n-c h u to learn the doctrine of F o (Buddha), and soon after images and statues of F o were scattered throughout China. Y i n g, king of T h s u, was the first who put faith in Buddhism. His conversion led to a great number of people in China embracing the new religion.

In course of time, the emperor H w a n-t i,[15] who was strongly addicted to the worship of spirits, began often to offer sacrifices to F e u-t h u (Buddha) and L a o-t s e u. By degrees people embraced the Buddhist religion, and soon after it began to flourish. Under the W e ï and T s i n dynasties (220 to 419 A. D.) the relations between China and India were broken up, and were not renewed for a long time.[16] Only under the U[17] dynasty (222—227 A.D.) Fan-chen, king of F u-n a n (Siam), sent a relation of his called S u-w e on an embassy to India. Once out of F u-n a n, he set sail from the mouth of the river Teu-keu-li, and coasted along till he came to a large gulf on the north-west. He travelled through several kingdoms situated on the coast of the gulf, and at the end of a year, arrived at the mouth of the river of Thien-chu (of India). He followed the course of the river for about 7,000 *li* (700 leagues), and arrived at his destination.

[10] It is situated south of Mo-kie-ti (मगध), a kingdom which also forms a part of Thieu-chu. (*Chu-fa-weï-fo-kue-ki.*)

[11] This important epoch in the history may be fixed with precision by means of Chinese historians; and it is not one of the least advantages derivable from the study of the writers of this nation, Ma-twan-lin, in his account of the great Yuĕ-chi, or Indo-Skythians (book cccxxxviii, fol. 2), states that the Chinese General Chang-köen was sent as an ambassador to the Yuĕ-chi by the Emperor Wu-ti (B. C. 126), and that, about 100 years after, a prince of this nation, who possessed one of the five governments of the country of Dahae, subjected the Getes in Kophenes, and that Thien-shu, or India, was again subjugated by the Yuĕ-chi. This other conquest of India by the Skythians must be placed, therefore, about the year B. C. 26. Ma-twan-lin adds, that these Yuĕ-chi having become rich and powerful (by these conquests), remained in this state till the time of the latter Hans, who began to reign A. D. 222. It results from hence that the Skythians (or Yuĕ-chi) must have been masters of Western India from about B. C. 26 till A. D. 222, that is, for a space of 248 years. The first invasion of India by the Yuĕ-chi, or Skythians, must have taken place before the reign of Vikramâditya, whose celebrated era, which begins fifty-six years before ours, originated from the complete defeat of the Skythian armies by this Indian prince; an event which deserved to be thus immortalized: see Colebrooke's *Indian Algebra*, (preface p. 43) and Lassen's *De Pentapotamia Indica Commentatio*, p. 56. The first of these cites an ancient scholiast on Varâha Mihira, who thus explains the word *Saka* employed by this astronomer to denote the Saṁvat era: "epoch when the barbarian kings named *Saka* (the Sacae) were defeated by Vikramâditya."—*J. A. S. B. n. s.* p. 63.

[12] This same emperor gained some trifling particulars respecting *Shin-tu*, or India, by his General Chang-kien, whom he had sent to the Yuĕ-che, which are preserved by the historian Sze-ma-tsien, in his *Sze-ke* (book cxxiii, fols. 6 and 7), where it is stated that Shin-tu is situated to the east of Ta-hia, the capital of which was the city of Lan-she.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.* p. 63.

[13] At this period, China was still considered as the paramount state of all the half-civilized nations inhabiting Central Asia. It is not, therefore, surprising that the chiefs of India, subject to the Yuĕ-chi, or Skythians, should have thought of sending ambassadors to China, in search of means of delivering their country from barbarians, by the aid of the Chinese armies, which could oblige their revolted subjects to return to their duty. Thus we may easily explain facts apparently so improbable.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.*

[14] Pauthier's *Examen*, p. 11.

[15] A. D. 147-167.—Pauthier's *Examen*, p. 12.

[16] Pauthier's *Examen*, p. 27.

[17] Or Wu, one of the three dynasties which reigned simultaneously over three divisions of the Chinese empire: it subsisted from A. D. 222 to 280.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.* p. 64.

The king of India was filled with astonishment, and cried out—What! there still exist such men on the shores of the most distant seas? Thereupon he invited them to visit the interior of his kingdom.

In the suite of this ambassador, he sent two officers, Chin-song and another, to present Fan-chen and Su-we with four horses from the Yueï-chi country, as a token of recognition. They arrived only at the end of four years. At this time, the emperor of the U dynasty had sent Khang-thaï, with the title of Chong-lang, on a mission to the kingdom of Fu-nan. Upon meeting with Chin-song and his companion, he questioned them about the customs of India. It is, they replied, a country where the Buddhist law flourishes. The people are upright and honest, and the soil is very fertile. The king's name is Meu-lun[18]; and the capital in which he resides is surrounded by walls. The rivers and streams are divided into a great number of smaller streams which run in canals and ditches and fall into a large river. The palaces are decorated with beautiful carved work[19]; in the streets and the public places, the houses, the pavilions, and raised galleries is heard the sound of little bells or of the drum and melodious songs, one sees rich clothing, and breathes the perfume of flowers.

Merchants arrive there by land and sea, and gather in great numbers offering, according to the public taste, skilfully wrought vessels and curiosities of very great value.

Right and left are sixteen large kingdoms, namely Kia-weï (Kapila), She-weï (Śrâvasti) Ye-po,[20] etc.

Several kingdoms, although two or three thousand *lis* from Thien-chu, yield obedience to it, because they consider that this kingdom is situated in the middle of the universe.

In the fifth year of the *Yuen-kia* period in the reign of Wen-ti, of the Song dynasty (in the year 428 A. D.), Yueï-'aï (that is to say 'loved by the moon,' in Sanskrit—Chandrapriya), king of Kia-pi-li (Kapila) in Thien-chu,[21] sent an ambassador to present a letter to the emperor, and to offer him a ring set with diamonds, a bracelet of pure gold, along with other valuable articles, and two parrots, one red and the other white.

In the second year of the *Thaï-shi* period, in the reign of Ming-ti (466 A.D.), he sent again an ambassador to pay tribute. The emperor conferred on him the title of Kien-weï-tsiang-kiun (literally 'the general who establishes authority').[22]

At the beginning of the *Thien-kien* period, in the reign of Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty (502 A.D.), Kioto, (Gupta,) king of India, sent Chu-lo-ta, with the title of Chang-shi, to present the emperor with a letter,[23] a spitoon of *lieü-li* (*vaidûryya*, lapis lazuli), different kinds of perfumes, stuffs of *kie-peï* (*karpâsa*, cotton), etc. His kingdom was near a large river called Sin-thao[24] (Sindh), which rises in the Kwan-lun[25] (Anéuta) mountains, and divides into five rivers, of which the collective name is Heng-shuï (the river Heng or Ganges). At the bot-

[18] This title must be the Chinese transcription of *Mahârâna*, there can be no doubt in respect to the first syllable *mahâ* (in composition) 'great'; but the Sanskrit word represented by *lun* (or *run, ran*) is less certain. At all events this must be a king of India whose reign corresponded with this date, between A. D. 222 and 280.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 65.

[19] This is the case at Banâras, where many of the houses have seven or eight storeys; and the numerous temples and public edifices are covered with sculptures and bas-reliefs.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.*

[20] The name of this kingdom is not found in the excellent history of Hiwen-thsang, and I have not met with it elsewhere; it appears to me to have been altered.

[21] Conf. Pauthier's *Examen*, p. 17.

[22] In the eighteenth year of the *Yuen-kia* period (441 A. D.), the king of Su-mo-li sent an ambassador to offer some of the products of his country. In the second year of the *Hiao-kien* period, in the reign of Hiao-wu (455 A. D.), the king of **Kin-tho-li** sent an officer with the title of *Ch'ang-shi* to offer precious vases of gold and silver. Still later, in the first year of the *Yuen-hoeï* period in the reign of Feï-ti (read Tsang-u-wang, the year 473 A. D.), the kingdom of Po-li paid tribute. These kingdoms believed in the doctrine of Buddha. (Note of Ma-twan-lin.)

Are the Kin-tho-li the *Gandari* of Herodotus and Strabo? In Sanskrit *Gandhari* or *Gandhara*.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.*

[23] For the letter see Pauthier, *u. s.* pp. 30-33.

[24] These curious details, the exactitude of which may excite surprise, prove that the Chinese historians were better informed than might have been expected of facts and circumstances concerning Central and Western Asia. We are indebted to Colebrooke for the means of ascertaining the accuracy of the Chinese writers. In fact the Chinese words *Sin-thao* are but the transcription of the Sanskrit word *Sîtâ*, the name of one of the sources of the Ganges. In a memoir on the sources of this river, this scholar cites the following passage from the astronomer Bhâskara Achârya:—"The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends from the abode of Vishnu on mount Meru (the Kwan-lun), whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air, it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them. Under the name of *Sîtâ*, this river joins the Bhadrâswa; as the Alakanandâ, it enters Bhâratavarsha (Hindustan); as the Chakshu, it proceeds to Ketumala, and as the Bhadra, it goes to Kuru of the north."—*Siddhântasirômani; Bhavana-kôsha*, 37 and 38.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 66.

[25] Mount Meru. "The Hindus say that the Ganges falls from heaven upon its summit, and thence descends in four currents: the southern branch is the Ganges, the eastern branch is the Sîta, and the western is the Chakshu or Oxus,"—Wilson, *Sanskrit Dict.*, 2nd edit. Art. *meru*—the name *Meru* is the Μηρος of the Greeks.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.*

tom of this river, pure salt is found as white as rock crystal.[26]

In the reign of Siuen-wu of the later Weï dynasty (500—504 A. D.), the king of India[27] sent an ambassador to present the emperor with a well trained horse. He related that this country produced lions, sables, leopards, rats,[28] camels, rhinoceros, and elephants.

There is a mineral product called *ho-tsi* which resembles *yun-mu* (laminar mica), but it is of a violet colour. It can be split[29] into leaves as thin as a grasshopper's wing, and which laid on the top of one another resemble gauze several times folded.

A kind of diamond is found similar to *ts'e-chi-ing* (crystalline quartz), which the strongest fire cannot dissolve, and which can cut jade. One may obtain also articles made of tortoise-shell (*tae mei*), gold (*kin*), copper (*tung*), iron (*tëë*), lead (*yuen*), and tin (*seih*), textures of thread[30] of gold,[31] carpets ornamented with gold, and carpets of *pê-thiê* (cotton); perfumes extracted from the *chen-tan* tree (*chandana*, sandal), and the *yo-kin* plant; sugarcane and other products; crystallized sugar,[32] pepper (*hu-tsiao*—piper nigrum), ginger and black salt.

On the west, this kingdom maintains commercial relations by sea with the people of Ta-thsin[33] and the 'Asi[34] (Parthians). Sometimes its inhabitants travel as far as the kingdoms of Fu-nan (Siam) and Kiao-chi (Tonquin) for the purpose of trading. They have a great deal of coral, also pearls and *lang-kan* (a kind of coral). They are not in the habit of keeping ledgers, but pay for goods with *chi-peï* or dentated shells (cowries); they particularly excel in magical sciences (that is, in working transformations). The greatest mark of respect which one can show to a man is to kiss his feet and lightly touch his heels before addressing him. In the houses of the rich there are young female singers[35] and jugglers who keep the inmates in amusement. The king and his chief officers are dressed in brocaded silk; the sovereign retains on the crown of his head a small lock of hair,[36] which is dressed spirally, he wears the rest of his hair very short. The men cut their hair and hang pendants in their ears; they are accustomed to walk barefooted, and dress themselves in white. They are timid, and little given to war and combats. They use bows and arrows, shields and spears[37]; they also know how to use scaling ladders, wooden oxen (*mŭh-meau*) and floating horses (*lew-ma* for crossing rivers), they also make subterraneous passages. They have a written language, and are excellent astronomers and calculators of the calendar. The Indians all study an elementary book called *Si-ta-chang*[38] (the *Siddha*, a kind of primer), and write memoranda upon leaves called *pei-to-ye*.[39]

Yang-ti I, an emperor of the Suï dynasty (605 A. D.), having formed the project of entering into relations with the Si-yu (the countries

[26] Pauthier's *Examen*, p. 18.

[27] Pauthier has 'Northern India.'—*n. s.* p. 34.

[28] Ma-twan-lin writes *hoen* (agitare, movere), a word corrupted for *hoen*, rat, whose fur is much prized. I borrow this correction from the original passage inserted in the *Pien-i-tien*, book lviii.

[29] The word *lie* in the text means 'to set in order'; it is a mistake; I believe it should be 'split.' This correction is confirmed by a passage in the *Pien-i-tien* (book lviii.) identical with this one, in which the same idea is expressed by "divided."

[30] In the text it is "to engrave," I think it should read "thread."

[31] These are, no doubt, the fine brocades, embroidered with gold and silver, for which Banâras is still so celebrated, which continue to constitute an extensive article of commerce throughout India.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.*

[32] *Shih-meih*, 'stone-honey.'

[33] The Roman empire; and the An-si are most probably the subjects of the Arsacides.—ED.

[34] Perhaps the Yasy of the Russian annals, 'Alani sive Assi' of Carpini (p. 709) and 'Alani sive Aas' of Rubruquis,—the Alani of classical authors; see Bretschneider's *Mediæval Geog. and Hist. of C. & W. Asia*, pp. 184 ff.—ED.

[35] These are, no doubt, the nâtch-girls.

[36] To form the *jûṭâ*. See the *laws of Manu*, book II., v. 219.

[37] *Fete*, this is a scaling-ladder, of which a representation may be seen in the *Art Militaire Chinois*, figs. 48 and 49.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.* p. 67.

[38] The two Chinese characters *seih-than* are a transcription of the Sanskrit word *siddhânta*, which signifies 'established truth,' 'demonstrable conclusion,' and which forms the titles of many scientific books, as the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, the *Brahma Siddhânta*, the *Siddhânta Kaumudi*, &c. The leaves of the trees, *peï-to*, are the *olas*, on which most of the Sanskrit MSS. are written, especially those in Telinga characters, which come from Southern India.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.*

[39] In the section on trees of the imperial book of botany *Kwang-kiun-fang-pu*, book xiv. under *Peï-to-shu*, we read that "this tree is a native of Magadha; it grows to the height of sixty or seventy feet, and does not lose its leaves in winter. There are three species of it, the first of which is called *To-lo-po-li-cha* (in Sanskrit *Tâlavṛiksha*). Its leaves are called *To-lo-po-li-cha-pei-to* (in Sanskrit *Tâlavṛikshapatra*). The word *pei-to* is an Indian word (*patra*), which is translated 'leaf' in Chinese. Chinese authors sometimes write *ye-shu* (in Sanskrit *peï-to-po-li-cha*; read *patravṛiksha*, literally 'tree with leaves'), sometimes *peï-to-shu*, a hybrid word made up of *patra*, leaves, and *shu* tree."

"In India, the bark and leaves are used to write books on." This tree is the palm named *Borassus flabelliformis*. The Imperial book of botany quoted above explains the expression *peï-to-shu* more clearly than any Chinese book has before done. (Cf. *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi*, book vii., fol. 26 v.)

to the west of China), sent Feï-tu to induce[40] the S i-f a n[41] (Tibetans) and other people to pay homage to him. Many princes responded to his appeal; those of India being the only ones who refused to enter into relations with him. Their refusal irritated him very much.

The Kings of India are of the K i-l i-c h i family, called also T s a-l i (Kshattryâs). For centuries they have held the throne without once acquiring it either by usurpation or murder.

There are four crops of rice in the year; the greatest of cereals is called *mo-to-tho*.[42]

The women wear necklaces of gold, silver and pearls. The bones of the dead are burned and their ashes placed in a *so-tu* (Stûpa);[43] sometimes however they leave the dead in the middle of a desert, or throw them into a river; they serve then for food for birds and beasts of prey, fishes and turtles. There is no law to determine the duration of mourning. Those who have been guilty of treason or revolt are put to death in secret, those who have committed light offences may buy themselves off with money, and those who have failed in the duties of filial piety either suffer amputation of the hands or feet, nose or ears, or are banished to the frontiers.

The Indians have a written language, and they excel in astronomical calculations[44] and the science of the calendar. They use characters invented by the god Fan,[45] and write memorable things on leaves called *peï-to-ye*.[46] In all parts of India ancient traces of F o (Buddha Śâkyamuni)[47] are found. The people have faith in solemn oaths, and transmit magical formulas which they say can bring dragons and call down rain.

In the *Wu-te* period (in the reign of K a o-t s u) of the T h a n g dynasty (618-627) serious disturbances broke out in India. King S h i-l o-y-t o (Śîlâditya)[48] raised a great army, and fought with irresistible valour. The men neither took off their own armour nor the elephants their housings. He punished the kings of four parts of India, so that they all with their faces turned towards the north acknowledged his superiority.

At this time, a Buddhist monk called H i w e n-t h s a n g came to the kingdom of Ś î l â d i t y a; the king invited him to come and see him, and said to him,—"In your country a very pious monarch appeared, and a war-song was composed to celebrate the conquests of the emperor of China;[49] try, I pray you, to teach it to me."

H i w e n-t h s a n g told him briefly how T h a ï-t s o n g had, by his divine valour, quieted the misfortunes and troubles of the empire, and brought the foreign peoples[50] into subjection. C h o a n g-w a n g (in Sanskrit Śîlâditya) was delighted at these words, and cried out—"It becomes me to turn towards the east and to do homage to him." In the fifteenth year of the *Ching-kwan* period (641), Ś î l â d i t y a assumed the title of king of M o-k i e-t h o (Magadha), and sent an ambassador with a letter to the emperor. This monarch ordered Liang-hoaï-king, under the title of Yun-ki-weï, to go to him furnished with an imperial brevet, and to invite him to submission.

Ś î l â d i t y a full of astonishment asked his officers whether an ambassador had ever come from M o-h o-s h i n-t a n before? "Never," they simultaneously replied. In the language of the barbarians (that is of these people) the author adds, the middle kingdom (China) is called Mo-ho-shin-tan, (in Sanskrit Mahâchînasthâna).

[40] In Chinese, 'to go before.'

[41] 'Western Barbarians,' see Bretschneider, *u. s.* p. 112.—ED.

[42] This word does not appear to be purely Indian, for the two last syllables mean in Chinese—camel. The character *mo* (*ma*) seems to be an abbreviation of a Sanskrit word. The word 'camel' is doubtless used in allusion to the extraordinary height of this cereal.

[43] Read *So-tu-po.* (Cf. *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi* book xx. fol. 52). From this word *stûpa*, the word 'tope' has been formed. The text literally means "and a tomb was built for him."

[44] Ma-twan-lin has omitted the word before (cf. *Peï-wen-yun-fu*, book lxxvv fol. 191 r.)

[45] This word *Fan* is an abbreviation of *Fan-lan-mo*, Brahmâ (Cf. *San-thsang-fa-su*, book xlvi. fol. 3). It is usually written *Fan-mo* • Brahmâ (Cf. *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi*, book xi. fol. 11, line 4).

[46] This passage is already found in a foregoing extract, taken from the collection of annals. We preserve it, in order to give the text of Ma-twan-lin in full.

[47] I think that he means here vestiges of ancient monuments erected in places visited by Buddha. In Chinese the word *ku-tsi* often means remains of ancient monuments (see the *Thai-tsing-i-tong-chi*, in the section entitled *Ku-tsi*).

[48] Harshavarddhana—see *ante* vol. VII. pp. 196 ff.—ED.

[49] Tsin is the name of the dynasty which reigned over China from B.C. 249 to 202, during which the Chinese power caused itself to be known for the first time in Central and Western Asia, its conquests being extended to the Caspian sea and Bengal, in the reign of Tsin-she-hwang-ti, the celebrated *Burner of the Books*. The name of this dynasty has formed that of China, in Sanskrit China, which occurs in the *Laws of Manu* (book x. śl. 44), and therefore to a date anterior to the third century before our era, which may be easily explained in referring the name of China to the period of the foundation of the kingdom of Tsin in the western province of Shen-se, about B.C. 100.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 68.

[50] It is in Chinese *Ssei*, the "four strangers," which means strangers from the four cardinal points—North, South, East, and West.

The king then went out, and bending on his knees thus received the imperial decree, and placed it on his head (in token of respect).

The Chinese envoy immediately after his return went to the palace, and Li-i, under the title of Weï-weï-ching, was ordered to carry to the king of Magadha the reply of the emperor.

Great officers went before him, outside the town, and the inhabitants of the capital and the neighbouring towns flocked out to see him, and to burn perfumes on his path. Śîlâditya came himself at the head of his ministers, and received the imperial decree with his face turned to the east. He again presented laminar mica (*ho-tsi*), a perfume called *yo-kin*, and a tree called *pu-ti-shu*[51] (in Sanskrit *bodhidruma*,—the tree of knowledge, *ficus religiosa*).

In the twentieth year of the *Ching-kwan* period (646), the emperor sent Wang-hiwen-tse, under the title of Yeu-weï-so-fu-chang-shi,[52] on an embassy to the kingdom of Magadha, he associated with him Tsiang-shi-jin.[53] Before he arrived King Śîlâditya died, and his kingdom fell into a state of anarchy. One of his ministers named Na-fo-ti-a-la-na-shun (Nava . . . . ?) usurped the supreme power, and sent soldiers to oppose Wang-hiwen-tse. At this time his suite consisted only of a few dozens of cavaliers, who struggled without success, and were all taken prisoners. Soon after the usurper used violence to make other kingdoms pay him tribute.

Hiwen-tse resolved upon action, and retired to a town on the western frontier of Tu-fan, from which he called the neighbouring kingdoms to arms.[54] The king of Tu-fan came with a thousand soldiers, and the king of Nêpal[55] with seven thousand cavaliers. Hiwen-tse divided them into several bodies, and marched against the town of Ta-po-ho-lo,[56] which he took by storm at the end of three days. He beheaded three thousand people, and ten thousand more were drowned. A-la-na-shun abandoned his kingdom and fled; then he collected his scattered troops, and attempted a fresh fight, but the general Jin (or Tsiang-shi-jin) took him alive, he also captured and beheaded a thousand men. The remains of the hostile army obeying the orders of the queen, tried to stop the way upon the banks of the river Khien-to-weï (Gandhara)[57]; but Tsiang-shi-jin gave them battle and defeated them. He took the queen and the king's son prisoners, captured twelve thousand men and women, and twenty thousand head of cattle, and subdued five hundred and eighty towns, large and small.

Shi-kieu-ma (Śrîkumâra ?) king of eastern India, sent him thirty thousand oxen and horses, and provisions for all his army; to which he added bows, scimitars, and collars of great value. The king of Kia-mo-lo[58] gave him some rare articles, a map of his states[59] and several statuettes of Lao-tsu.

Hiwen-tse took A-la-na-shun, and presented him at the gate of the palace. The magistrates proclaimed the victory in the ancestral temple, and the emperor raised him to the rank of Ch'ao-san-ta-fu (a sort of aulic councillor).

He had met a magician named Na-lo-mi-po-so-meï (Nâradevasvâmin ?), who said he was two hundred years old, and pretended that he possessed the art of procuring immortality. The

[51] The words *pu-ti* are probably the transcription of the name of a tree in Sanskrit, perhaps the *vata*, a sacred tree employed in religious ceremonies, and of which mention is often made in Sanskrit poetry. What confirms this conjecture is the following passage in Kang-he's dictionary, under the character *pu*: "*pu-ti* is the name of a tree which grows in the kingdom of Mo-kea-to (Magadha)."—*J. A. S. B. n. s.* p. 69.

[52] The Encyclopædia *Fa-yuen-chu-lin* (book cxx.) gives him the title of Ch'ao-san-ta-fu, a sort of aulic councillor; a title which we shall see farther on was conferred on him after he had completed his travels. Unfortunately the history which he composed in twelve books has not come down to us.

[53] Pauthier, *u. s.* p. 53.

[54] This authoritative demand, if it be not introduced here, as the facts, indeed, show, to gratify Chinese vanity, would denote that, at this period, Tibet was already dependent on the Chinese empire as well as several other neighbouring kingdoms.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.*

[55] Nepâla: see the account given by Ma-twan-lin (book cccxxxv., fol. 14) in the translation by M. Rêmusat. *Nouv. Mél. Asiat.* t. I. p. 193.

[56] The name of this town, which should be pronounced Davahara (?), is not found in any other Chinese work.

Pauthier reads Tu-pu-ho-lo. *Tu* (the first character) may be read *cha* or *tsa*. If it be read *cha*, the pronunciation of the epoch in question Cha-pu-ho-lo would be an exact transcription of Champaran, a city placed by Abu'l Fazl in Behâr, the ancient kingdom of Magadha—and probably the same as Chaprâ, on the Ganges higher up than Pâtna; for Chaprâ is but a variation of Champâram, as the latter is likewise of Champaranagara.—*J. A. S. B. n. s*

[57] The Godâvarî is suggested in the *J. A. S. B. n. s.* p. 69.

[58] Another author writes in the same place Kia-pi-li (Kapila). Cf. *Pien-i-tien* book lviii.

[59] This kingdom must be that of Kâma-rûpa, mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription on the column of Allahabad, and which formed the western part of the kingdom of Assam, on the frontiers of Tibet. The syllable *kâ* is well represented by *kea*, as *ma* is by *mo*, and *rû* by *lu*; the last syllable *pa* is not transcribed. It is worthy of remark that it is a general law of transcription from Sanskrit into Chinese, that the short *a* should be represented in the latter by *o*.—*J. A. S. B. n. s.* p. 70.

emperor[60] being attacked by a mortal malady ordered him to prepare his marvellous remedy. Thsui-tun-li, chief minister of war, was ordered to protect and watch over his emissaries, who would be obliged to travel through all the empire to collect medicinal plants of extraordinary virtue, and very rare minerals, some of them even went into all the kingdoms of the Po-lo-men (Brahmans). *According to him*, the river called Pan-da-fa[61] flows out of a stone trough, and is guarded by men hewn out of stone. It has seven kinds of waters: some are hot and others cold: the former dissolve rapidly plants, herbs and metals. If any one plunges his hand into it, he finds it cooked and dissolved the same moment. This water is drawn with the skull of a camel, and poured into a calabash.

"There is a tree called *ta-laï-la*, the leaves of which resemble those of the *li* (a kind of ebony): it grows on the rugged sides of a perpendicularly shaped mountain, the approach to which is guarded by a serpent hidden in a cave. Those who wish to obtain the leaves, knock them down by shooting arrows with four cornered points against the branches, but they are soon carried off by the birds, they shoot more arrows, and at last obtain the leaves." Such were the fables which this quack narrated. But at last, his magical science having remained ineffectual, the emperor permitted him to return; but before he had time to set out he died at Chang'an.[62]

While the Emperor Kao-tsong, (who mounted the throne in 650 A.D.) was reigning, Lu-kia-y-to[63] (Lokâditya), a native of U-ta,[64] obtained an interview with him by aid of his (pretended) knowledge of magic. He received the title of Hoaï-hoa-ta-tsiang-kiun.

In the third year[65] of the *Khien-fong* period (668 A. D.), the kings of the five Indias all came to do homage to the emperor.

In the *Khaï-yuen* period (713—714) ambassadors came three times from Central India, and once an envoy came from Southern India. They brought a bird which could speak, and whose plumage was of five colours. They asked troops to punish the Ta-shi[66] (the Tâzî —Arabs)[67] and the Tu-fan (Thibetans), and desired the emperor to give their army an honorary name. Hiwen-tsong passed a decree, in which he gave it the name Hoaï-te-kiun (the army which cherishes virtue).

"Foreigners," the ambassador said, "think themselves honoured only when they receive a cloak and a girdle; upon which the emperor made him a present of a brocaded cloak, a leathern girdle enriched with gold, a satchel ornamented with fishes,[68] and seven other valuable articles.

The king of Northern India came once to do homage to the emperor.

Towards the end of the *Khien-yuen* period (668—670), China having lost the country of Ho-long, the kings of India ceased from that time to come to court. In the third year of the *Kwang-shun* period (953 A.D.) sixteen Samaneans from Western India, Sa-man-to (*Samanta*) and others, brought some very fine horses as tribute.

[60] Tae-tsung, who reigned from A.D. 626 to 649.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.*

[61] This is a very exact transcription of the Persian word پنجاب Panjâb, the 'five waters,' or 'five rivers' (in Sanskrit *Panchananda*). The last syllable *fa* in the Chinese transcription represents the more faithfully the syllable *âb*, inasmuch as the consonants composing it are two labials very often taken one for the other.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.*

[62] The Capital of China at that time.—Pauthier, *u. s.* p. 58.

[63] That is, *Lôkâyatika*, or follower of the atheistical system of philosophy founded by Chârwâka, entitled *Lôkâyata* (see Mr. Colebrooke's *Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus*). The suffix *ka*, which forms collective names in Sanskrit, is represented in Chinese by the character *che*, which serves in like manner to form adjectives and collective names in Chinese.—*J. A. S. B. u. s.* p. 71.

[64] *Niao-ta* is the word in the text; it is a mistake for *Uda* (Odra, now Orissa). Pauthier, however, says it was also called Kiwan-yu-mo, where were many stûpas, &c.—*Examen*, p. 59 n

[65] The other account has the *second* year (667 A. D.)—Pauthier, *u. s.* p. 59.

[66] See D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, tom. I. p. 217; Bretschneider's *Mediæval Geog. and Hist.* pp. 42 ff.—ED.

[67] *Ta-shi* 'great eaters,' (rather *tâzi*, Arabians) is the name by which the Chinese designate the Arabs. This curious passage throws great light on this obscure period of Indian history, and confirms a fact hitherto scarcely noticed, but which has been asserted by two Arabian authors Almakin and Abu'l Feda, namely the invasion of India by the Arabs at the beginning of the eighth century. "Muhammad ben Kâsim," says the former, in his *History of the Sarrasins*, "took India; he obtained possession of the countries adjoining the Sind (Indus), gave battle to Dahar, who was king of them, vanquished him, made him prisoner, and put him to death." The other, in his Musalman Annals, translated by Reiske, says "Muhammed ben Kâsim overran India as conqueror." But the following is a passage, curious in another respect, concerning the same fact; it is taken from the *History of the Empire of the Khalifs*, translated from Tabari (Turkish edition), for a knowledge of which we are indebted to M. Reinaud:—'This same year 87 (A.D. 709) was gloriously terminated by the defeat of 200,000 barbarians, who had entered the country of the Musalmans, commanded by Beghabun, nephew of the emperor of China. The Musalmans confessed that they owed this important victory to the protection of God.'—*J. A. S. B.* vol. VI. p. 71.

On the Ta-shi, see Breitschneider, *On the knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs, &c.* (Trübner, London 1871).—ED.

[68] We see in the Thang annals, that these fishes were sometimes made of jade, and sometimes carved in gold or silver.

In the third year of the *Khien-te* period of the Songs (965 A. D.) Tao-yuen, a Buddhist monk of Tsang-choü, returned from the Si-yu (Western countries). Having obtained a portion of the *she-li* (Śarîrâ) or relics of Buddha, namely, a vase of rock crystal and forty bundles of Indian books written on palm leaves, he came to offer them in homage to the emperor.

Tao-yuen had gone to visit the Si-yu in the *Thien-fu* period (947 A.D.), and had travelled for twelve years. He had resided for six years in the five Indias. By the five Indias Thien-chu is meant. On his way back he passed through Yü-thien[69] (Khotan), and arrived at the same time as the ambassadors (of the emperor). Thaï-tsu called him to the palace and questioned him on the customs, mountains, rivers and itinerary of the countries through which he had travelled. To all of these questions he gave answers.

In the fourth year of the *Khien-te* period (966 A. D.) the monk Hing-kin, followed by fifty-six companions, came to the gate of the palace, and told the emperor that he wished to go to the Si-yu (the Western countries) to obtain some Buddhist books. His request was granted.

They travelled through the districts of Khancheu, Sha-cheu, I-cheu, Su-cheu, etc. the kingdoms of Yen-ki (now Kharashar), Kieu-tse (Kuche),[70] Yu-thien (Khotan), Ko-lo (Kolom), etc. They passed also through the kingdoms of Pu-lu-sha (Purushapura, now Pêshâwar), Kia-shi-mi-lo (Kashmir), etc. and all the Princes passed decrees and issued orders to the inhabitants to be careful to guide and conduct them.

After the *Khaï-pao* period (968—975) several[71] Indian monks arrived without molestation, bringing with them Buddhist manuscripts to give to the emperor.

In the winter of the eighth year (976), Yang-kie-küang-lo (others read Yang-kie-shue-lo, Aṅgkasvara?), son of the king of Eastern India, came to pay tribute and do homage to the emperor.

According to the laws of India, when a king dies, he is succeeded by his eldest son (Kumârarâja); the other sons leave the family and embrace a religious life, and they are no longer allowed to reside in their native kingdom.

The king of Eastern India had a son called Man-chu-shi-li (Mañjuśrî), who arrived at the capital in the train of some Chinese monks. Thaï-tsong (who mounted the throne in 976) ordered him to be lodged in the Siang-küê-sse convent. He observed rigidly the Buddhist precepts, and won the esteem and admiration of the inhabitants of the capital. The emperor having loaded him with riches and favours, all the monks envied and hated him, and as he did not understand the Chinese language, they fabricated a false petition, in which they represented him as asking permission to go back to his own country. The emperor granted him permission.

When the decree was passed, Man-chu-shi-li (Mañjuśrî) was at first filled with stupor and indignation. The monks told him that the decree was irrevokable. After some months he went away, announcing that he was going to the coasts of the Southern Sea on board a merchant vessel. It was never known to what country he went.

In the seventh year of the *Thaï-p'ing-hing-küê* period (986 A. D.), Küang-yüen, a monk of I-cheü, went to India, and on his return brought the emperor a letter from the king of that country whose name was Mo-si-nang. The emperor ordered Shi-hu (Dânapâla?), an Indian monk, to translate it into Chinese. The following is the letter:—"Lately I have learned that there is in the kingdom of China a king as great as he is enlightened, perfectly holy, perfectly intelligent, and who by his majesty and power reigns supreme. Every day I think with confusion of my bad fortune, and lament that I cannot go in person to pay homage to you. From afar I look affectionately towards the capital of China and wish your holy person ten thousand felicities.

"On the arrival of Küang-yüen, I had the honour to receive a holy statuette enriched with diamonds, representing Śâkyamuni seated in the attitude of felicity and divine calm. I clothed myself in *kia-sha*, and made offerings to him.

"I humbly desire that the august emperor of China may obtain perfect felicity and understanding, that he may enjoy long life in order to guide every creature to happiness, and that

[69] Hu-t'an, Bretschneider, *ut. sup.* p. 151.—ED.
[70] Bretschneider, *ut. sup.* p. 149.
[71] Pauthier says 'one',—*u.s.* p. 70.

he may enable all those who are exposed to shipwreck, to sail over the immense sea of life and death. Now I have entrusted Küang-yüen with some relics of Śâkyamuni, that he may present to your majesty on my behalf."

S h i-h u (Danâpâla ?) also translated a letter from the monks of India as a body which in its style and thoughts resembled that of king Mo-si-nang.

According to the Samanean S h i - h u (Dânapâla ?) "the kingdom of U-t i e n-n a n g (Udyâna)[72] belongs to Northern India. After twelve days' travelling in a westerly direction, one arrives at the kingdom of K h i e n-t h o-l o (Gandhâra); at the end of other twelve days, journeying in the same direction one comes to the kingdom of N a n g-g o-l o-k i a-l o (Nagarahâra); after journeying ten days more, still in the same direction, the kingdom of L a n-p o (Lampa, Lamghân)[73] is reached, at the end of other ten days, still travelling towards the west, one arrives at the kingdom of G o - j e - n a n g[74] (Gajana); continuing the journey towards the west the kingdom of P o-s s e (Pars'a, Persia) is at last reached; thence one can set sail on the western sea.

"The journey from Northern to Central India occupies a hundred and twenty days.

"From Central India travelling towards the west, after three halts A-l a-w e ï (?) is reached; and if the journey is continued in the same direction for twelve days more, one comes[75] to K a-r a-n a-k i ü-j e (the second syllable is not required—Kanyakubja, Kanauj); at the end of other twelve days' travelling one arrives at the kingdom of M a-l a-w e ï; after a journey of twelve days more, still in a westerly direction, one reaches the kingdom of U-j e n-n i[76] (Ujjayani); if one continues journeying in the same direction for twenty-five days more the kingdom of L o-l o (Lara ?) is arrived at, and after other forty days one comes to the kingdom of S u-l a-t a (Surâshṭra).

"From Surâshṭra to the Western Sea is a journey of eleven days.

"It generally takes three months to travel from Central to Southern India; thence after journeying eighty-six days towards the west one arrives at the kingdom of K o n g-k i a - n a (Konkaṇapura),[77] from which another day's travelling in the same direction brings one to the sea.

"If one sets out from Southern India, and travels in a southerly direction, he will reach the southern sea at the end of six months."

Such were the itineraries which the monk S h i-h u (Dânâpâla ?) made known.[78]

In the eighth year (983 A.D.) a monk called F a-y u, who had gone to India to search for Buddhist books, arrived on his way back to China at the kingdom of S a n-f o-t s i (part of Sumatra), where he met an Indian monk called M e ï-m o-l o-s h i-l i (Mîmaraśri ?),[79] who after a short interview asked him to take charge of a letter in which he expressed a desire to go to the kingdom of China to explain the sacred books.

The emperor passed a friendly decree calling him to the capital.

F a-y u set himself to beg, and caused a dais to be made ornamented with dragons and a *kia-sha* (a kind of religious dress, from the Sanskrit word *kashâya*, brown).

Being desirous of returning to India he asked imperial letters of recommendation to the foreign princes whose dominions he would have to travel through. He presented them to the king of S a n-f o-t s i (Sumatra); whence he came after a long voyage to the Prince of A-k u-l a and K i e-m a n g (Kâma ?), steward of cavalry, chief of the kingdoms of K o-l a n and T s a n-t a-l o (Chandra) and king of Western India, whose son Mu-tho-sien (Mudhâsîna ?) gave him on his departure letters of recommendation.

In the *Yong-hi* period (984—988 A.D.) Thse-han, a monk from W e ï-c h e ü, returning from the S i-y u (the western countries), with a foreign monk named Mi-tan-lo (Mitra), brought letters from the king of Northern India and N a-l a n-t h o (Nalanda), who sat on a throne ornamented with diamonds (*Vajrâsanam*).

[72] Conf. Stan. Julien *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 85; *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* t. I. pp. 131, 149; t. II. pp. 313 seqq; Beal's *Fa-hian* (c. 8), p. 26.—ED.

[73] *Vie de H. T.* pp. 73, 96, 264; *Mém.* t. I. p. 95; t. II. p. 300; Lampaca in Ptol. *Geog.* lib. VII. c. i. § 42.—ED.

[74] Ghazna, Bretschneider, *u. s.* p. 171.

[75] In this passage, which is an extract from the Song annals, Ma-twan-lin has omitted twenty-three words, of which the following is the meaning:—"We arrive at the kingdom of W e ï-n a n g-l o or M o-n a n g-l o (*wei* is often written for *mo*; the latter spelling would give the sound Manara ?). After travelling twelve days towards the west one arrives (at Kanyakubja).'

[76] There is a mistake in the text, where we read *niao* instead of *n*.

[77] *Vie de H. T.* p. 201; *Mém.* t. II. pp. 146, 400.—ED.

[78] Pauthier, *u. s.* p. 77.

[79] Pandit Bhagvanlâl suggests Vimalaśri.—ED.

A Brahman called Yong-hi and a heretical sectarian from Persia called A-li-in also arrived at the capital. Yong-shi announced that his native kingdom was called Li-te, and that the king's name was Ya-lo-ŭ-tê; and his surname A-je-ni-fo; he was clothed in yellow, and wore a golden headdress ornamented with the seven precious things.[80] When he went out he mounted an elephant, or was borne in a palanquin. His retinue was preceded by musicians who sang melodious songs accompanied by the sound of conch shells and cymbals. He often visited the Buddhist convents, and distributed abundant alms to the poor. The queen's name was Mo-ho-ni (Mahâni?); she wore a robe of red taffeta, enriched with thin plates of chased gold. She only went out once a year, when she distributed generous gifts for the relief of the unfortunate. If any one had an act of injustice or tyranny to complain of, he waited till the king or queen went out to walk; he then followed them, and laid open his grievances. There were four ministers of justice who directed the administration of the kingdom, and decided all affairs.

The different kinds of grain, the domestic animals and the different kinds of fruit were the same as in China. In the markets and for all commercial transactions they made use of copper coins.

The face and the back of these coins were distinguished as in China by different inscriptions or ornaments; they were round and of the same diameter as those of China; but the centre was full and not pierced by a hole for the purpose of stringing them on a cord.

After six months' travelling in an easterly direction from this kingdom one comes to the kingdom of the Ta-shi (Tâzi, Arabs); two months after to Si-cheü (Turfan, country of the Uïgurs); and three months after that to Hia-cheü.

A-li-in added that the king of his native country had taken the title of He-i (which means 'clothed in black'[81]); his family name was Chang, and his surname Li-li-mo. He wore clothing of brocaded silk of different colours. Every time that he went out to walk or hunt he was absent two or three days; he took a whole day to return. The administration of public affairs was entrusted to nine persons of the highest rank.

The inhabitants do not make use of coins in their commercial transactions; there are many different articles which they exchange for goods.

Six months' travelling in an Easterly direction from this country, brings one to the kingdom of the Brahmans (India).[82]

In the second year of the *Chi-tao* period (996 A. D.) an Indian monk came to China on board a merchant vessel. He brought a bell to the emperor, a clapper (of a bell) ornamented with little bells, a little copper bell, a statuette of Buddha, and a sacred book written on palm leaves. He did not understand the Chinese language.

In the third and fourth years of the *Thien-shing* period (1025—1026 A. D.) some Indian monks of Western India, 'A ï-hi on-chi (which means loving the knowledge which wise men possess, Prabhajñânapriya?), Sin-hu (*i. e.* protector of the faith, Praṇayapâla?), and others came to present Buddhist books written on palm leaves. The emperor gave each of them a violet cloak of a square shape, and a rich girdle.

In the second month of the fifth year (1027), five monks, namely: Fa-kie-tsiang (which means happiness of the law, Dharmaśri?), and others came, bringing to the emperor Buddhist books; he gave each of them a violet mantle of a square shape.

In the first month of the third year of the *King-yeü* period[83] (1034 A. D.), nine monks, namely: Shen-ching (*i. e.* he who has a good reputation, Suyaśas?), etc., came to give the emperor some Buddhist books and relics of Buddha, and also a little statue of Tongya-pu-sa (*i.e.* Bodhisattva with copper teeth, Tâmradantabodhisattva?). The emperor gave them pieces of silk.[84]

[80] Namely; 1st, Su-fa-lo (*Suvarna*), gold; 2nd, A-lu-pa (*Rûpya*), silver; 3rd, Lieü-li (*Vaidûrya*), lapis lazuli; 4th, Pho-li (*Sphaṭika*) rock crystal; 5th, Meü-so-lo-kie-la-po (*Masâragarbha*), emerald; 6th, Mo-lo-kia-li, the agate; 7th, Po-ma-lo-kia (*Padmarâga*), the ruby: (Cf. *San-tsang-fa-su*, book xxx. fol. 14).

[81] This expression refers to the Abbaside Khalifs. The Khalif who reigned in Persia about this time (974—991 A.D.) was Thay Lillah; (see *L'art de vérifier les dates*, page 478).

[82] Pauthier, *u. s.* pp. 79-82.

[83] Pauthier gives 1036 A.D.—*Ex.* p. 83.

[84] Pauthier's account comes down to A.D. 1439 (*Examen*, pp. 84—96).

THE HASTÂMALAKA.

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The poem, of which I give the text and translation below, is one which is very well known in India, but has never been printed in Europe. Most educated natives know it by heart, and it is universally considered as one of the best summaries of the Vedânta doctrines. Its authorship is uncertain; but there are two commentaries upon it, each of which curiously enough is ascribed to Śankara Âchârya, the celebrated Vedantist teacher of the eighth or ninth century. Dr. Hall in his *Bibliographical Index* ascribes the poem to Hastâmalaka. The twelfth stanza is quoted in the *Vedânta-sâra* (the only quotation which I have noticed from the work), and Hastâmalaka is mentioned as the author in the *Vidwan-manoranjinî* Commentary on the *Vedânta-sâra* by Râmatîrtha-yati. Hastâmalaka is celebrated as one of Śankara's earliest disciples; and he is afterwards said to have founded a modified form of Vedântism recognizing Vishṇu as the supreme Brahma. It is probable, however, that the title of the poem has no reference to any author, as *hastâmalaka* may simply mean 'a myrobalan in the hand,' and thus be used metaphorically to signify something very plain and obvious, as the round fruit on the open palm. The phrase is thus used in the *Vajraśuchi Upanishad* (Weber's ed. p. 213, 10), where the true Brâhman is described as the 'contented man, free from desires and passions, who sees everything as visibly before him as a myrobalan on the palm of his hand' (*karatalâmalakam iva*)[1]; and this is the interpretation which one of my Paṇḍits in Calcutta gave to the title.

The ultimate identity of the individual and the supreme soul is the great tenet of the Vedânta. 'That art thou' (*tat twam asi*) is the first lesson of the neophyte, and the last vision of the perfected mystic. The one supreme soul alone exists; all the separate consciousnesses of individuals are but the reflection of the one soul on the multitudinous 'internal organs' which are the creation of 'ignorance' or illusion. To reach reality we must strip off the successive veils—the waking world first (where the soul is disguised by the gross effects) and the world of dreams next (where it is disguised by the subtle effects), till we reach that of sound sleep. Here for the time the individual soul does attain its real nature, but its inherent delusion remains latent, and is still capable of being called out into actuality. Only the knowledge of the highest truth, as taught in the Vedânta, can abolish ignorance, and so destroy personality in its germ.[2]

The soul's real nature, as identical with Brahma, is always described as 'essentially existent, intelligence, and joy'; but though defined as essentially intelligence, this intelligence is not exercised on any object, as all objects, as well as the internal organ or 'mind' which cognizes transient perceptions, are produced by 'ignorance' and therefore unreal. There is a striking verse of the *Yoga-vâśishṭa*[3]:—

"As would be the pure nature of light if all that is illumined by it, as space, earth, and ether, were annihilated, such is the loneliness of the pure-essenced spectator (soul), when all objects, as I, thou, and the three worlds, have passed into non-existence."

"Kastvaṁ śiśo kasya kuto 'si gantâ
kiṁ nâma te tvaṁ kuta âgato 'si |
etadvada tvaṁ mama suprasiddhaṁ
matprîtaye prîtivivardhano 'si" || 1 ||
Nâhaṁ manushyo na cha devayaksho
na brâhmaṇakshatriyavaiśyaśûdraḥ |
na brahmachârî na gṛihî vanastho
bhikshur na châhaṁ nijabodharûpaḥ || 2 ||
Nimittaṁ manaśchakshurâdipravṛittau
nirastâkhilopâdhir âkâśarûpaḥ |
ravir lokacheshṭânimittaṁ yathâ yaḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 3 ||
Yam agnyushṇavannityabodhasvarûpaṁ
manaśchakshurâdîny abodhâtmakâni |
pravartanta âśritya nishkampam ekaṁ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 4 ||
Mukhâbhâsako darpaṇe dṛiśyamâno
mukhatvât pṛithaktvena naivâsti vastu |
chidâbhâsako dhîshu jîvo 'pi tadvat
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 5 ||

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[1] Cf. also Vijnâna-bhikshu, *Comm. on Sânkhya Sûtra*, p. 96, 2 infr.

[2] There is a remarkable passage in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena* I. p. 29.—τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φῶς ὅ φασι λόγον τὸν θεὸν, αὐτοὺς μόνους εἰδέναι Βραχμᾶνας λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπορρίψαι μόνους τὴν κενοδοξίαν, ὅ ἐστι χιτὼν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔσχατος.

[3] Quoted in Vijnâna-bhikshu's *Comm. on Sânkhya Sûtra*, p. 97.

Yathâ darpaṇâbhâva âbhâsahânau
mukhaṁ vidyate kalpanâhînam ekam |
tathâ dhîviyoge nirâbhâsako yaḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 6 ||
Manaśchakshurâder vimuktaḥ svayaṁ yo
manaśchakshurâder manaśchakshurâdiḥ |
manaśchakshurâder agamyasvarûpaḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 7 ||
Ya eko vibhâti svataḥ śuddhachetâḥ[4]
prakâśasvarûpo 'pi nâneva dhîshu |
śarâvodakastho yathâ bhânur ekaḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 8 ||
Yathânekachakshuḥprakâśo ravir na
krameṇa prakâśîkaroti prakaśyam |
anekâ dhiyo yas tathaikaprábodhaḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 9 ||
Vivasvatprabhâtaṁ yathâ rûpam akshaṁ
pragṛihṇâti nâbhâtam evaṁ vivasvân |
tathâ bhâta âbhâsayatyaksham ekaḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 10 ||
Yathâ sûrya eko 'psv anekaśchalâsu
sthirâsv apyananvagvibhâvyasvarûpaḥ[5] |
chalâsu prabhinnâsu dhîshveka evaṁ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 11 ||
Ghanachchhannadṛishṭir ghanachchhannam arkaṁ
yathâ nishprabhaṁ manyáte châtimuḍhaḥ |
tathâ baddhavad bhâti yo muḍhadṛishṭeḥ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 12 ||
samasteshu vastushv anusyûtamekaṁ
samastâni vastûni yaṁ na spriśanti |
viyadvat sadâ śuddham achchhasvarûpaṁ
sa nityopalabdhisvarûpo 'hamâtmâ || 13 ||
Upâdhau yathâ bhedatâ sanmaṇînâṁ
tathâ bhedatâ buddhibhedeshu te 'pi |
yathâ chandrakâṇaṁ jale chañchalatvaṁ
tathâ chañchalatvaṁ tavâpîha Vishṇo || 14 ||

1. 'Who art thou, my child, and whose, and whither goest thou? What is thy name, and whence art thou come? Tell me all this clearly to gladden me,—thou fillest my heart with gladness.'

2. 'I am not a man nor a god nor a demigod, no Brâhman, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, nor Śûdra; no student, nor householder, nor anchorite, nor religious mendicant; innate Knowledge am I.

3. 'That which is the cause of the action of mind, eye, and the rest, as the sun is the cause of the movements of living beings, but which itself is void of all conditioning disguises, like the infinite ether,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

4. 'That which being itself one, unchangeable, and essentially eternal knowledge (as fire is essentially heat), is the substratum which bears, as they act, the mind, eye, and the rest, which are mere Ignorance[6],—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

5. 'The reflection of the face seen in the mirror is nothing in itself as separated from the face, so is the personal soul in itself nothing, the reflection of Intelligence on the internal organ,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

6. 'As the reflection vanishes when the mirror is not, and the face remains alone, apart from all delusion, so that Soul which remains without a reflection when the understanding is not,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

7. 'That which abiding aloof from mind, eye, and the rest, is itself mind, eye, and the rest to mind, eye, and the rest, and whose nature mind, eye, and the rest cannot reach,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

8. 'That which, being one, shines forth self-manifested, possessing pure intelligence, and itself essential light, and which yet appears as though variously modified in various internal organs, as the one sun shines reflected in the water of different vessels—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

9. 'As the sun, illumining countless eyes, illumines at the same moment the object to each, so that Soul, the one intelligence, which illumines countless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

10. 'As the bodily sense illumined by the sun grasps the form of the object, but when unillumined grasps it not, so *that* by which the one sun must be itself illumined to illumine the sense,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

11. 'As the one sun seems many in the agitated waters, and even when reflected in still waters must be yet recognized as really separate, so that which, though really one,

[4] I. O. Lib. MS. reads *śuddhachetâḥ*.
[5] *ananvak-prithak*. Comm.
[6] The MS. Comm. takes it differently :—"that which being itself one, unchangeable, and essentially eternal knowledge, is the substratum which bears as they act, the mind, eye and the rest, which are mere ignorance,—as the fire is the substratum that bears the heat,—that Soul, essentially, &c."

seems many in the restless internal organs,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

12. 'As he whose eye is covered with a cloud thinks in his delusion that the sun is clouded and has lost its light, so that soul which seems bound to him whose mind's eye is blind,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

13 'That which being in itself one, is strung through all things and with which nothing ever yet comes in contact, and which, like the ether, is always pure and uncontaminated[7] in its nature,—that Soul, essentially eternal perception, am I.

14. 'As the pure crystals appear different by the presence of a disguiser,[8] so thou too appearest different by the diversity of individual minds; as the moonbeams appear to be tremulous in the water, so thou too, O Vishṇu, appearest to flicker in our world!'

Of the two different commentaries on the *Hastâmalaka*, ascribed to Śankara Âchârya, one was printed at the end of the Calcutta edition of the *Vedânta-sâra*, in 1853; there is a MS. of the other in the India Office Library, belonging to the Gaikwâḍ collection, and copied Samvat 1563 (A.D. 1506). Both profess to claim Śankara Âchârya as their author, but both, especially the latter, are far too diffuse to vindicate their claim to have been written by the greatest philosophical author that India has produced. As a specimen of each I subjoin the introductory passage, in which each professes to explain the origin and object of the poem. Neither gloss comments on the first two stanzas, as found in our present text; both begin their explanations with the third.

The commentary in the E. I. Library (MS. 2532) thus opens: "a certain student, who had attained supreme knowledge, and who had assumed the last body before absolute emancipation, having been ejected from home by his relations because he seemed obstinately dumb, was pointed out by his father, and accordingly asked by the author of the commentary (on the *Vedânta-Sûtras*, *i.e.* Śankara), 'who art thou?' Desiring that others also might have a dignity like his own, he proceeded accordingly to describe his own pre-eminence, and to declare himself in the following stanzas (*i.e.* beginning with the third.)"[9]

The other Commentary opens with the following introduction:

"All beings here have an instinctive desire to obtain happiness and to escape pain; now a certain person, possessed of a pre-eminent amount of merit, and considering worldly happiness as only so much pain from its inseparable connection with pain and from its transitoriness, becomes thoroughly disgusted with all mundane existence, and in his disgust he strives to escape from its bonds; and his teacher, telling him that the ignorance of the soul's nature is the cause of all mundane existence, and the knowledge thereof the cause of its abolition, instructs him accordingly in the knowledge of the individual soul."

Neither of these opening paragraphs gives any hints as to the author or the real circumstances of the composition of the poem. A Bengali translation inserts a curious legend, that Śankara, in the course of his wanderings as a religious reformer, met one day in the road a certain beautiful youth, whom he addressed in the words of the first verse, and who repeated the remainder of the poem as his reply; but there seems no authority for this story.

There is a curious parallel to the *Hastâmalaka* in an ode of the great Persian mystic Shamsi Tabrîz, quoted by Erskine in the first volume (p. 108) of the *Bombay Literary Society's Transactions*:—

"What advice, O Musalmâns, as I do not know myself;

I am neither Christian nor Jew, nor am I a fire-worshipper nor Musulmân.

I am not from the East nor the West, nor am I of land or fire,

I am not from the country of 'Îrâk, nor am I from the land of Khurâsân.

I am neither of water nor air, nor am I of fire or earth;

I am not of Adam or Eve, nor am I of the inhabitants of paradise.

My place is no place, my sign is without sign:

I have neither body nor soul,—what is there then? I am the soul of my beloved."[10]

[7] The printed Comm. explains *achchha* as *amûrtta*, the MS. as *samsarga rahita*. [8] As the China rose reflected in it.

[9] *Kaśchid utpanna-jnânî âvirbhûtacharamadehaḥ swajanênamûkatwêna vahishkritaḥ pitrâ pradarśito bhâshyakṛidbhiḥ 'kas twam' iti prishṭaḥ swânubhavam prakaṭayann 'anyeshâm apy anubhavo bhûyân madvad' iti manvane yathâvad âtmânam âchachakshe 'nimittam' ityâdibhir dwâdaśabhiḥ ślokaiḥ.*

[10] From *The Journal of Philology*, Vol. VI. (1876) pp. 161-169.

MISCELLANEA.

ON SULASÂ.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

In my translation of the Kuḍâ Inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* VII. 254) I have identified Sulasâ, in the name Sulasadata, with the modern Tulsî the Prâkṛit names of which plant, viz. *Sulasâ* and *Sulasamañjarî*, Dr. Bühler had pointed out to me. I have since met, in Śîlâṅka's commentary on the *Âchârâṅga Sûtra*, written in the Śâka year 798, with Sulasâ as one of the *jaganmâtaras* or mothers of the world. She is there said to be the mother of all snake races. The name Sulasâdatta is thus on the same line with three more snake-names occurring in the same inscriptions: Nâga in No. 11, Nâginikâ in No. 2, and Sarpilâ in Nos. 3 and 9.

The word *sulasa* for snake, is derived from the root *las*, and means originally either the agile one or the shining one. What connection there is between the mother of the snake-races and the *Tulasî*, if there be any, I dare not decide.

The passage in question makes part of an account of the different opinions regarding the origin and nature of the universe (Calcutta edition vol. I. p. 348):

Asîd idaṁ tamobhûtam apnajñânam (sic) *alakshaṇam | apratarkyam avijñeyam prasuptam iva sarvataḥ* || (*cf. Manu,* I. 6) *tasmin ekârṇavîbhûte nashṭe sthâvarajaṅgame | nashṭâmaranare chaiva pranashṭoragarâkshase || kevalaṁ gahvarîbhûte mahâbhûtavivarjite | achintyâtmâ vibhus tatra śayânas tapyate tapaḥ || tatra tasya śayânasya nâbheḥ padmaṁ vinirgatam | tarunarari* (read *bâlârka*) *maṇḍalanibhaṁ hṛidyaṁ kâñchanakarṇikam || tasmin padme prabhagavân daṇḍî yajñopavîtasaṁyuktaḥ* (read °*vîtakaḥ*) | *brahmâ tatrotpannas tena jaganmâtaraḥ sṛishṭâḥ :*

Aditiḥ surasaṅghânâṁ Ditir asurâṇam Manur manushyânâm | Vinatâ vihaṅgânâm mâtâ viśvaprakârâṇâm || Kadruḥ sarîsṛipâṇâṁ Sulasâ mâtâ tu nâgajâtînâm | Surabhiḥ chatushpadânâm Ilâ punaḥ sarvabîjânâm || ity âdi.

These *jaganmâtaras* remind us of the Greek goddesses called μητέρες, a temple of which was, according to Plutarch (*Marc.*), in the old Sicilian town Engyion.

Professor HERMANN JACOBI.

Münster, Westphalia.

BUNDAHISH MSS.

A few months ago (in the *Academy* of May 3, 1879; see *ante*, vol. VIII. p. 262) I was able to announce the existence of a Pahlavi manuscript, in Bombay, containing a more complete text of the *Bundahish* than that hitherto known; and I can now report the existence in Europe of a small fragment of what appears to have been a similar text.

When the late Professor Westergaard of Köpenhagen returned from Persia in 1844, he brought with him two imperfect Pahlavi MSS., which he had obtained most probably at Kirmân. One of these he kindly lent me in 1878, when I found it had lost 71 folios at the beginning and some 35 at the end, but the remaining 181 folios contained the whole of the ninety-two questions and answers of the *Dâdistân-i Dînîk*, together with a considerable portion of the writings which usually precede and follow that Pahlavi text in the most complete MSS. This MS., which was probably written in A.D. 1572, was presented by Westergaard to the University Library at Köpenhagen a few hours before his death.

The other MS. appears to have commenced with the *Bundahish*, of which the first 129 folios are lost, leaving only the last page of the text followed by a colophon written in A.D. 1567; next comes the Pahlavi text of the *Mainôk-i-Khard* written A.D. 1569; and after that some short texts, said to be of minor importance. I am indebted to Professor Hoffmann of Kiel for directing my attention to this small fragment of the *Bundahish*, and for kindly sending me a facsimile of it. It contains only the last few sentences of the last chapter, interspersed with some additional phrases, so as to form a text of similar character to that contained in the recently-reported MS. in Bombay. There has, as yet, been no opportunity of comparing it with the corresponding part of the Bombay MS., but, as the 129 missing folios would have been exactly sufficient to contain the remainder of the text existing in that MS., there can be very little doubt that Westergaard's MS. formerly contained the same more complete and extensive text of the *Bundahish*, amounting to nearly 30,000 words, instead of the 13,000, which have hitherto been supposed to be the extent of the work.

That these manuscripts should have remained one-third of a century in Europe, before their exact character could be ascertained by comparison with other copies of the same texts, is surely an argument in favour of a searching examination of all Pârsî libraries, by some one thoroughly acquainted with all known Pahlavi and Avesta texts, to ascertain not only where the best copies exist, but also what fragments of unknown texts may yet survive. Such an examination must be of the most searching character to be of any use, so as to account for the text on every folio of every manuscript, and to ascertain the name and date of

every copyist. Unfortunately, the owners of such MSS. can rarely give much trustworthy information on these points, and are apt to have very erroneous ideas of the contents and importance of their books.

Munich, Nov. 26, 1879. E. W. WEST.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII. p.* 339.)

EVILS OF INDECISION.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 3814.

The dilatory men who let
The time for action pass away,
Though long they seek, can seldom get
Another opportunity.

HARSH SPEECH.

Mahâbhârata, i. 3559; v. 12667.

Of all men him most luckless deem
With thorns of speech who others tears,
Who on his lips, with taunts that teem,
Destruction's cursing Goddess bears.[1]

THE CLAIMS AND DUTIES OF FRIENDSHIP.

Mahâbhârata, v. 3317.

That mortal—sages heartless call
That does not help his friends in need,
Who does not kindly warn and lead
Whene'er they seem about to fall.

He merits praise, who urged by care
His friend from folly back to hold,
Should use all means, and, waxing bold,
Should even seize him by the hair.

BOOK NOTICES.

INTRODUCTION to the SCIENCE of RELIGION. By F. Max Müller, M.A., cr. 8vo. London: Longmans & Co.

LECTURES on the ORIGIN and GROWTH of RELIGION as illustrated by the Religions of India. By F. Max Müller, M.A. London, 1878.

These are two interesting volumes, written with all the ease and elegance characteristic of one who is at once a master of his subject and the art of exposition and the language he employs. Professor Max Müller writes with singular grace, so adorns whatever he handles, and so illuminates it with the most felicitous illustrations that his abstrusest discussions flow and fascinate as if they were vivid historical narrations. In an age remarkable for the number of eminent men of science who are also eminent men of letters, he has the literary gift in so remarkable a degree that he not only has secured an audience for the sciences he specially cultivates, but may be said more than any other man who uses the English tongue to have created, in circles that usually fear and flee the dry and the recondite, something akin to an enthusiasm for the study of the languages and religions of the world. In doing this he has also done much more. He has helped to give India and England a new meaning to each other, to create between the two happier, because more intelligent, more moral and sympathetic relations. He has helped to make India feel that a European scholar may love and study her language and literature and religion with as much enthusiasm as any Native Paṇdit, and he has helped to make England feel that the Saxon and the Hindu are akin both in blood and spirit, that, as their languages have the same source, they have been concerned with similar problems, and have fallen on similar solutions, have been indeed alike in their search after truth and in their desire to find it. He who succeeds, though but in a small degree in a work like this, achieves one of the greatest successes possible to man.

The volumes before us may be said to represent Professor Max Müller's more systematic and deliberate contributions to the Science of Religion. Their germs, indeed, may be said to lie scattered up and down his other writings. The questions discussed there involve more or less the questions discussed here. The questions as to the origin and nature of language, and as to the nature and growth of mythology, are essentially related to the question as to the genesis and development of religion; they may, indeed, be said in a sense to be one and the same. And so whether writing of Language or Mythology or Indian Literature, Professor Max Müller has never been able to escape from the problems that specially engage him here. But just because they specially engage him, we expect from him a discussion systematic and scientific in a degree impossible to the Lecturer on Language, to the writer of the *Chips* and to the historian of Sanskṛit Literature. And in many respects our expectations are fulfilled. The hand of the writer has here all its old cunning, his speech has all its old charm, is now swift, genial, graphic, and now slow, ornate, elegant, holding us fascinated over sentences of linked sweetness and illustrations long drawn out. Yet we are more than doubtful as to whether these *Lectures* fulfil our expectations in other and higher respects. It may seem an ungracious thing to express the conviction that we are more grateful for the suggestive germs in the earlier writings than for the full and scien-

[1] Compare the expressions in *Psalms* li. 2; lv. 21; lvi. 4; and lxiv. 3, 4.

tific exposition in these; and yet we must confess to this conviction. We are sorry to have to say that Professor Max Müller's standpoint seems to us to have changed for the worse. He has indeed qualities that fit him in an exceptional degree to be an interpreter of ancient Hindu religion. He is a scholar, with a scholar's general love of truth and special love of his subject. He is a poet too, with the poet's penetrative insight, quick eye for all that is true and beautiful and good, with the poet's fine imaginative sympathy with the men and natures he would interpret, and his ability to represent their mind and meaning in his own and our speech. But behind the scholar and poet stands the thinker, and Professor Max Müller's *philosophical standpoint is not what it once was*. In his earlier works he was more or less in philosophy a disciple of Schelling, in his last he has fallen under the influence of Noiré. And the influence has, to our mind, been anything but happy. Schelling, especially in his later days, was dreamy, fanciful, even phantastic, but in his ideas of spirit, of reason, of the nature and genesis of religion he was, as seems to us, on the whole essentially right. But Noiré appears to us to represent one of the most reactionary and infertile schools of philosophy in the Germany of to-day. And we can only and deeply regret that a name so influential in connexion with the study which is now called "the science of religion" should have in any degree been open to the influence of such a system.

Each of the volumes now before us may be said to consist of two parts, a philosophic and a scientific, or a theoretical and historical. The philosophical and theoretical is concerned with the questions as to the origin and nature of religion; the scientific and historical with the interpretation of religion in its concrete forms, religious ideas and beliefs as expressed in the language, literature, customs and laws of given peoples. Yet these two parts are most intimately connected. A man always interprets facts of mind or spirit according to his theory of spirit. He studies religion and history by the light of his philosophy, and can see no more in them than his philosophy enables him to see. Hence the significance of Professor Max Müller's theoretical principles for his scientific criticism and historical presentation of religion. On this point we must say a word or two *a propos* of his Hibbert Lectures; the other work has been too long before the public to need any further notice here.[1] The first lecture, on "the Perception of the Infinite," discusses the philosophical question. It is to us the least satisfactory in the book. The question is much too large to be treated within so narrow compass, and we believe Professor Max Müller, had he been left to himself, would not have attempted to discuss it under conditions so little equal to its claims. But passing by the critical parts,—which are but a series of brief, though searching, glances at two or three theories as to the nature of religion, with omission of all save the very slightest reference to the most rational and comprehensive theory of all—we come to our author's positive and constructive doctrine. He modifies the doctrine maintained in his earlier course of lectures, that religion is a mental faculty, which "independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and varying disguises."[2] This as a piece of psychology was never very lucid. It is not very easy to understand how any mental faculty "that is independent of reason and can act in spite of" it can be a rational faculty. But as now modified it is still less satisfactory. "Religion, in its subjective sense of faith," is now made "simply a development of sensuous perception."[3] And so he says, in answer to the question, how such a being as the primitive savage, with nothing but his five senses, ever comes to think or speak of anything not finite or infinite?—"It is the senses which give him the first impression of infinite things, and supply him in the end with an intimation of the infinite. Everything of which his senses cannot perceive a limit, is to a primitive savage, or to any man in an early stage of intellectual activity, unlimited or infinite. Man sees, he sees to a certain point; and there his eyesight breaks down. But exactly where his eyesight breaks down, there presses upon him, whether he likes it or not, the perception of the unlimited or infinite."[4] Now throughout this statement two entirely distinct notions are confounded, the Indefinite and the Infinite. These are not only distinct, but opposite. The Indefinite is simply the undefined, what is without perceived limits; but the Infinite is the without-bounds, is what is not simply undefined, but cannot be defined. The one includes, the other excludes, the ideas of relation and limitation. The senses suggest the Indefinite because they perceive the definite; but the reason conceives the Infinite. Then in what sense can "the senses" be said "to perceive." They are not rational things; to them as senses reason does not belong; and the perception of any rational thing in history, or any reason or reasonable being in nature, is due to man's quality as a rational, not to his nature as a simply sensuous, being. A conception of "infinite things" is possible; "an im-

[1] This work has been translated into German, French, Italian, and Swedish.—ED.

[2] *Science of Religion*, p. 17.

[3] *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 26, 27.

[4] *Ibid* p. 37.

pression of infinite things" or "a perception of the Infinite" is absurd. I frankly confess my inability to attach any meaning worthy of our author to such a sentence as "I maintain that before it (the Infinite) becomes a *nooumenon*, it is an *aistheton*, though not a *phainomenon*."[8] Whatever the senses perceive appears to the senses; the appearance is the objective side of the perception, the perception the subjective side of the appearance.

The influence of his empirico-transcendental philosophy pervades more or less the lectures; it is, indeed, hardly apparent in the second lecture with which we throughout cordially agree, or the third, which is an admirable account in our author's very best style of the place and value of the Vedas in the study of religions. But in the fourth, "on the Worship of Tangible, Semi-Tangible and Intangible Objects"—and in the fifth—"the Ideas of Infinity and Law"—its presence and action become very manifest. For one thing it makes in these and the next lecture the presentation of Vedic religion less ethical and more sensuous than it might have been. We could have wished that Professor Max Müller had analysed, verified and organized for us not simply the forms and characters and qualities of the deities that fill the Vedic Pantheon, but also the ethical ideas, the religious and spiritual beliefs that were at work in the heart of the Vedic society, not only creating the seeds of the philosophy that was afterwards to blossom into the *Upanishads*, but also laying the foundations of the sacerdotal polity that was afterwards to receive expression in the *Laws of Manu*. And this suggests another remark—the significance of India for religion does not end at the point where Professor Max Müller leaves us. In a sense it only begins there. We see Indian religion becoming at once more spiritual and more sensuous, entering upon one of the many phases through which it was destined to pass. Yet each of these phases—Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hinduism—was the logical and natural outcome of the other; and to exhibit them in their relations to each other and to the spirit of man is to exhibit one of the most wonderful processes of evolution in religion the history of the world has to show.

It is not possible, within our limits, to give any adequate notice of this book; or any illustrations of the learning, the true and felicitous reflexions, the vigorous and searching criticism with which it abounds, or of the generous and catholic spirit which everywhere penetrates and illumines it. In these respects it is worthy of Professor Max Müller and the subject; and to say this is the highest possible praise.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

A CLASSICAL DICTIONARY OF HINDU MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND LITERATURE. By John Dowson, M.R.A.S., late Professor of Hindustani, Staff College (8vo. pp. xix and 411). London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

Many students will hail with pleasure Mr. Dowson's handy volume (which forms the sixth of Trübner's Oriental Series) as a book that is much wanted. It is scarcely eight years yet since its only English predecessor appeared—Mr. J. Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*[1]—published at Madras; and though there were serious slips in it, and it was too largely composed of mere extracts, it is often very useful, and is much fuller than that now before us. Mr. Dowson has not dealt so much in extracts as his predecessor; none of his articles are long; and he has condensed in each the information he has drawn from his authorities with the intelligence of a man who knows his subject. He does not draw on original Sanskṛit sources, but his authorities are among the best, viz. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, H. H. Wilson's *Rig-veda*, and *Vishṇu Purâṇa* (Hall's Ed.), and the writings of Monier Williams, Max Müller, Roth, Böhthlingk, Lassen, Weber, Whitney, Wollheim da Fonseca, &c. Owing to the brevity necessary in such a work, we regret that the author has not given references at the end of each article to authors where more detailed information might be found.

The mythological parts are decidedly the best: in the biographical matter we note many omissions, the names for example of Bilhaṇa, Râmânujya, and Madhvâchârya are missing, and the dates of the authors that are given are rarely indicated.

We trust the day is not far distant, however, when another and enlarged edition of this work will be required, and we hope the enterprising publisher will see to it that it is then greatly increased both in matter and value. Why should it not develop into a Dictionary of Sanskṛit Mythology, Religion, History and Literature fit to rank with those of ancient Greek and Roman life and thought, so ably edited by Dr. W. Smith? The late H. H. Wilson projected a scholarly work, and went so far, forty years ago, as to announce his intention of preparing it for the Oriental Translation Fund. Here is the nucleus, well done, but far too restricted. Of this Professor Dowson is, modestly, well aware. "No doubt very defective" is the verdict he passes on the fruit of his own labours. He restricts himself, rather too exclu-

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[8] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 47.

[1] *A Classical Dictionary illustrative of the Mythology, Philosophy, Literature, Antiquities, Arts, Manners, Customs, &c. of the Hindus.* By John Garrett, Director of Public Instruction in Mysore, &c., &c. (8vo. pp. 793; Madras; Higginbotham and Co. 1871); The *Supplement*, 160 pp., was published in 1873.

sively to the purely Brâhmanik subjects, to the exclusion of Bauddha and Jaina ones, perhaps purposely; but the names of many of the sects, as well as of individuals mentioned in the great epics, are omitted. But, on the other hand, what we have is well done. Nothing could be better than his treatment of the *Vedas* and Epics, of such popular deities as Krishṇa and Râma, and of the Avatâras, or incarnations of Vishṇu, on which so much of modern and practical Hinduism hangs. Under *Tantra* some of the truth is told regarding the horrible immoralities of much of Hindu worship and belief. Our readers will form an idea of the utility of the book from this account of the *Gâyatri*:—

"A most sacred verse of the *Ṛig-veda*, which it is the duty of every Brâhman to repeat mentally in his morning and evening devotions. It is addressed to the sun as Sâvitṛî, the generator, and so it is called also Sâvitṛî. Personified as a goddess, Sâvitṛî is the wife of Brahmâ, mother of the four *Vedas*, and also of the twice-born or three superior castes. Colebrooke's translation of the *Gâyatrî* is 'Earth, sky, heaven. Let us meditate on (these and on) the most excellent light and power of that generous, sportive, and resplendent sun (praying that) it may guide our intellects.' Wilson's version is, in his translation of the *Ṛig-veda*, 'We meditate on that desirable light of the divine Sâvitṛî who influences our pious rites.' In the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* he had before given a somewhat different version—'We meditate on that excellent light of the divine sun; may he illuminate our minds.' A later version by Benfey is—'May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the god who shall prosper our works.' Wilson observes of it:—'The commentators admit some variety of interpretation, but it probably meant, in its original use, a simple invocation of the sun to shed a benignant influence upon the customary offices of worship, and it is still employed by the unphilosophical Hindus with merely that signification. Later notions, and especially those of the Vedânta, have operated to attach to the text an import it did not at first possess, and have converted it into a mystical propitiation of the spiritual origin and essence of existence, or Brahmâ.' It is considered so holy that copyists often refrain from transcribing it."

As another specimen, we give the following analysis of the *Râmâyaṇa*. After a brief notice of the versions and *Adhyâtma Râmâyaṇa* he proceeds:—

"The *Râmâyaṇa* celebrates the life and exploits of Râma (Râma-chandra), the loves of Râma and his wife Sitâ, the rape of the latter by Râvaṇa, the demon king of Ceylon, the war carried on by Râma and his monkey allies against Râvaṇa, ending in the destruction of the demon and the rescue of Sitâ, the restoration of Râma to the throne of Ayodhyâ, his jealousy and banishment of Sitâ, her residence at the hermitage of Vâlmîki, the birth of her twin sons Kuśa and Lava, the father's discovery and recognition of his children, the recall of Sitâ, the attestation of her innocence, her death, Râma's resolution to follow her, and his translation to heaven.

"The *Râmâyaṇa* is divided into seven *kâṇḍas* or sections, and contains about 50,000 lines. The last of the seven sections is probably of later date than the rest of the work.

"1. *Bâla-kâṇḍa*. The boyhood of Râma.

"2. *Ayodhyâ-kâṇḍa*. The scenes at Ayodhyâ, and the banishment of Rama by his father, King Daśaratha.

"3. *Araṇya-kâṇḍa*. 'Forest section.' Râma's life in the forest, and the rape of Sitâ by Râvaṇa.

"4. *Kishkindhyâ-kâṇḍa*. Râma's residence at Kishkindhyâ, the capital of his monkey ally, King Sugrîva.

"5. *Sundara-kâṇḍâ*. 'Beautiful section.' The marvellous passage of the straits by Râma and his allies and their arrival in Ceylon.

"6. *Yuddha-kâṇḍa*. 'War section.' The war with Râvaṇa, his defeat and death, the recovery of Sitâ, the return to Ayodhyâ and the coronation of Râma. This is sometimes called the *Lankâ* or *Ceylon Kâṇḍâ*.

"7. *Uttara-kâṇḍa*. 'Later section.' Râma's life in Ayodhyâ, his banishment of Sitâ, the birth of his two sons, his recognition of them and of the innocence of his wife, their reunion, her death, and his translation to heaven.

"The writer or the compilers of the *Râmâyaṇa* had a high estimate of its value, and it is still held in very great veneration. A verse in the introduction says, 'He who reads and repeats this holy life-giving *Râmâyaṇa* is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven;' and in the second chapter Brahmâ is made to say, 'As long as the mountains and rivers shall continue on the surface of the earth, so long shall the story of *Râmâyaṇa* be current in the world.'"

The book is followed by a very complete index of synonyms and names referred to under different heads: the arrangement is most helpful to the student, and enables the author to avoid much repetition.

The whole work is introduced by a condensed account of the origin and development of the *Vedas*. Professor Dowson expresses the hope "that a good beginning has been made, and that a basis has been laid on which a greater and more worthy structure may hereafter be raised." The foundation is indeed good, and we trust he will at once call other scholars to his aid that the next edition may be very much larger and fuller.

१ ॐ लक्षात्सर्वकार्येषु पूज्यते यो गणनायकः॥ विघ्नं निघ्नन्स वः पायाद
पायाद्गणनायकः॥ स वः पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जाह्नवी।
सुमेरुशिखराद्भ्रष्टदुग्धचन्द्रकलोपमा॥ जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियत
दयालुर्जीमूतवाहनः त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः॥ दत्तं निजं तनुमिवाकुल
पन्नगार्थे येन क्षितिस्मगतुडाश्वलु संख्वडं। तस्यान्वये निखिल
भूपतिमौलिरत्नरश्मिच्छुरितनिर्मलपादपीठः॥ श्रीलाकसांक
ऽत साहसिकः कपर्दी शीलारवंशतिलको नृपतिर्बभूव॥ तस्मा
द्भवत्तनयः पुलशक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुगुणरत्नदितनाजनीतैः
निर्जित्य संगरमुखेष्वखिलविपितन्नृपान्निःकंटकं जगति येन घनकारि
येन॥ ततश्च समभूत्सुतो हयप्रियो विश्ववाममतिः॥ सितः स्फूलि नि
तायतापिकपिलं कपर्दी लघुः॥ पदीयपसमाजगगतिसायेन
सुकीर्तिकातनस्तिस्तुरवानलेन वप्पसोन दुग्धातुविः॥ तस्मादपा
रवर्धितप्रतिपदवीयावं पवित्रीकृतासवक्षावलायामदीपितेन
कः॥ श्रीवप्पुवन्नः सुतः संगामोज्ज्वलनिलासितन्तुयान्नि कंदं
नादृग्यशःश्रेयेन विनायकात्रिपवितावितिध्विलांदंतिनः॥ तस्मा
ज्ञातस्य न्यायाज्ञानिकरंॐ तातंदि तासवालाकः श्रीपः श्रीझंझ
नाजादिवस्तकरंॐ वंधुन्नि॥ ससवदोषः॥ संतायान्नादसापि
ताय वयद विनाकीर्तिनाभि — स्वनाम्ना सोयानानीवंम
तावलततनुदत्तांस्त्वग्लमा — गोग्गिनाना॥ भ्राताततस्यात
तस्यातागलक्ष्यसासाराशिः वकाशीकृतानासवक्षावलया

वलीवलवतंश्रीगाम्लिना ओम्हतत्राबापाकर्षल्क
श्रीलिप्वतलतंयस्मिग तस्रयतोसीश्राद्वालप
घासुतप्रकृतयःसर्द्धि तिसक्नारितारुतन्नाद्रिस्वापकारि
स्तासिवसितप्रक्षानकीर्त्तिःसुतःश्रीमाश्वरूडदेवरूपतिसत्त्व
इव्वक्रवूडामलिः।दोर्द्दण्डेकवलस्थयस्यसकसासंग्रामभूरंगा
गालनाघश्रीःस्वयमन्यवक्षसिरतिंवाक्रमुनारि सितांजयंतःउ
वरचासःपुत्रासिनिवसुपक्षःततःश्रीमानरूपुत्रःसघसि त्राऽ
यनाजितःकर्ण्णःयालनयःसाक्ष्मासागन्नवप्रुति षिरःप्रवता
याद्वीप्रिमार्त्तण्डःकालदण्डश्वयोधिषां।सरणागतसामंतासुप
र्णविजगनियक्षितायनसङ्घयतियवाधूनामासरणागतवज्रयंजसेदेवः
यनस्रागतमागतायतिक्षितंगामायनालातिवं।यानिविद्यायदेवनाक्षि
वलितंनाक्ष्णस्थितंकाशितकिलमाम्रमलसुवक्षितिस्वतांदवंनायनासपंतस्य
श्रीवितुदंकनामहटयातनन्धक्षिमातल्लोतोश्रीमानरूवदतुवरूडदेवना
मारूयातमप्रकमलिस्वनायानयकृः।।यत्रापिपस्त्रवसितानिङनाःस
अस्मामोगावकंवृत्तितगावलतासुवंनि।तद्भानावृतनानिकृत्स्निथया
जातःसतासंस्माताइप्पारातिकुलावलिकदलनेदक्षोलिलीलादवन।गन्ना
णेसतपवसिन्धसक्षितादस्थावसामस्वसतत्पायेपितुराज्यराज्यदल
यःकीलथिवागतः।तद्भातराजावरूडदेवस्पतुश्रीक्षित्रनाजाङयसिर्वे
रूवांश्रीलासवंसःसिसुनायियनसीतःपरामुत्रतिमुत्रातनालंवा
लकानिकुवरकंतनायायकंठपूररूप्रदासलतिकानिजिनजनाती।

A NEW SÎLÂRA COPPER PLATE GRANT.

BY KÂSINÂTH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B.

THIS is a grant made by a prince of the Sîlâra dynasty. The plates belong to Mr. Râmchandra Śivrâm Desâi of Khârepâṭan, and were handed over to me several months ago by Râo Sâheb Gajânan Krishṇa Bhâṭavaḍekar, then Subordinate Judge of Devgaḍ, and now in the service of the Barodâ state. The plates were found many years ago at Khârepâṭan, buried under ground; and it is now impossible to get any further information regarding their acquisition. They consist of three sheets, about 8 inches in length by about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, joined together by a ring of the usual shape, bearing, for a seal, the figure of a man seated cross-legged and with joined hands. The grant is, as usual, engraved on both sides of the middle plate and on the inner sides only of the first and third.

The characters are the old Dêvanâgarî, the *mâtrâ* being in many cases written before the letter with which it goes, instead of over it, as in the modern Dêvanâgarî. There are sundry instances of that confusion between श and स which may be noted in other plates also,[1] and there is also a somewhat noticeable tendency towards doubling some letters.[2] The substitution of a ज्ञ for ग्य; the similarity of ब and व; and the use of the *avagraha*,—are some of the other points worthy of note in the style of writing in this grant. The language is throughout Sanskrit, the greater portion of the document being in fairly good verse, while a small portion at the end—which is the only part directly referring to the actual grant made—is in prose, and somewhat involved, and not always correct, prose. The date is given in letters and figures as 1016, or, according to the view of Mr. J. F. Fleet, 1017[3] of the Śaka era.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

[1] लभते सर्व्वकार्येषु पूजया गणनायकः [॥][4] विघ्नन्निघ्नन्स वः पायाद-
[2] पायाद्गणनायकः ।[॥] स वः पातु सिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जाह्नवी ।[॥]
[3] सुमेरुसिखरोद्गच्छदच्छचन्द्रकलोपमा ।[॥] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं
[4] दयालुर्ज्जीमूतवाहन इ[ति] त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः ।[॥] देहं निजं तृणमिवाकल-
[5] यन्परार्थे यो रक्षतिस्म गरुडात्खलु संखचूडं ।[॥] तस्यान्वये निखिल-
[6] भूपतिमौलिनूत्नरत्नद्युतिच्छुरितनिर्मलपादपीठः ।[॥] स्रीसाहसांक
[7] इव साहसिकः कपर्द्दी सीलारवंसतिलको नृपतिर्ब्बभूवः(व) ।[॥] तस्मा-
[8] दभूच्च तनयः पुलसक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुरु(र)गुरूदितराजनीतेः [॥]
[9] निर्ज्जित्य संगरमुखेखिलवैरिवर्गं निःकंटकं जगति राज्यमकारि
[10] येन ।[॥] ततश्च समभूत्सुतो नृपसिरोविभूषामणिः। सितः सृणिरि-
[11] वापरोरिकरिणां कपर्द्दी .लघुः ।[॥] यदीययससा जगत्यतिसयेन
[12] सुक्लीकृते न भाति सुरवारणो न च ससी न दुग्धांबुधिः ।[॥] तस्मादप्य-
[13] भवद्विभूतिपदवीपात्रं पवित्रीकृतासेषक्ष्मावलयो महीपतिल-
[14] कः श्रीवत्पु[?]वन्मः सुतः [॥] संग्रामांगणरंगिणासिलतया लूनैकदं-
[15] ता हठात्सर्व्वे येन विनायका विरचिता विद्वेषिणां दंतिनः ।[॥] तस्मा-
[16] ज्ज्ञातस्तनूजो रजनिकर इवानंदितासेषलोकः स्लाघ्यः श्रीझंझ-

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[1] See for one instance the inscription at Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VI. Plate xi.

[2] Cf. *Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc.* vol. X. p. 349.

[3] Inasmuch as the expression is "1016 years of the Śaka king having elapsed." Cf. Burnell, *Elements of S. I. Palæography* (2nd ed.) p. 72n. Having compared the figures and names of years given in some of the plates which we possess, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Fleet's view.

[4] The original has a line thus । at the close of some only of the hemistichs. In the transliteration double lines, thus [॥], have been inserted everywhere in brackets. In the prose portion the perpendicular lines are printed only where they are found in the original.

[17] राजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःसेषदोषः ।[।।] संभोर्यो द्वादसापि
[18] व्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्त्तनामि(नि) स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव म-
[19] न्ये प्रणततनुभृतां स्वर्ग्गमा गोद्यतानां ।[।।] भ्राता तस्य त-
[20] तस्ततोज्वलयसोराशिः प्रकासीकृतासेषक्ष्मावलयो

Plate IIa.

[21] बली बलवतां श्रीगोग्गिरा जोभवत् ।[।।] चापाकर्षणक-
[22] र्म्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिग(न्ग) ते सू(सं)यती भीष्मद्रोणपृ-
[23] थासुतप्रभृतयः सर्व्वे तिरस्कारिताः ।[।।] तस्माद्विस्मयकारि-
[24] हारिचरितप्रक्षा(ख्या)तकीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्जडदेवभूपतिरभू-
[25] द्भूचक्रचूडामणिः ।[।।] दोर्दण्डैकबलस्य यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगां-
[26] गणे राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि रतिं चक्रे मुरारि(रे)रिव ।[।।] जयंत इ-
[27] व वृत्रारेः पुरारेरिव षण्मुखः ।[।।] ततः श्रीमानभूत्पुत्रः सच्चरित्रोऽ
[28] पराजितः ।[।।] कर्ण्णः त्यागेन यः साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः ।[।।] प्रता-
[29] पाद्दीप्तिमार्त्तण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विषां ।[।।] सरणागतसामंता अप-
[30] रापि जगति रक्षिता येन [।।] स जयति यथार्थनामा सरणागतवज्रपंजरो देवः[।।]
[31] येन स्वागतमागताय विहितं गोमाय नानाविधं येनैवैयपदेवनाम्नि
[32] चलितं राज्यं स्थिरं कारितं [।।] भिल्लमाम्ममणम्बुधक्षितिभृतां दत्तं च येनाभयं तस्य
[33] श्रीविरुदंकरामनृपतेरन्यक्किमावर्ण्यते ।[।।] श्रीमानभूत्तदनु वज्जडदेवना-
[34] मा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयज्ञः ।। अद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जनाः स-
[35] मस्ता रोमांचकंचुकितगात्रलतास्तुवंति ।[।।] तद्भ्राता च ततोरिकेसरिनृपो
[36] जातः सतां सम्मतो दृप्तारातिकुलाचलैकदलनि(ने)दंभोलिलीलां दधत् ।[।।] गत्वा
[37] शैसव एव सैन्यसहितो दृष्ट्वा च सोमेस्वरं तस्याग्रे पितुराज्ञया जगदलं
[38] यः कीलयित्वागतः ।[।।] तद्भ्रातृजो वज्जडदेवसूनुः श्रीच्छित्तराजो नृपतिर्ब्ब-
[39] भूव ।[।।] श्रीलारवंसः सिसुनापि येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ।[।।] लंबा-
[40] लकानि कुचकुंभतटोपकंठप्रभ्रष्टहारलतिकानि निरंजनानि ।[।।]

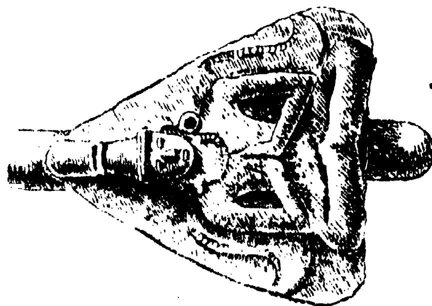
Plate II b.

[41] उत्खाततीक्ष्णकरवालविदारितस्य योन्तःपुराणि परिपंथिजनस्य र(च)-
[42] क्रे [।।] हतारिनारीनेत्रांभस्सेकसंवर्द्धनादिव [।।] ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपं ज(य)स्य कीर्त्तिव-
[43] ल्यधिरोहति ।[।।] दृप्तारातिषु कोपकालदहन[:] सौभाग्यनारायणो वार-
[44] स्त्रीषु ततोनुजः समभवं(व)न्नागार्जुनः क्ष्माप्रतिः ।[।।] यस्यामानुषमूर्ज्जितं भुज-
[45] बलं दूरान्निसत्य(म्य) द्विषां निद्रातीव रणांगणव्यसनिनी दोर्द्दण्डकण्डूलता ।[।।]
[46] यदसमसिबिरान्तर्म्मत्तगंधेस(भ)दानप्रसरदनिलसुष्यत्स्रोतसोदिग्गजें-
[47] द्राः ।[।।] अरिनगरविद(दा)हेाद्दामदिग्व्यापिधूमप्रसरभयनिमीलल्लोचना नो-
[48] न्मिषंति ।[।।] तदनु तदनुजन्मा मूर्त्तिमान्मीनकेतुः क्षतरिपुविभवोभून्मुम्मु-
[49] णिः क्षोणिपालः ।[।।] विधृतधनुषि ज[य]स्मिन्वाजिनीराजनांते बलभिदपि बली-
[50] यान्वार्षिकं चापमौज्झत् ।[।।]तास्मिं(स्मिन्) नृपेः(पे) प्रवरकीर्त्तिसरीरभाजि नागार्जुन-
[51] स्य तनयो नयचक्रवेदी ।[।।] भूपोऽभवत्परमधर्म्मविशुद्धदेहः सीलार-
[52] गोत्रनृपरत्नमनन्तपालः [।।] जाते दायादवैरिव्यसनिनि समये वैर-

II.

न महामंडलेश्वराधिपति श्रीमदनंतदेव कल्याणाभिवृद्धये पश्चिमसमुद्रजोपा
र्जितानेकमंडलसमेता पुरीप्रमु खचतुर्दशग्रामसती समन्विता स
मस्तकोंकणतुवंसमनुशासति न लिन ज्ञाविचारा रमणुद्रदानिम
हामात्य श्रीनोविनकतासदः महासांधिविग्रहीकश्रीतिष्ठिरूदः सोडग
लप्रप्रमहाष्णदीसन महाप्रधान श्रीमहादलेयप्रभुः द्वितीयाक्षपादी
लनप्रधान श्रीसोमालेयप्रभुः एवमादि श्रीकरणप्रवर्तमानसमस्त
महामंडलेश्वर श्रीमदनंतदेव राजः समस्तोवपसवधानानकान अन्यान
पि राजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहितामात्यप्रधानान्प्रधाननियोगिकास्तथा राष्ट्रपति
विषयपतिनगरपतिग्रामपतिनियुक्तानियुक्ता राजपुरुषजनपदा
स्तथाद्रमनगराणो रत्नप्रकृतीः श्वप्रणतिपूजासत्कारसमादे
सैः समादिशत्यस्तु वः सैविदितं यथा सककाला तीतसंवत्सरदश
तषु षोडसाधिकेषु संवत्सरेषु संवत्स नाम वत्सरंतर्गतमाघकृष्णपक्ष
कातापिसम्वत् १०१६ महामंडलीक श्रीमदनंतदेवेन श्रीमहालिप्रव
नीयमहाप्रधानदुर्गाख्रिस्तुतमहाप्रधान श्रीजासल श्रेष्ठिनं महा
तामहासान्धिविग्रहीक श्री वलम श्रेष्ठिनः तयो प्रजुवकलं सीष्ठान
कन धामासपुरुषगौरकारपकाव दिषुव लाकुलेषु चतुर्दशसत
कुकलाजतरिंष्णुय मुवदहलसमागच्छतितस्याय सुकोनातिकर्ता
काला भपिघाव सनिर्गमपि श्री कुंकणचक्रवर्तिना श्री मदनंतदे
वना ज्ञासीलाप्रद त्ताम्रशासनं निवद्धेसु लंपचित्तक्ता ता नत्यु
त्रपौत्रादी मांसवृष्ठियालमस्रेष्ठिकुडुकलस्रेणि मालेयादी ना
मपिप्रतिपालनीयं ॥ उपार्जितं विततश्रीवरपंडितनरपवाक्षिप्ति
तिन कुंकणचक्रवर्तिना श्रीमदनंतदेवं समाचार्य पिता ॥ [illegible] ॥

J. BURGESS.



[53] वाप्तप्रभावैर्ध्वसा(? र्ध्वस्ता) देवद्विजातिप्रमथनविधिना कोंकणक्षोणिरेषा ।[।।]
[54] तानुग्रान्पापरासीन्मुनपवनमहात्खेन्दधाराम्बुरासे क्षिप्त्वोच्चैश्चंद्रबि-
[55] म्बे वकुलपतिसखा यः स्वकीर्त्तिं लिलेख ।[।।] चिन्तामणो(णौ) प्रणयिनां नय-
[56] नाभिरामे कामे कुरंगकदृशां जगदेकवीरे ।[।।] निर्व्वैरिवीरमवनीवल-
[57] यं विधाय धर्म्मेण पालयति तत्र नरेंद्रचंद्रे ॥ अथ स्वकीयपुण्योदयात्सम-
[58] धिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतितगरपुरपरमेस्वरशीलारनरे-
[59] न्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसुवर्ण्णगरुडध्वजाभिमानमहोदधिनिःसं-
[60] कलंकेखरदीरचरितभीरताव तार अरिवीषपतनकेदारको-
[61] पकालानलत्यागजगज्झंपझंप डाचार्यपश्चिमसमुद्राधिपतिरा-
[62] यपिना(? ता)महसरणागतवज्रपंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलीविराजि

Plate III.

[63] तमहामंण्डलेस्वराधिपतिश्रीमदनंतदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये निजभुजोपा-
[64] र्जितानेकमंडलसमेतां पुरीप्रमु खचतुर्दशग्रामसतीसमं(म)न्वितं स-
[65] मस्व(स्त)कोंकणभुवं समनुसासति त थैतद्राज्यचिन्ताभारं समुद्वहति म-
[66] हामात्यश्रीनोवितकवासेदः । महासांधिविग्रहीकश्रीरिषिभट्टः । भांडागा-
[67] रेप्रथमच्छेण(पा)दीसेनमहाप्रधानश्रीमहादेवैयप्रभुः । द्वितीयच्छेपादी-
[68] सेनप्रधानश्रीसोमणैयप्रभुः । एवमादिश्रीकरणे प्रवर्त्तमाने स च म-
[69] हामंडलेस्वरा(रः)श्रीमदनंतदेवराजः सर्व्वान्ये(ने)व स्वसंबद्ध्यमानकान् अन्यान-
[70] पि राजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहितामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाननियोगिका(कां)स्तथाराष्ट्रपति
[71] विषयपतिनगरपतिग्रामपतिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदा(दां)
[72] स्तथाहंजमननगरपौरतृ(त्रि)वर्गप्रभृतींश्च प्रणतिपूजासत्कारसमादे-
[73] सैः संदिसत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ सकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरदशस-
[74] तेषु षोडसाधिकेषु भावसंवत्सरांतर्गतमाघसुद्धप्रतिपदायां यत्रां-
[75] कतोपि सम्वत् १०१६ महामंडलीकश्रीमदनंतदेवेन श्रीमद्वलिपव-
[76] नीयमहाप्रधानदुर्गसेष्ठिसुतमहाप्रधानश्रीभाभणसेष्ठिनस्तज्ज्ञा-
[77] तामहासांधिदि(वि)ग्रहीकश्रीधणमसेष्ठिनः तयोर्यत्प्रवहणं स्त्रीस्थान-
[78] कतथानागपुरस(?सु)र्पारकचेमुल्यादिषु वेलाकुलेषु चतुर्दशसत-
[79] कुंकणाभ्यंतरेषु यं(? य)त्प्रवहणं समागच्छाति तस्य यत्सुल्कं नोरिककर्म-
[80] कराणां(णा)मपि प्रवेसे निर्गमेपि श्रीकुंकणचक्रवर्तिना श्रीमदनंतदे-
[81] न(व)राज्ञा सीलारदत्तताम्र(?)सासननिबद्धं सुल्कं परित्यक्तं ॥ तत्पु-
[82] त्रपौत्रादीमां(नां) सेष्ठिपाणमसेष्ठिकुडुकलसेष्ठिमालैयादीना-
[83] मपि प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ उवा(पा)र्जितं चैतत् श्रीधरपंडितेन रायवार(?)स्छि-
[84] तेन कुंकणचक्रवर्तिनं श्रीमदनंतदेवं समाराधयित्वा ॥ ॥

Translation.

May that Chief of the Gaṇas (*Gaṇapati*) protect you from harm, who is honoured with worship in all undertakings, and who destroys obstacles.

May that Śiva always protect you, on whose crest glistens the Ganges like a clear digit of the moon rising over the summit of Sumeru.

Jîmûtavâhana, the son of Jîmûtaketu, is renowned in the three worlds as ever humane; for verily, treating his own body as

a blade of grass for the sake of another, he rescued Śankhachûḍa from Garuḍa.[5]

In his family was born the prince Kapardî, an ornament of the Sîlâra dynasty, whose clean footstool was streaked with the beams of the fresh jewels in the diadems of all kings of the earth, and who was bold like Śrî Sâhasâṅka.[6]

To him was born a son, named Pulaśakti, who was, as it were, the utmost limit of the polity proclaimed by the Preceptor of the Gods,[7] and who having vanquished the whole multitude of his foes in the midst of the battle-field, reigned over the earth unmolested.

He had a son Kapardî the younger,[8] the head-ornament of kings, who was, as it were, a second sharp goad to his elephant-like enemies, and whose glory rendered the universe so excessively white,[9] that the elephant of the gods, the moon, and the milky ocean shone not (*before it*).

To him, too, was born a son, Śrî Vatpuvanna,[10] an ornament of the lords of the earth, who was the seat of great splendour, who had purified the entire sphere of the earth, and who, sporting in the battle-field, cut off with his sword one tusk of his adversaries' elephants, and rendered them devoid of masters.[11]

He had a son, the king Zanza, worthy of praise, who delighted all people like the moon, and destroyed all evil like the sun who destroys night,[12] and who in his own name erected full twelve temples[13] of Śambhu, which were steps methinks for (*the use of*) those suppliants of his who were labouring on the path to heaven.

Then came his brother Śrî Goggi, the brilliant mass of whose glory was spread (*in all directions*), who had lit up the whole sphere of the earth, who was powerful among the men of power, and on whose engaging in the work of drawing his bow in the battle, Bhîshma, Droṇa, the son of Prithâ,[14] and others were all cast into the shade.

To him was born a son, the illustrious Vajjaḍadêva, whose renown was noised about owing to his astonishing and attractive exploits, who was the head-ornament of the circle of the earth,[15] and upon whose bosom, his strength being in his arm, the goddess of royal splendour, suddenly appearing of her own accord in the midst of the battle-field, enjoyed pleasure as (*on the bosom*) of Murâri.[16]

To him was born an illustrious and righteous son, Aparâjita, like Jayanta to Indra, like Kârtikeya[17] to Śiva. He was Karṇa himself in munificence, Yudhishṭhira in veracity, the brilliant sun in prowess, and the staff of Kâla to his foes.[18] Victorious is he who protected in this world subordinate chiefs who came for shelter, and others also[19]—the king, who deserves his name of 'adamantine cage for those who come for shelter'.[20] In various ways, he welcomed Goma, when he came; he alone confirmed to the name of Aiyapadêva the sovereignty which had been shaken; he afforded security to the kings Bhillamâmanamambudha.[21] What more need be said of that king Râma bearing the title Śrî?

After him came the illustrious head-jewel of kings, his son Vajjaḍadeva, well versed in polity, whose exploits all people even yet extol with their bodies clothed, as it were, with hair standing on end.

Then came his brother the king Arikesarî, respected by the good, who played the part of the thunderbolt in the destruction of his proud foes, who were like the great mountains

[5] This story forms the subject of the *Nâgânanda Nâṭaka*, translated by Mr. P. Boyd. See also *Tree and Serpent Worship* pp. 169—170; *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 148, 149.

[6] See as to Sâhasâṅka, Hall's *Vâsavadattâ* Introd. p. 18.

[7] *i. e.* Brihaspati, to whom a work on the science of Politics is attributed. See *Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. VII. p. 62; and also *Panchatantra* (Bombay, Sanskrit series) Tantra iv. p. 7 line 10, and note thereon.

[8] This is the first exception I have seen to the general usage complained of by Mr. Fergusson. *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 85.

[9] Glory or fame with our poets is always white. Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 69. The elephant of Indra is also white.

[10] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277 note.

[11] There appears to be a *double entendre* here. Vinâyaka means both devoid of masters, and Ganapati, who is supposed to have only one tooth.

[12] Here is another *double entendre*.

[13] Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl tells me that he has seen कीर्तन used in this sense elsewhere. To me this sense of the word is quite new.

[14] *i. e.* Arjuna.

[15] This phrase is a very common one.

[16] *i. e.* Vishṇu, his wife being Śrî or Lakshmî—the goddess of splendour.

[17] The war-god.

[18] Kâla means Yama—the God of Death, one of whose names is Daṇḍadhara, the holder of the staff.

[19] The original is somewhat obscure here.

[20] This appears to have been a title of the Sîlâras. But see also *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 176, Inscription No. viii., and Major Graham's *Kolhâpur*, Insc. No. 17, p. 457, where the inscription belongs to the same family as Wathen's inscription.

[21] This is conjectured to refer to Bombay (*Asiat. Res.* vol. I. p. 359). I do not understand the original. Some light may, possibly, be derived from *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 63, Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 331. A Râjâ Bhillama of Dêvagiri (Ś. 1110-1115) is mentioned in Wathen's Inscription No. 9. And see *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 178; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 104; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 366.

of the universe;[22] and who, even in childhood, having with (*his*) army gone to and visited S o m ê s v a r a, offered up[23] before him the whole earth by direction of his father, and then returned.

Then Ś r î C h h i t t a r â j a, the son of his brother, V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a, became king, who being himself an exalted personage, even though a child, greatly exalted the Sîlâra dynasty. The wives of his antagonists, who were cut down by his unsheathed sharp sword, had, owing to him, their hair hanging loose, their necklaces fallen off from the vicinity of the edges of their breasts, and their eyes devoid of collyrium.[24] His fame, like a creeper, climbs the universe which is like a shed, as if it had been reared up by being watered with the tears of the women of his destroyed enemies.

Then his younger brother N â g â r j u n a became king, who, in his anger, was like the fire of destruction to his proud foes, and in gracefulness like Krishṇa to the courtezans,[25] and on hearing of whose superhuman and excessive strength of arm, the itching of the arms of his enemies for the battle-field goes, as it were, to sleep. The guardian elephants of the several quarters[26] of the universe do not open their eyes, having their flow of rut-water dried up by the wind blowing over the rut-water of the intoxicated *Gandha* elephants[27] in his matchless camp, and having their eyes closed through fear, in consequence of the spreading of the excessive volumes of smoke enveloping all the quarters which issued from the conflagration of the cities of his enemies.

After him his younger brother M u m m u ṇ i became king, who was Cupid himself incarnate,[28] who had destroyed the power of his enemies, and on whose taking up his bow after the ceremony of waving lights before the horses, even the mighty Indra cast aside his yearly bow.[29] Upon that king assuming an excellent body of renown,[30] A n a n t a p â l a, the son of N â g â r j u n a, conversant with the whole circle of politics, whose body was purified by the highest piety, and who was an ornament of the princes of the S î l â r a family, became king. With the wind-like force of his arm (?) he cast into the ocean of the edge of his sword[31] those wicked heaps of sin[32] who at a time of misfortune from relatives that had become hostile, having obtained power, devastated this whole Koṅkaṇ district, by harassing gods[33] and Brâhmaṇs; and then he a friend of the lord of . . . stamped his own fame on the face of the moon.[34] While that moon-like prince, who is a wish-giving jewel to his friends, who is a Cupid pleasing to the sight of the fawn-eyed ones, who is the one hero of the world, is righteously protecting the whole sphere of the earth, after having rid it of enemies :—

Now in the happy and victorious reign of the illustrious A n a n t a d ê v a, the chief of the Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras, who by means of his own spiritual merit has obtained the five great titles,[35] who is the chief of the great Sâmantas (*subordinate chiefs*), who is born in the family of J î m û t a v â h a n a, the S î l â r a prince, lord of the excellent city of T a g a r a, who boasts of the standard of the Golden Eagle,[36]. . . . . . . the lord (?) of Lankâ, nonchalant in the great ocean . . . . the Fire of Destruction in his wrath . . . .who is adorned with all the royal titles[37]—

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22 These are said to be seven. See *Mahâbhârata*, Bhîshma Parva (Bomb. Ed.) p. 8; and the reference given at *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 157.

23 Literally fastened(?). See remarks on this *infra*.

24 These are all marks of widowhood.

25 *i.e.* among the Gopîs of Gokul as applied to Krishṇa.

26 The eight quarters, east, south-east, south, &c., each of which is supposed to have a guardian elephant.

27 This is the highest kind of elephants, supposed to give out a special smell, from which the name.

28 Cupid himself is 'bodiless.' See the story in *Kumâra Sambhava*, canto IV.

29 Cf. *Raghu.* IV. 25. The ceremony is still performed on the Dasarâ day, which is regarded as the auspicious day for setting out on an expedition. The 'yearly bow' is the rainbow.

30 *i.e.* on his death

31 A common expression, cf. *Vîracharita*, Act III.

32 Or reading the original differently, as it may be read, —"those heaps of fearful injustice."

33 The temples, &c. of the gods, that is to say.

34 This appears to be some hyperbole about the moon's spots, like those of which our poets have a large number.

35 See *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 365 ; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 251.

36 This is the device of the Sîlâras, and appears on the seal of Dr. Bühler's Plate, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 276. Dr. Burnell (*S. Ind. Palæogr.* p.75*n*) seems not to have been aware of this. But see now *Ibid.* (2nd ed.) 107. At p. 381 of Graham's *Kolhâpur* (Government Selections) the device is alluded to in the phrase *Soovurn Agooroodudhwaj*. Sir Walter Elliot (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 34) says: "It is remarkable that both the Yadu and the Silahâra had adopted the golden Garuda as their ensign, which the prince seems unwilling to allow to his feudatory." One of the other titles in the text is रायपितामह which occurs in Wathen's Inscription No. X. p 2 line 5. See also *Asiatic Researches* vol. I. pp. 359. In Wathen's Inscription No. X. the expression मंडलीकपितामह, also occurs ; in Dr. Bühler's (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 278) मंडलीकशिखामणि. May रायपितामह then mean 'like a Brahmadêva among kings,'—(this, I find, is Wathen's rendering, see *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. p. 186)—first among kings? The next expression to this I cannot make out.

37 Dr. Bhâu renders this by "resplendent amongst the row of rajas" (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 219). The expression occurs at *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 7; *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. Inscrs. No. 7 and No. 9; *J. L. S. of Bombay* vol. III. p. 318 (3rd sheet); *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 94; and Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports* vol. VI. Plate 21. At *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 3, the expression is नामावलि.

Lord of the Western Ocean, the grandfather of the king, adamantine cage for those come for shelter[38] and so forth—and who rules over the whole of the K o ṅ k a ṇ district, including fourteen hundred villages of which the chief is P u r î; and embracing many provinces acquired by his own arm: while the great Minister Ś r î N a u v i t a k a V â s a i d a bears the burden of anxieties about this kingdom,[39] and the great Minister of peace and war is Ṛ i s h i b h a ṭ ṭ a, while in the first rank at the Treasury is the great Minister P â d h î s e n a[40] Ś r î M a h â d ê v a i y a P r a b h u, while in the second rank is the Minister Ś r î S o m a ṇ a i y a P r a b h u; while such is the ruling administration,[41] that illustrious Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara king A n a n t a d ê v a, announces with salutations, honour, respect, and directions, to all princes, councillors, priests, ministers, principal and subordinate officers,—both those connected with himself and others,[42] as also all heads of *râshṭras*, heads of *vishayas*,[43] heads of towns, heads of villages, royal officials specially appointed or not,[44] country people, as well as townspeople of the town H a n j a m a n a[45] of the three classes, and so forth? "Be it known to you, that on the first day of Mâgha Śuddha, falling in the year Bhâva, one thousand and sixteen (*in figures*) 1016 years of the Śaka king having elapsed, the Mahâmâṇḍalîka, the illustrious A n a n t a d ê v a, the emperor of the K o ṅ k a ṇ, has released the toll mentioned in this copper-grant given by the S i l â r a s, in respect of every cart belonging to two persons,—the great Minister Ś r î B h a b h a ṇ a Ś r e s h ṭ h î,[46] the son of the great Minister D u r g a ś r ê s h ṭ h i of the glorious V a l i p a v a n a,[47] and his brother Śrî D h a ṇ a m a Ś r ê s h ṭ h î, the great minister of peace and war,—which may come into any of the ports,[48] Ś r î-S t h â n a k a, as well as N â g a p u r, S u r p â r a k a, C h e m u l i, and others, included within the Koṅkaṇ Fourteen Hundred,[49] as well as the toll in respect of the ingress or egress of those who carry on the business of . . . . .[50] This should be preserved (*i.e. continued*) also to their sons, grandsons, &c. Ś r ê s h ṭ h î P â ṇ a m a, Ś r ê s h ṭ h î K u ḍ u k a l a, Ś r ê s h ṭ h î M â l a y y a, and so forth. This has been procured by Śrîdhar Paṇḍit who is stationed at R â y a v â r, and gratifies the illustrious A n a n t a d ê v a, the Emperor of the Koṅkaṇ.[51]

Remarks.

"The S i l h a r a s," wrote the late Col. Meadows Taylor in 1870,[52] "were local princes, tributary to the Châlukyas. Their territories lay around Kolapur, which was then their capital, and their inscriptions upon temples and copper-tablet grants prove them to have held extensive, though not perhaps independent, sway over a large portion of what is now styled the Southern Marâṭha Country. An inscription of A. D. 1135 enumerates eight successions up to the founder of the family, which would place their

[38] This title is claimed by a Châlukya, *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. Inscr. 8. And cf. on all the titles *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277.

[39] Cf. the expression in *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. Inscr. 8 तद्राज्य-भारचालनसमर्थ.

[40] See remarks on this at *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. pp. 330-33.

[41] See *Ind. Ant.* vol V. p. 280; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 334. In Inscr. No. 9 at *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. आकारगादिृ (last line of first page) seems to be a misreading for श्रीकरण.

[42] This may apply to the words following also as well as to those that precede.

[43] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. pp. 114, 115, 117, 280; also *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. p. 352; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. X., p. 29.

[44] Conf. the passages referred to in the last note. Here I take नियुक्त and अनियुक्त as adjectives to राजपुरुष which immediately follows, otherwise, it is hard to distinguish between नियुक्त and राजपुरुष. The distinction may be between those specially appointed by the Central Government and those who come in, perhaps, by right of inheritance, &c.

[45] I do not understand this. The same expression occurs at *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 278; and *Asiatic Researches* vol. I. p. 361.

[46] It is noteworthy that the grantees are described as at once 'Ministers' and 'Śreshṭhîs.'

Bhûtapâla also, the excavator of the great Chaitya at Kârlê, is both a *Seṭh* or *Śreshṭhî*, and *Vijayantitâ*—'protector of the flag.'—ED.

[47] The name here should apparently be Valipattana; conf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 217 (?) and in an unpublished plate of which I have been furnished only with a transcript and not the original—which belongs to the branch of the Silâras to which the plate at *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 217 also belongs—and which is further similar to that plate in commencing with the Râshṭrakûṭas and ending with the Silâras, one of the princes is described as अभिनवेलाकुलं रम्यं यांकरोद्वलिपत्तनम्, which indicates that वलिपत्तन was on the sea-coast. In another passage in the same plate, the place is called वलिनगर. May it be identified with the Palaipatmai, or better, perhaps, the Baltipatna—mentioned respectively in the *Periplûs of the Eurythraean Sea* and in Ptolomy? See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII. p. 145.

[48] The original is वेलाकुल, which Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl first told me signifies 'port.' The word occurs in the line quoted in the last note.

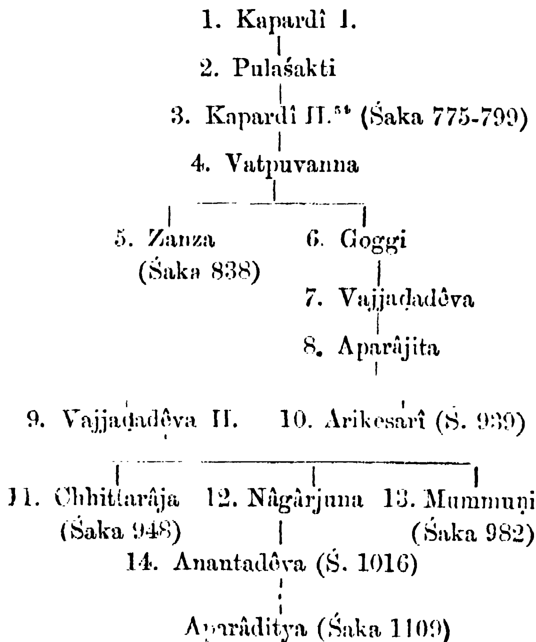
[49] *i. e.* villages of course. See Mr. Fleet's inscriptions in this *Journal* passim. The original here as well as in the last sentence in the plate reads Kunkaṇ instead of Konkaṇ as in an earlier stanza. See as to the Koṅkaṇ—Nairne, p. 1; Yule's *Marco Polo* vol. II. p. 331; *Cathay* vol. I. p. clxxxiii *et seq* and ccxxx.: and *Journ. Asiat.* seriè IV. tom. IV. p. 251, again referred to *infrâ*; and *Varâha Samhitâ* XIV. 12, quoted by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî at *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. VII. p. 69; and *Ind. Ant.* VII. 162.

[50] The original is नौरिक which I do not understand. Can it have any connexion with the Marathî word नौर? and can it mean something like 'a carrier of goods by sea?'

[51] It is remarkable that this plate contains none of those extracts from the *Mahâbhârata* which are usual in such documents, and even in similar grants of the same dynasty. I do not know how this is to be accounted for.

[52] *Student's Manual of the History of India*, p. 71.

origin about 907 A. D." In the light of the information which we now possess, this is not altogether accurate. And, indeed, it is obvious that Colonel Taylor in this passage only refers to one branch of the Sîlâra[53] dynasty—the branch to which the various inscriptions found in and about Kolhâpur appertain. There are, however, three different branches of that dynasty, disclosed in the various documents at present accessible. These documents were discussed pretty fully by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî in a paper in the *Jour. Bombay Br. R. Asiatic Society* (1877), vol. XIII. pp. 1ff. He there distinguishes three different branches of this dynasty, which, nevertheless, appear to have flourished contemporaneously. The grant before us belongs to the first branch of Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl. And the series of kings, as it appears in this grant, is as follows :—



It will be observed that this coincides with what is deducible from Dr. Bühler's Plate,[55] so far as it goes. The first king of this series—for J î m û t a v â h a n a and J î m û t a k e t u cannot be looked upon as historical,—would appear to have flourished somewhere about the beginning of the 9th century of the Christian era. The third king K a p a r d î II. is identified by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl with the "K a p a r d î . . . meditating on the feet of P u l a ś a k t i," who is mentioned in two of the Kaṇheri Inscriptions,[56] and the identification may be accepted without hesitation. It affords a very safe and tangible basis for the chronology of the S î l â r a dynasty. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl gives the Śaka year 735 as the date of the first K a p a r d î. That appears to be an inference from the date of the second K a p a r d î, allowing twenty years a-piece to his two predecessors. The inference is not inadmissible, especially having regard to the fact that the Kaṇheri Inscription of Śaka 775 speaks of the already flourishing and victorious reign of K a p a r d î II. It is not unlikely, indeed, that the reign of K a p a r d î I. commenced somewhat earlier even than the year 735 of the Śaka era.

Of the kings who came after K a p a r d î II. none requires any notice here till we come to A p a r â j i t a the son of V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a. With regard to him Dr. G. Bühler writes as follows[57] : "It is also probable that a king has been omitted between A p a r â j i t a and V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a II., or at least the real name of A p a r â j i t a has been left out, for the verse in which the names of K e ś i d ê v a and V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a occur is mutilated." There is no reason, however, to suppose any such omission in our plate as there is in that on

[53] This name appears in sundry different forms in the various inscriptions which we now possess. In the Plate at *Jour. Lit. Soc. of Bombay* vol. III. p. 419, the form is Śilâhâra. In Dr. Bühler's Plate the form is Śilâra as well as Silâhâra. In Wathen's Plate No. IV. (*J. R. A. Soc.* vol. IV. p. 281) the forms are Silâyâra (query whether this is a mistake in the engraving or in the decipherment ?) and Śilâhâra. In our own plate, it is Sîlâra and Sîlâra, (which may be the same) ; Śrîlâra, which occurs once, is probably a mere slip. See also *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 217 ; *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. pp. 384, 391 ; vol. IV. p. 110 and note there, and p. 114 where an explanation of the name is suggested. Mr. Nairne always calls the dynasty the Silhâr dynasty. It may be here added that Dr. DaCunha seems not to be correct in his observations on "the Tagaras, and the Silahâras" at *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 61, in speaking of the two as distinct and of one as a branch of the other. In truth, Tagara is not the name of dynasty at all.

[54] Prof. H. H. Wilson's remark on this prince at *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 109, note, is incorrect ; cf. also *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 85.

[55] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 276.

[56] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. pp. 11, 12.

[57] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277. A remark ought to be made on king Zanza. He appears to be the king mentioned by the Arabian geographer Masûdi as reigning at Saïmur in 916 A.D. Masûdi states that there were 10,000 Musalmans in Saïmur, and that the kings were under the Ballhâra, and had the title of *Zenbîl* when he visited the place. (B. de Meynard and P. de Courtille, *Les Prairies d'Or*, tom. II, pp. 85-87 ; Reinaud, *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 220.) Dr. DaCunha's identification of Masûdi's "Janja" with the Śilâra "Śrî Chhinnadeva Râjâ" (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 55) is not correct on this, if on no other ground, that whereas Janja lived in 916 A.D., "Chhinnarâja" lived in 1027 A.D. I may take this opportunity of stating that I am indebted to Dr. DaCunha's papers in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.* for references to some of the authorities relied upon in this paper. Others of the references I obtained from Mr. Nairne's *Koṅkan*, from which Dr. DaCunha also seems to have got some of his information.

which these observations were made. And although the number of stanzas devoted to A p a r â j i t a is relatively larger than the number devoted to any of the other princes except C h h i t t a r â j a and A n a n t a d ê v a; and although, too, there is some little doubt as to the meaning of a part of one of these stanzas; still there is nothing here to suggest the existence of any prince in the series between the two V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a s, other than the one prince described in the stanzas in question. It may, perhaps, also be noted as a point leading to the same inference, that the second V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a was, *in all likelihood, the grandson of the first*;[58] and therefore, too, though it is, of course, quite possible, it is not probable, that between the two V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a s, there was any other prince than the one we have mentioned in our list. What was the true name of that prince, is perhaps a question presenting somewhat greater difficulty. Dr. Bühler doubts if A p a r â j i t a is the true name. In another place, he says: "I feel somewhat doubtful about the name of this king, which alone among so many Deśi forms is pure Sanskrit. But it seems to me impossible to refer the two verses to V a j j a ḍ a d ê v a II. mentioned in verse 10, and A p a r â j i t a is the only word which can be taken for a name. Perhaps it is a *biruda*."[59] I own I do not feel much pressed by the reason here given by Dr. Bühler for his conclusion. In the list above set forth by us, we have the names A p a r â d i t y a, A n a n t a p â l a or A n a n t a d ê v a, N â g â r j u n a, and we may add A r i k e s a r î and K a p a r d î, which are Sanskrit names undoubtedly belonging to princes of the S i l â r a dynasty. At the same time, I agree that A p a r â j i t a is, in all likelihood, only a *biruda*. Perhaps the name is Ś r î R â m a. The compound of which it forms part, viz. श्रीविरुदंकराम नृपति (the plate in the *Asiatic Researches* seems to read श्रीविरुदांकराम) is not *quite* explicit. And I do not think, therefore, that we are yet in a position to settle the question. But we may, I think, safely reject the translation in the *Asiatic Researches* which renders it as the 'king Śrî Birudanka'.[60] The whole stanza requires a very considerable amount of further elucidation—for which the facts accessible to us at present are not at all adequate.

We come next to the King A r i k e s a r î, who, we may say with certainty,[61] is identical with the K e ś i d ê v a of Dr. Bühler's plate. It is not, however, easy to understand what transaction is referred to here in connexion with Somêśvara. That S o m ê ś v a r a means the famous Somanâth which gave occasion in this century to one of Lord Macaulay's best orations, there can, I think, be little doubt. In a stone-slab inscription now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and appertaining to the time of the S î l â r a king A p a r â d i t y a, who stands last in our list, the "God Somanâth of Surâshṭra" is distinctly referred to apparently as a favourite deity of the S î l â r a s.[62] The grant in the *Asiatic Researches*, which is by A r i k e s a r î himself, might have been fairly expected to help us on this point. But the stanza there appears to have been identical with the one in our plate, though the translation is very defective and erroneous.

On C h h i t t a r â j a nothing need be said, further than that, if we may safely judge from the number of stanzas referring to him in our plate, he appears to have had a living reputation even in A n a n t a p â l a's days. We next come to N â g â r j u n a. He appears to be probably identical with the prince of that name referred to in inscription No. 17 among the Kolhâpur Inscriptions in the volume by Major Graham on Kolhâpur among the *Government Selections*. It is difficult to speak on the point with any confidence, because I am unable myself to read the text of the inscription, and a friend whom I consulted about it is also unable to afford me any help. I have therefore only the statement of the "substance" of the inscription in Major Graham's volume. At the same time I ought to mention, that Major Graham ranks N â g â r j u n a among the rulers of one portion of "the principality of K o l h â p u r"—and apparently places him between the years 1218 and 1235 A.D. But on this last point I am not quite certain.

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[58] Comp. *Jour. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 85.

[59] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 280*a*, note.

[60] The word राम which is clear in the plate there given is omitted in this translation. I may, perhaps, be permitted to express my concurrence with Dr. Bühler in his remarks on the paper in the *Asiatic Researches* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277). Unluckily the original plates cannot now be procured though I had inquiries made for them in Ṭhâṇâ.

[61] Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl says only "may be the same."

[62] The actual grant there appears, however, to be by one "Śrî Lakshmaṇa Nâyak, son of Bhâskar Nâyak." It is not quite easy to decipher fully. The grantor is described as Mahâmâtya, the great minister, and the grant speaks of सौराष्ट्रीयश्रीसोमनाथदेव. It is dated "Samvat 1109. *Viśvavasû samvatsar Chaitra Suddha*, 6 Sunday."

The next prince in the line is Mummuṇi, as he is called in the plate before us. In the Ambarnâth inscription which records a grant made by a king of the Sîlâra dynasty the king calls himself Mâmvâṇi.[63] It is not, I think, a very bold proceeding to identify that Mâmvâṇi with our Mummuṇi. The dates are not against the identification, and perhaps Mâmvâṇi was the real name of the king, which was altered for the sake of the metre into the more smooth and euphonious one which we find in the plate before us. If this identification is correct, Dr. Bühler's suggestion,[64] that the correct name of this prince is Vâṇi, appears to be untenable.

There are one or two other points also, of some importance, which our plate enables us to determine finally. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, in his remarks on the Ambarnâth Inscription, had suggested that Mâmvâṇi was probably the son or successor of Chhittarâja.[65] When that suggestion was made, the materials for deciding the point were very far from being full. Our plate, however, now settles the question, in a way that, equally with Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's suggestion, accounts for the facts on which that suggestion was based. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, in the paper referred to, argued from the identity of names of one of the officers mentioned in the Ambarnâth Inscription and in Dr. Bühler's plate, that Mâmvâṇi was probably a son or successor of Chhittarâja. A similar argument may be used in support of our identification of Mummuṇi and Mâmvâṇi. For the First Lord of the Treasury, if we may so call him, in Mâmvâṇi's time—Mahâdêvayya[66]—continues to hold the same office, at the time of our plate also, a circumstance strongly indicative of a close chronological propinquity between Mâmvâṇi and Anantapâla. It is also to be noted here, that the high offices of state, mentioned in our plate as having been held by Mahâdêvayya and the others, appear to have been enjoyed by these "southerners" for a very considerable period. For we see some *ayyas* mentioned as far back as in the grant of Arikêsarî in the *Asiatic Researches*,[67] which is the earliest we have among the grants that record details about the period to which they belong. The next prince in our series is Anantapâla or Anantadêva, the grantor in the plate before us. The civil strife, which is referred to in the verses devoted to him, is one about which no other information is at present accessible, unless, indeed, it was the beginning of that conflict which is referred to in a boast made in the grant published in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*.[68] With reference to that grant, Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl says:—"The Vijayârkadêva of this branch is described as having re-established the sovereignty of the dethroned kings of the province of Sthâṇaka and Goa. This shows that he restored the lost power of the two branches of his dynasty, viz., the first at Ṭhâṇâ, and the second at Goa."[69] The original fully bears this out. Vijayârka, however, appears to have reigned about the Śaka year 1065. The occurrences, therefore, to which reference is made in our plate cannot have been those in which Vijayârka took part. But it is not impossible that, although Anantapâla boasts of having rid the country of his foes, who appear to have been some of his own kinsmen—*dâyâdâ*—there may have been a renewal of the disturbances after the Śaka year 1016, resulting in that misfortune to the Ṭhâṇâ Sîlâras from which Vijayârka rescued them. But, on the other hand, we cannot, in the present state of our materials, come to any conclusion on these questions.

Of the period between Anantapâla and Aparâditya, the last prince mentioned in our series, we know at present very little. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl in 1877 thought, that the gap between Mâmvâṇirâja and Aparâditya in the genealogy of the first branch, might be accounted for by the destruction of the sovereign power above alluded to.[70] We have seen, however, that the gap is not so large a one as the Paṇḍit supposed. Our plate brings our information down to the Śaka year 1016. Aparâditya appears to have reigned[71] in the Śaka year 1109. How long before that year his reign had commenced it is not yet possible to

[63] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII., p. 332.
[64] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII., extra No., p. 52.
[65] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII., p. 332.
[66] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XII., p. 330.
[67] *As. Res.* vol I. pp. 36., 364, 367.
[68] Vol. III. p. 420.
[69] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, vol. XIII., p. 17.

[70] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII., p. 17. Compare also extra No. to vol. XII., p. 52 (Dr. Bühler).
[71] The suggestion of Prof. Wilson (*J. R. A. S.* vol. II. p. 397) repeated by Mr. Nairne (*Konkan* p. 7), and by Dr. DaCunha (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 54) is now entirely negatived by the information given by Dr. Bühler.

say—as both the Parel Inscription and the stone slab inscription already mentioned as being in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society are dated in the same year. Dr. Bühler's *Account of his Tour in Kâśmîr* affords us, however, some further information on this point. For it appears that a work composed in Kâśmîr between 1135 and 1145 A.D. makes reference to an "ambassador of Aparâditya, king of the Koṅkaṇa,[72]" named Têjakaṇṭha, being then in Kâśmîr. If so, I think, we may safely assume that Aparâditya cannot have *commenced* to reign much later than 1135 A.D. or 1057 of the Śaka era.[73] And then the hiatus in our Sîlâra lists appears to be reduced to very modest dimensions, indeed, viz., scarcely forty years.

If these arguments and conclusions are correct, it is difficult to treat the boast of Vijayârka in Dr. Taylor's Inscription as of any greater value than a rhetorical flourish. At the best, it can be only a very great exaggeration of a very small historical fact. For see how the case stands:—According to Dr. Bühler's account, which appears from our present materials to be perfectly correct, Aparâditya must have succeeded to the throne in any case before the Śaka year 1066,[74] and he appears to have still been on the throne in the Śaka year 1109. Now Gaṇḍarâditya, the immediate predecessor of the Vijayârka who claims to have re-established the Ṭhâṇâ Sîlâras on their throne, certainly reigned till the Śaka year 1058. The first document of Vijayârka's reign that is accessible to us is dated in the Śaka year 1065.[75] Vijaya therefore cannot have begun to reign much if at all before Aparâditya. The last date in his reign that we know of is the Śaka year 1073, and the first in that of his successor Bhojadeva II. is 1101, so that his reign must have closed at least eight years prior to that of Aparâditya. We have, therefore, this result:—The whole period of the reign of this Vijayârka, who claims to have re-established the Ṭhâṇâ Sîlâras, is itself covered, or nearly covered, by the reign of one of these Sîlâras themselves. There are then, it seems to me, three alternative explanations of these facts:—either there was a revolution in the kingdom of Śrî Sthânaka between the Śaka years 1058 and 1066; or the statement in Bhojadêva's plate is a mere rhetorical flourish having little or no historical basis; or Aparâditya does not belong to this branch of the Sîlâra dynasty. The third alternative may, I think, be summarily rejected, both on the grounds adduced by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl,[76] and on the grounds of the connexion of this Aparâditya with the town of Ṭhâṇâ,[77] and the coincidence of sundry expressions in Dr. Bühler's plate with expressions in the Parel Inscription and the stone slab inscription obtained at Ṭhâṇâ, now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The facts stated by Dr. Bühler[78] in his account of his Kâśmîr tour also corroborate that conclusion. The first alternative also appears to me, I own, upon the facts set forth above, an extremely doubtful one. The second alternative appears to be the least improbable of the three. It is not necessary to reject the statement in Bhojadeva's grant as altogether a myth and unhistorical. It is, perhaps, only an exaggerated statement out of compliment to the grantor's line of the succour afforded by Vijayârka to his brethren at Ṭhâṇâ in some local, possibly dynastic, disturbance, such as is referred to in our plate in the verses devoted to Anantapâla. I must add that there are two other possibilities not covered by the alternatives mentioned, viz., that Aparâditya himself may not have had an uninterrupted reign, or that Dr. Bühler's date for the Kâśmîr work to which he refers may be erroneous. No evidence is available on either point, and we must leave both here without further discussion.

We have now gone through the whole series of princes of the Sîlâra dynasty at present known to us. The series appears to be complete save for the period intervening between the reign of Anantapâla and Aparâditya.[79] If

[72] See *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. (extra No.) p. 51, 52.

[73] This doubtless makes Aparâditya's reign a very long one—being upwards of 52 years. But there is nothing unlikely in one individual prince in a long line reigning more even than 52 years, like George III. of England or Louis XIV. of France.

[74] The latest date to which Dr. Bühler attributes the Kâśmîr work alluded to above.

[75] See *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII., p. 16.

[76] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 335.

[77] Which is expressly mentioned in the stone-slab inscription referred to.

[78] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (Extra No.) vol. XII. pp. 51, 52.

[79] Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has already adduced reasons for supposing this Aparâditya or Aparârka to be the same who has given his name to the well-known commentary on Yâjnavalkya (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 335; see, too, Extra No. p. 52). Dr. Bhâu has pointed out that Aparârka is cited by an author of the beginning of the 13th century (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 161).

one may judge from the evidence now available, it is probable that there were two kings between those two. But upon this point, and on the point relating to the revolution above referred to, further materials must be awaited.

There is one question of considerable interest which is now satisfactorily settled by the plate before us. In 1869, the late learned Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, having read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society a paper regarding the inscription at Ambarnâth, a short discussion took place concerning the date of that inscription and of the Ambarnâth Temple. Mr. Burgess pointed out the architectural difficulty in accepting the date of the inscription, as read by Dr. Bhâu, as giving the correct date of the Temple, and he referred also to Mr. Fergusson's opinion on the point. Dr. Bhâu dissented from these opinions, and expressed himself to the effect, that from the character of the letters, he would assign the Inscription—and consequently the Temple also—to the ninth century[80] A. D. In 1876 Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl gave us a revised transcript of the Inscription, and made out the date to be 982 instead of 782 as Dr. Bhâu Dâjî had read it.[81] And in the discussion upon the Paṇḍit's paper, I am reported as having observed "that there was no doubt about the numerals in the first (viz., the Ambarnâth) inscription"—the date arrived at being confirmed by an unpublished plate in my possession.[82] That plate is the one which forms the subject of these remarks. It is now quite plain that since Anantapâla flourished in the Śaka year 1016, his predecessor and uncle could not have reigned as early as Śaka 782, but must have reigned somewhere about Śaka 982. Accepting that latter reading of the date, Mr. Fergusson's and Mr. Burgess's views about the date of the Temple receive most remarkable confirmation. Mr. Burgess, on the occasion in question, also pointed out that the style of architecture of the Ambarnâth Temple associated it with the Temple of Somanâth. That, too, appears to me to be an important circumstance, having regard to the reference to Somanâth in the plate before us, and in the Ṭhâṇâ inscription of Aparâditya. We shall have to say a word on this subject in the sequel.

Two lessons of general application for the future may, I think, be derived from these facts. The first is, that chronological inferences based *merely* on the character of the writing in old documents must be accepted with very considerable caution. The tendency towards regarding that as the all-important element—instead of as one only of the important elements—in such investigations, is to be observed in sundry quarters.[83] The second lesson is, that inferences derivable from the style of architecture of any building are entitled to considerable weight in chronological[84] inquiries—as much weight, I should say, as inferences from the style of writing in copperplates and inscriptions.

A point of considerable interest connected with this dynasty is raised by the title which all branches of it seem to have retained—viz., *Tagarapuravarâdhîśvara*. That title finds a parallel, among others, in the title of the Kadambas.—*Banavâsipuravarâdhîśvara*.[85] Probably the original stock from which the three branches of the Silâras afterwards branched out belonged to the city of Tagara. What is that city? Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, after an elaborate examination of Colonel Wilford's suggestion on this point, dissents from it, and identifies Tagara with the modern Junnar.[86] I do not find much difficulty in agreeing with the negative side of Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's reasoning; but as respects the positive portion of it, I own that though there is a good deal in the arguments he adduces, I cannot persuade myself that he has satisfactorily surmounted the initial difficulty in his theory, viz., that whereas Junnar is to the west of Paiṭhaṇa, Tagara is stated by Arrian (as quoted by Col. Wilford) to be towards the east

[80] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. cxxxviii. *et seq.* Mr. Fergusson's and Mr. Burgess's estimate of the age both of the characters of the inscription and of the Temple appears, from the facts we now know, to have been much more correct. See also *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) IV. p. 137 note.

[81] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XI. p. 331.

[82] Ibid., p. xxiv.

[83] See Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes* p. 266; *Transactions of the Intern. Congr. of Orientalists* pp. 302—303; *Ind. Ant.* vol. p. III. p. 267.

[84] As to this see Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. VII. p. 87—88.

[85] See on this *Journ. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 305.

[86] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 8. It is interesting to note in connexion with this proposed identification, that in the early days of Muhammadan rule in this part of the country Junnar was the capital of a district which included some part of the Koṅkan (see Nairne, p. 27). The head quarters of the army which conquered the district had also been at Junnar (Nairne, p. 25); *Ind. Ant.* vol. II., p. 43 ff.; and conf. *Arch. Sur. W. Ind.* vol. III. pp. 54, 55.

of Paiṭhaṇa. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl may be right, and perhaps further materials will show that he is right, in thinking that Arrian made a slip in saying "east" when he should have said "west." All I say at present is, that the identification which proceeds on the basis of such a slip having been committed does not yet satisfy my mind.[87]

While on this subject of Tagara, we may, perhaps, refer here to the other matters of geographical interest in the plate.* The first interesting name to be noted is Śrî Sthânaka, which has been satisfactorily identified with Ṭhâṇâ. Ṭhâṇâ appears in former days, from sundry other authorities, to have been a place of very much greater note than it is now, having been a port of considerable trade[88] till the times even of the Musalmans. Albîrûnî appears to speak of it under the name of Tala, which he says was the capital of the Koṅkaṇ, and the Koṅkaṇ, we may observe *en passant*, is distinguished by Albîrûnî from the country of the Marâṭhâs.[89]

The next name to note is Purî, which has been identified by some with Ṭhâṇâ, but this identification has been dissented from.[90] Our plate certainly does not support the identification, while its mention of both Purî and Śrî Sthânaka[91] may be regarded as some, though not very strong, evidence against it. I can say nothing about Hanjamaṇa,[92] or Râyavâra; and about Nâgapur, I can only suggest it as probable, that it may be identical with a village near Alibâg—between Alibâg and Rêvadaṇḍâ—named Nâgânva, which is substituted by syncope for Nâgagâṅv, or Nâgagrâma, the same as Nâgapur. Or, may not Nâgapur have something to do with Nâgothṇêṅ? In any case the modern Nâgpur of the Bhoṅslês is not to be thought of. I have not found the Nâgapur of our plate referred to anywhere else. Sarppâraka, as our plate seems to have it, is probably only a miscopy for Surpâraka[93]—the modern Sopârâ near Bassein. It is a place of considerable antiquity, being in all likelihood the same as the Śoparaga of the Nâsik inscriptions.[94] Sopârâ under various disguises of name is familiar to the mediæval travellers and geographers. Chemuli[95] is almost certainly the modern Cheṅwul, or, as it has been sometimes called, Chaul. This place has a history extending over several centuries, going back, indeed, even as far apparently as the times of Ptolemy, who mentions it under the name Simylla[96] and Timoulla. From the various disguises which the name had assumed in the works of foreign geographers and travellers—such as Ptolemy, Hiwen Thsang, and Albîrûnî—Col. Yule had said "that the old name was something like Chaimul or Chanwul."[97] This happy guess is fully corroborated by our plate, and the identification of the place with Chaul,[98] also suggested by Col. Yule, may be accepted, more especially having regard to the current native pronunciation of the name.

We come lastly to Someśvara, which, as we have already pointed out, may safely be iden-

[87] As regards Tagara, reference may be made to Elphinstone's *India* pp. 244-5; Meadows Taylor's *Manual* pp. 71—72; Nairne's *Konkan* p. 9 (the opiniont here expressed is questionable); *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 35 *note*; vol. II. pp. 384—396; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. p. 320; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 75; vol. VII. p. 103; vol. VIII. p. 144; *Jour. Lit. Soc. Bomb.* vol. III. p. 411; and note at p. 418, where *Asiatic Researches* vol. IX. p. 45 is quoted, but that does not advance the question at all. The expression तगरपुरवराधीश्वर has numerous parallels. See *inter alia J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 35, *J. R. A. S.* vol. V. inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. p. 54; vol. XII. p. 57, 305; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. 102.

[88] See *inter alia* about Thâṇâ, *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 61.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. pp. 184—5; Yule's *Cathay* vol. II. p. 397, also vol. I. 57 *et seq.* where we have some information about rats which *might* be useful in our own day! Nairne's *Koṅkaṇ* pp. 10, 11; *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. pp. 384—96. The translation of श्रीस्थानक at *Asiatic Researches* vol. I. pp. 361—64 is, of course, erroneous.

[89] See *Journ. Asiatique* serie IV, tome IV. pp. 263—64. I am obliged to my friend Mr. P. M. Mehta for explaining to me the French original. See too Nairne, p. 3.

[90] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 277, and vol. VII. p. 184; Nairne, p. 21; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. pp. 320—21, and vol. XII. 61; *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. pp. 384—395.

[91] See *Asiat. Res.* vol. I. p. 361; *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 278.

[92] See *Journ. Bomb. Geog. Soc.* vol. VII. p. 152.

[93] Nairne *Konkan*, p. 16; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. pp. 316—12; Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. 227; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 321, vol. II. p. 96. On all these ports the wise, though, perhaps, heterodox remarks of Col. Yule (*Cathay*, vol. II. p. 418) may be of practical moment.

[94] See *Trans. Int. Congr. of Orient.* p. 328. It may be interesting to note, that Śûrpâraka is mentioned in the Vana Parva of the *Mahâbhârata* as a "most holy" place, where the Pâṇḍavas spent some time on their way from the Dravida Country to Prabhâsa (see chap. 118, Bomb. ed.)
It was the Subarah of the Arab Geographers. Masû'di says it and Tanah were on the coast of Lar, and subject to the Balhâra. *Prairies d'Or*, tom. I. p. 381. Albirûnî says it was 5 parasangs from Tanah; see *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 321. It is also frequently mentioned in the Bauddha Cave inscriptions.—ED.

[95] At *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 320, Col. Yule expressed a desire "to learn the oldest native spelling of the latter name"—viz. Chaul. Our plate now supplies that I think. Probably, however, the name should be Chemulya and not Chemuli. In the plate at *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. p. 219, a place named Chemulya seems to be mentioned, which is probably the same as that we are now discussing. And in our plate we may read the name as Chemulî or Chemulya.

[96] See Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. cxcii.; Nairne p. 12; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 56 *et seq.*; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 183.

[97] Yule's *Cathay loc. cit.*

[98] See also about Chaul, &c. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 183 and vol. VIII. pp. 140—45. I incline to think with Pandit Bhagvânlâl, that Chemuli is Chemuḍa in Trombay, at the head of Bombay harbour.—ED.

tified with Somanâth. In our time, it is true, the Koṅkaṇ and Somanâth are not closely connected in our minds. But in former days, even so late as six centuries ago, Somanâth and Ṭhâṇâ seem to have belonged to one political division of the country. "Guzerât," we are told for instance, "is a large country, within which are Kambâyat, Somnât, Konkan, Tâna and several other cities and towns."[99] And this affords some explanation of Albîrûnî's words alluded to above, in which he distinguishes the Koṅkaṇ from the country of the Marâthâs. One further remark we may make here, which is suggested by the circumstances now brought together regarding "Somnât." The temple of Somanâth is stated by the late Mr. Justice Forbes[100] to be similar in some respects to the Temple of Ambarnâth at Kalyâṇ. And, as we have already seen, Mr. Burgess in the discussion above alluded to regarding the Ambarnâth Inscription, also pointed out the similarity.[101] In view of the information which the writings of the mediæval geographers furnish, that fact is one of considerable interest. For it is not improbable that the Sîlâras being devotees of the "Somanâth of Surâshṭra," and there having been such constant intercourse between the immediate dominion of the Sîlâras and the district in which the Temple of Somanâth is situated, it is not, I say, improbable that the restoration of the Temple of Ambarnâth under the directions of a Sîlâra[102] prince was made consciously upon the model of the Somanâth Temple.

Returning now from this geographical digression, we proceed to consider the political status of the Sîlâras. They do not, then, appear to have been entirely independent sovereigns. The titles *Mahâmaṇḍalêsvara*, *Mahâsâmantâdhipati*—although coupled with the titles, *Râjâ*, and *Koṅkaṇa-chakravartî*—seem to point to a subordinate position. And this conclusion is clinched by the fact which Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has brought out with the aid of the Kaṇheri Inscriptions: namely, that the third historical king in this line—Kapardî II.—in spite of the boast, be it remembered, made in our plate and elsewhere, about his being the head-jewel of all kings, and of glory which eclipsed the glory of every one else in the world and out of it, was but a subordinate of a king Amoghavarsha. Of this latter king, Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl says that he probably belonged to the Râshṭrakûṭa race.[103] I venture to think that we are safe in taking it to be historically certain that this Amoghavarsha is the first king of that name in the Râshṭrakûṭa line. The dates appear to me to support the identification.[104] And it is further corroborated by the fact which appears to be made out pretty satisfactorily by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî and Dr. Bühler, that the Balhâra princes, of whom the mediæval geographers speak, are identical with the Râshṭrakûṭas;[105] for those same geographers distinctly state that the Koṅkaṇ formed part of the territories of those Balhâra princes.[106] It is plain, therefore, that at least at the time of Kapardî II. the Sîlâras were only feudatories of the Râshṭrakûṭas.[107] At the same time, it is not impossible that they may have afterwards thrown off the yoke of their masters, and ceased to be feudatories.[108] The princes of the branch of the family which reigned at Kolhâpur appear to have been feudatories of the Châlukyas in the twelfth century A.D.[109] But there is no evidence showing that the Sîlâras

[99] *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 341; also Yule's *Marco Polo* vol. II. pp. 33-47, Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. cexxx. note; Nairne p. 10. A Srî Somanâth is mentioned in one of Mr. Fleet's Yâdava Inscriptions; see *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 26.

[100] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. VIII. pp. 55-63. See also as to Somnâth, Elliot's *History of India* vol. I. p. 97.

[101] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol IX. p. cxxxix.

[102] Dr. Bhâu Dâjî's conjecture—that Mâmvâṇirâja was a Yâdava prince repeated by Mr. Nairne in his *Konkan*, p. 18 (see also *Ind. And.* vol. III. p. 317) may now be treated as erroneous: Mr. Fergusson also (*J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. IV. p. 137) was misled by Dr. Bhâu's incorrect reading of the Ambarnâth date into an argument in favour of his theory of the 'Balabhî Samvat.'

[103] *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 12. Perhaps Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's cautious expression was due to the fact that the event recorded in the Kaṇheri Inscriptions is not mentioned in any Râshṭrakûṭa plate. But perhaps it was not thought important enough.

[104] I must admit that Dr. Bühler's "adjustments" of the Râshṭrakûṭas seem to militate against this, to some extent (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 59). But I venture to think, that they require reconsideration with reference to the Kanheri Inscriptions brought forward by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl. Jagattunga, whom Dr. Bühler takes to be Amoghavarsha's father, is, according to Bhagvânlâl's interpretation of one of those inscriptions, Amoghavarsha himself.

[105] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 64.

[106] Yule's *Cathay* vol. I. p. ccxxxiii. Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India* vol. I. p. 3 *et seq.* and p. 354 *et seq.* Nairne p. 10; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 56. At *Asiatic Researches* vol. IX. p. 179, we have some conjectures about the Balhâra or "Balarâya" princes.

[107] Cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 60.

[108] Cf. Burnell, *Elements of S. I. Palæography* (2nd Ed.) p. 25.

[109] Cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 203; see also *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. pp. 32-34; Nairne, pp. 20-21.

ruling at Ṭhâṇâ were also feudatories of the Châlukyas. And possibly, A n a n t a p â l a's calling himself *Chakravarti*[110] of the Konkaṇ coupled with A p a r â d i t y a's despatch of an ambassador to Kâśmîr[111] might be taken as some index that the later Silâras treated themselves as independent sovereigns. On this view the expressions *Mahâmaṇḍaleśvar*[112] and so forth, would be explicable on the theory suggested by Mr. Newton regarding the term *satrap*—that "in common with other similar titles, it must have come to be looked on as indicating authority only and not subordination."[113] In Marco Polo's time the Koṅkaṇ was still under Hindu princes—were they Silâras?—whom Polo describes as being 'tributary to nobody.'[114] The point is one, however, which cannot, I think, be settled finally in the present state of our materials.

From the numerous references to Śiva in the Silâra inscriptions, the family may well be inferred to have been devotees of Ś i v a.[115] J î m û t a v â h a n a's name, however, certainly suggests Buddhist associations.[116] Probably the creed of the princes was not of a narrow sort, and the evidence is daily accumulating, which shows that in days so late even as the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, sundry Hindu Princes showed considerable catholicity of spirit as between Hindu, Bauddha, and Jaina. The branch of the S i l â r a s, whose inscriptions are noted in Major Graham's volume on Kolhâpur, seems to have made grants alike to Brâhmaṇs and to Jainas.[117] And it may be remarked that the Inscription regarding the grant of the Koṅkaṇ to K a p a r d î II. is engraved on a Bauddha cave.

Tolls—which form the subject of the exemption recorded in the plate before us—appear to have been not an uncommon source of revenue in former times. Among the Inscriptions collected by Major Graham[118] too, there are several which record grants of tolls. As the trade at T h â ṇ â, C h e m u l y a, and S u p â r â appears to have been considerable,[119] the exemption granted by our plate cannot have been quite insignificant.

The names of the grantees and of some of the ministry are also remarkable. They all seem to be southerners. These "southerners" are also to be noticed in Dr. Bühler's plate, and in the Ambarnâth Inscription, as well as in the plate in the *Asiatic Researches*, and in Dr. Bühler's plate of the Râshṭrakûṭa G o v i n d a III. It is evident, therefore, that the "*ayya*" community occupied a position of considerable influence in those days even at the courts of princes, who were not directly ruling in the south. Upon the name of Ananta Pai Prabhu, which occurs in the Parel inscription, Mr. Wathen remarks as follows:—

"It is singular, however, and in support of the pretensions and traditions of the K â y a s t h a P r a b h u s, that they seem to have been ministers under this Râjâ, viz., A p a r â d i t y a." I am not quite so sure that Prabhu there does indicate the Prabhu caste, and I do not understand that Mr. Wathen has any other basis for his suggestion.[120] Against it we have to remember that in No. 8 of Mr. Wathen's own Inscriptions, a Brâhmaṇ is mentioned as bearing the name Keśav Prabhu, and there are persons named in our own plate as "Prabhus" who do not appear to belong to the Prabhu caste Even in our own days, P r a b h u is a Brâhmaṇ surname, and I am inclined to interpret the word in the various plates before us as indicating only a surname and not a name of a caste. The name A n a n t a-p a i also seems to indicate that that man was not of the Prabhu caste but a "southerner."

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110 Aparâditya also calls himself "*chakravarti* of the Koṅkaṇ." *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. p. 333. I may perhaps, observe here in passing, that Aparâditya, in both the Parel and the Ṭhâṇâ stone slab inscriptions, is described as Śrîmat Aparâditya, which clears up a difficulty suggested by Prof. Bhândârkar with regard to the Gurjara kings (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. X. p. 20 note). The same expression also occurs in the unpublished plate before referred to, in the present plate, and in other documents (e. g. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 136). It is, however, undoubtedly, of rare occurrence.

111 *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. (Extra No.) p. 51.

112 As to which cf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 145. Our plate, however, has also the expression महामांडलीक which can hardly be treated as a "title" only.

113 *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. 19. Cf. *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. p. 384. Upon this point the remark of Mill cited by Nairne (p. 21) about the grandiloquence of these princes is undoubtedly entitled to considerable weight.

114 Yule's *Marco Polo* vol. II. p. 330; Nairne, *Koṅkaṇ* p. 11; see also *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. p. 395.

115 Conf. *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV. p. 114; *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XII. pp. 331-335; *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 317 ff.; and vol. V. p. 278.

116 The seal would seem to point in the same direction: cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. I. pp. 210, 216.

117 *Vide* pp. 326-334 Dr. Taylor's grant is to Brâhmaṇs and begins with an invocation to Vishṇu. See too *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p. 10; and *J. R. A. S.* vol. II. p. 387 and cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. VII. p. 198; vol. VIII. p. 16; *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII. p. 2.

118 P. 327ff. Nos. 3, 13, &c.; see too *J.R.A.S.* vol. III. p. 98.

119 *Cathay*, vol. II. p. 99; *Marco Polo*, vol. II. p. 330.

120 As to which, see also *Journ. Bomb. Geog. Soc.* vol. VII. p. 139.

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XI C

Va.

GRANT OF VÎRA-CHOLA.

BY Rev. THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.R.A.S., CHAPLAIN OF SAINT JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

Description.—Two plates of a copper-plate grant, 10 in. long by 2½ in. wide, of unequal thickness, varying from 1/16 in. to 1/10 in., with a ring-hole in each, but without the ring. They are numbered 2 and 5 respectively; and therefore the document had originally six plates at the least, and probably seven. They are well preserved. They record the donation of a large village, called, after the father (?) of the donor, Parakosarichaturvedimaṅgalam, situated on the river Kâverî, to 150 Brâhmaṇs, by Vîra-Choḷa, with the consent of the reigning sovereign, Parakesarivarmâ, in order to obtain benefits for his ancestors in the world of spirits. The donation was made at the instigation of the prince's religious teacher, the Brâhmaṇ Nîla.

The grant is written in Sanskṛit verse of the Anushṭubh metre, except the incomplete verse at the beginning. The character is the old Grantha. The letters are firmly and distinctly engraved: but the engraving is not neatly executed.

Plate 2 contains a portion of the pedigree of the donor, tracing his descent from the Solar Race of the *Purâṇas* through Ragh u, the great-grandfather of the hero of the *Râmâyaṇa*. Plate 5, though only a fragment, contains the substance of the grant, and the circumstances of the donation.

Transliteration.

Plate II a.

[(v. 3 *probably*)].

1 bhavatâm bhavatât vibhûtyai trayi(yî)sâravastu chaturânana-
2 m âditejaḥ [||*] Vidhâtus tasya putro bhût Marîchirmmâna-
3 so mahân Mari(rî)cheś cha tanûjo bhût Kâśyapâ-
4 khyo mahâmuni(ḥ*) [||*] Kâśyapasya muner âsîd âtma-
5 jo bhânumân Ravirv(viḥ) viśveshâñcha(chi) lokânâm andha-
6 kârâpanodakṛit [||*] Vedavedâṁgatatvajño Vi-

Plate II b.

7 vasvataś cha suto Manuḥ âsîtkshitibhṛitâm âdyaḥ
8 praṇavaś chhandaśâm iva [||*] Ikshvâkuś cha mahâprâjño
9 bhaktimân Garuḍadhvaje Manos sûnuḥ kshiti(ṁ*) śa(śâ)sann âsi(sî)d Âkha-
10 ṇḍalasamaḥ [||*] Ikshvâkuvaṁśajâteshu kshatriyeshu
11 bahushvapi pâlayitvâ bhuvan digdhaṁ yâteshu cha divam
12 prati [||*] Sagaro nâma tadvaṁśe jâtavân bhûpapû(pu)ṁgavaḥ Bhagî-
13 rathopi tadvaṁśo tato jâto jano(ne)śvara(ḥ*) [||*] Raghur nnâma

Plate V a.

[v. 24, *probably*]

1 Rakshamâṇe bhuvam vî(vi)śva(śvâ)m Vi(Vî)ra-Choḷe nṛipeśvare dhamo(dharmmo)
2 padeshṭâ tasyâbhût Ni(Nî)lanâmâ mahîsuraḥ [||*] Yushmadgurûṇâṁ sa-
3 rvveshâṁ svarggaprâpaṇakâraṇaṁ brahmadeyan dvijendrebhyo
4 dehîtyenam adîdiśat [||*] Śrutvâ tadvachanaṁ râjâ gatvâ
5 Choḷamahi(hî)patin namaskṛitya puras tasya sthitvaitad abravî-
6 dvachaḥ [||*] Matde(dde)śe tu mahâgrâmaṁ dâsyâmi tava saṁ-

Plate V b.

7 jñayâ bhûsurebhyo hantatkâ(kâr)yye mahyan dehîtyanugrahaṁ [||*]
8 Tadâśu kurvvityanu(tyâ)jñâtaḥ Parakesarivarmmaṇâ pañchâśa-
9 dbhyaś śatebhyaś cha Vi(Vî)raCholo nṛipeśvaraḥ [||*] Parakesaricha-
10 turvvedimaṅgalâhvayaṁ pû(pûr)ṇṇaṁ Kâveryyâ svat(sval)panadyâ-
11 ś cha maddhyame supratishṭha(shṭhi)taṁ savva(rvva)lakshaṇasampannaṁ śâ-
12 lyâdisasyabhûshitaṁ [||*] Panasâmrâdisaṁyuktaṁ pûgârâmâ-

Translation.

May the substance of the three-fold *Veda* which is the primæval brightness of the four faced god,[1] be to you for riches.

Marîchi was the great mind-born son of that Vidhâtâ[2]: and the great Muni Kaśyapa was the son of Marîchi.

The bright Ravi[3] was the son of the Muni Kaśyapa; the dispeller of the darkness of all the worlds.

Manu, learned in the doctrines of the *Vedas* and *Vedângas*, was the son of Vivasvat[4]: he was the first of kings, as the sacred syllable[5] was the seed of the *Vedas*.

And Ikshvâku, pre-eminent in knowledge and the worshipper of Garuḍa-dhvaja,[6] was the son of Manu: as a protector of the earth he was the equal of Âkhaṇḍala.[7]

Very many Kshatriyas, born of the race of Ikshvâku having ruled the fruitful earth, and having set out on their heavenward journey,

The pre-eminent king Sagara was born in that race. In that race also Bhagîratha then was born, lord of men.

Raghu by name. . . . .

While Vîra Chôḷa, lord of kings, was ruling the whole earth, the Brâhmaṇ Nîla became his religious teacher.

He taught him thus:—"Bestow religious endowments on distinguished Brâhmaṇs, in order that all your ancestors may reach the heaven of Indra."

When the king heard that precept, he went to the Choḷa monarch, and having bowed down before him, he stood in his presence, and made this speech, saying, "I am proposing to make a donation of a large village in my district to the Brâhmaṇs, and to call it by your name: grant me your assent in that matter."

Having received a command from Parakesari Varmâ, saying, "Do so speedily;" Vîra Chôḷa, lord of kings, [*gave*] to one hundred and fifty persons, the whole [*village*] named Parakesari-chaturvedimaṅgalam, well situated between the Kâverî and the little river, abounding with all the signs of prosperity, and adorned with fields of rice and other grains, with jack, mango, and other fruit-trees, with areca-palm and other groves,

This grant affords the following items of historical information:—

1. It was issued in the reign of Parakesari Varmâ, who is described as the Chôḷa Mahîpati (vv. 26, 28); for whose complete identification we may as well wait patiently a little longer until more of the grants of the Chôḷas have been published.

2. Vîra Chôḷa, the grantor, was apparently his Yuva-râja. In what blood-relationship he stood to his sovereign does not here appear: but, from other information about the Chôḷa princes, I think we may safely regard him as his son.

3. Vîra Chôḷa had at this time a definite portion of the Chôḷa kingdom under his separate government; as appears from the words *mad-deśe* in v. 27: and his district or province lay on some portion of the banks of the Kâverî, as is shown in v. 29. The expression "little river" of v. 29, if *svalpa* is the proper correction of the *svalpa* of the plate, is insufficient for any identification of the confluence referred to in the description of the village. There is a tributary of the Kâverî called the "Chinnâr," which is the Tamiḷ equivalent of "Svalpanadî," as may be seen in Maps 60 and 61 of the Great Trig. Survey, which rises in the hills to the south of Ánaikal and Hosûr: but much weight cannot be put upon that circumstance. The plates were found at Nâmakal, in the Salem district: but even this circumstance affords but an uncertain clue to the identification of the agrahâram. The expression *chaturvedi-maṅgalam* is a mere title which was borne in common by several other known Brâhmaṇ settlements: and there are other instances, similar to the present one, of the names of the reigning kings, and other public functionaries, being given to new foundations of "chaturvedi-maṅgalams." But though the plate affords no certain clue to the identification of Vîra Chôḷa's *deśa*, considering that the immediate neighbourhood of the capital was probably under the direct government of the sovereign, it sends us to look for the province of the subordinate king somewhere

[1] Chaturânana, a name of Brahmâ.
[2] A name of Brahmâ.
[3] A name of Sûrya.
[4] A name of Sûrya.
[5] *Praṇava.*
[6] A name of Vishṇu.
[7] A name of Indra.

higher up the course of the Kâveri than the district of Tanjor. This brings us into the Salem and Koimbatur districts, which formed portions of the old Koṅgu kingdom down to the time of its conquest by the Chôḷa king Âditya Varmâ, some time (as it appears at present) about A.D. 894. Âditya Varmâ's son was named Vîra Chôḷa amongst other names: and it is probable enough that he may have been placed in the government of his father's conquest during his father's life-time. If this be so, the identification of the Vîra Chôḷa of this grant, and of his "deśa," as well as of his father Parakesari Varmâ, may so far be regarded as complete; subject, however, to the remarks which are presently to follow.

4. From the expression "lord of kings," and "ruling the whole earth," in vv. 24, 28, it may possibly be inferred, even after making due allowance for the laudatory exaggeration of some of these grants, that this Vîra Chôḷa had made conquests in the neighbouring kingdoms: and if this be so, it will add some amount of confirmation to the above identification of the prince.

5. The savour of Hinduism and Brâhmaṇism runs through the grant: but the religious creed of these two Chôḷa kings is not further to be ascertained from this document. The influence of Nîla upon Vîra Chôḷa, which seems to be mentioned with a special object, may possibly point to some innovation upon the former religious ideas of the prince.

The question now arises whether the materials already published respecting the kings of the Chôḷa dynasty afford sufficient data for the certain identification of the Vîra Chôḷa of this grant, and to fix the date of his reign? And the answer must be for the present,—Not quite yet. The name, or rather the title, of Vîra Chôḷa, with or without other combinations, has been borne by several of the Chôḷa princes; and the dates connected with these princes in the various scattered notices of them, are widely different and conflicting. My impression is that the above identification will not be disturbed: but I subjoin the following list of names in which the title 'Vîra Chôḷa' appears, arranged in alphabetical order, together with the different dates which have been assigned to them[*]:—

1. Vîra Chôḷa, who has been variously placed in K. Y. 1443, which may perhaps be a clerical error for ŚS. 1443; in the 1st century A.D.; in ŚS. 407; in ŚS. 899; in the end of the 9th century A.D.; from A.D. 1044 to 1114; and twenty-five generations before Uttama Chôḷa, the grandfather of Karikâla Chôḷa; while another authority makes a Vîra Chôḷa the great grandson of this or another Karikâla Chôḷa.

2. Vîra Chôḷa Deva, who is placed in ŚS. 1001; in ŚS. 1044; and whose viceroyalty of the Veṅgi country is made to extend from A.D. 1079 to 1135.

3. Vîra Chôḷa Mahârâja, who is placed in A.D. 1279.

4. Vîra Chôḷa Nârâyaṇa; and

5. Vîra Chôḷa Narâyaṇa Râya, who is apparently that Kûlottuṅga Chôḷa, the father of Adondai, in whose reign the Chôḷas conquered the Toṇḍamaṇḍalam from the Pallavas; which conquest has been variously placed in 3000 B.C.; some time previous to the Christian era; shortly before that era; in the 6th century A.D.; in the 8th century; and in the 9th, about A.D. 886; some time between A.D. 700 and 1000; in various years of the 12th century, ranging between A.D. 1118 and 1171; in A.D. 1200; and in A.D. 1233.

6. Vîra Chôḷa Râya, who has been placed in A.D. 978.

7. Vîra Deva Chôḷa, or

8. Vîra Deva Chôḷa Kulottuṅga Chôḷa, who is placed in the 12th century A.D.—1128 to about 1160.

9. Vîra Mârtaṇḍa Chôḷa, who seems to be the same as either No. 2 or No. 12.

10. Vîra Nârayana, the same as No. 4, 5.

11. Vîra Pâṇḍiya (Tam.), or Pâṇḍya (Sansk.) Chôḷa, who is said to be a contemporary of Râmânujâchârya, and placed about Fasly 460, and in ŚS. 939; while Râmânuja's dates also differ considerably.

12. Vîra Râjendra Chôḷa, to whom

[*] I have materials for the identification of these and a large number of other Chôḷa names and eponyms, which I hope to submit in a future paper. The subjoined list may be regarded as a specimen of the great confusion in which the chronology of the Chôḷas is at present involved.

various dates are given, ranging from ŚS. 460 to after A.D. 1273.

13. Vîra Śekhara Chôḷa, who was contemporary with Achyuta Râya of Vijayanagara; whose dates, with a few exceptions, range within the second quarter of the 16th century A.D.

14. Vîra Vikrama Chôḷa, who is the same as one of the preceding princes, but no date occurs with this form of the name.[9]

AN IDENTIFICATION OF A WESTERN CHÂLUKYA CAPITAL.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

At p. lxvii of the *Introduction* to his *Mysore Inscriptions*, Mr. Rice speaks of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., or Tribhuvanamalla, as apparently residing in A. D. 1077 "at Tagiri, perhaps the modern Daulatâbâd."

I have been asked whether this 'Tagiri' might not be a mistake for 'Tagara', which, at *id.*, p. lxxx, Mr. Rice gives as the older name of the ancient Dêvagiri or the modern Daulatâbâd, and which has been accepted as such by other writers of authority, though the identity of the two places is disputed, and on apparently good grounds, by Mr. McCrindle, at Vol. VIII., p. 143, (51), note.

This question led me to examine the two passages from which Mr. Rice has derived this name of 'Tagiri'; and the result is that I find the correct name to be, not 'Tagiri', but 'Êtagiri.'

The first passage is in No. 60 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, or No. 163 of my *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*. After giving a short description of Vikramâditya VI., the original continues, in l. 11:—*Antu dhareyaṁ nishkaṁṭakaṁ-mâḍi sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁd=Êtagiriya nele-vîḍinoḷ râjyaṁ-geyyuttam-ire.* Curiously enough, the reading given in the copy of this inscription in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 272, is *vinôdadiṁ Dêvagiriya nele-vîḍinoḷ*; but the correct reading of the original is perfectly distinct in the photograph, and is as I have given it above.

The second passage is in No. 77 of Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, or No. 164 of my *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.* The original runs, in l. 13:—*Śrîma(mat-)Tri(-tri)-bhuvanamalladêvara vijaya-râjyam=uttar-ôttar-âbhivṛiddhi-pravarddhamânam=[â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ baraṁ] saluttaṁ Êtagiriya nele-vîḍinoḷ*[1]*= sukha-saṁkathâ-[vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-ge]yyuttam-ire.* There is no copy of this inscription in the Elliot *MS. Collection*.

The above two passages are not metrical, and there is, therefore, nothing in them to show absolutely whether the first and third syllables of *Êtagiriya* are long, or short. But there can be no doubt on this point, as the only possible etymology is the Sanskṛit *êta*, 'a deer, or antelope,' and *giri*, 'a mountain.'

It remains to identify this town of Êtagiri. Having regard to the tendency of the modern Canarese language, as spoken, to prefix a *y* to an initial *e* or *ê*, and sometimes to convert an initial *ê* into *yâ*, we must look for some such name as 'Yêtagiri', or 'Yâtagiri.' And we have not to look far. There is a common enough surname in the Canarese Districts, which, with the usual indifference to orthography, is

[9] See also Dr. Burnell's references to *Jour. Lt. & Sc. Soc. Madras*, vol. XIII. pt. ii. p. 36; Reinaud, *Fragments*, pp. 92, 121; *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 284; *Jour. Ceylon As. Soc.* 1867, p. 26.

Dr. Burnell gives the following succession of the Chôḷa kings in the 2nd ed. of his *S. Ind. Palæography* (p. 40):—

Kerikâla Chôḷa (? about 950 A.D.)

Râjarâjâ Chôḷa, *alias* Narendra (40 or 41 yrs.), 1023 to 1064 A.D.

Vîra Chôḷa *alias* Kulottuṅga Chôḷa *alias* Râjarâjendra (Râjarâja) Kôppâkesarivarmâ (40 years), 1064 to 1113. His *abhisheka* took place in 1079.

Vikrama Chôḷa (15 yrs.), 1113 to 1128.

Kulottuṅga Chôḷa II. 1128 to ? ruled over the Tamiḻ country (Caldwell, *Gr.* p. 135) for, at least 30 years.

Vikramadeva, reigning 1235 (*Jour. Lit. & Sc. Soc. Mad.* vol. XIII. pt. i. pp. 50-1), Kalinga was lost in 1228 A.D.—ED.

[1] This is the only instance in which I have found this form of the Old-Canarese locative spelt with the ḷ. And it is the one instance that was wanting (see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 280, note 37) to enable us to authoritatively give to the Old-Canarese *baḷiya, baḷiya*, the meaning of 'included in, situated in', equivalent to the *madhyavartin* and *antargata* of corresponding passages in Sanskṛit inscriptions.

written sometimes 'Yâtagiri', and sometimes 'Yâtagîri.' The persons who own this surname take it from a town on the G. I. P. Railway in the Nizâm's Dominions, in lat. 16° 46′ N. and long. 77° 13′ E., and about eighty miles to the south by east from the modern Kalyâṇa, which is the site of the ancient chief capital of the same name of Vikramâditya VI. The name of this town is written 'Yedageery' in the Trigonometrical Survey Map, and 'Yedagiri' (with an optional form of 'Edgheery' in the *Index*) in Keith Johnston's *Map of India*. This Yedageery, Yedagiri, or Edgheery, of the maps is undoubtedly the Êtagiri of the inscriptions, which was one of the minor capitals of Vikramâditya VI.

MISCELLANEA.

FOLKLORE PARALLELS.

I am sorry to say that both Mr. Grierson and myself have been anticipated in our Folklore Parallel[1] by Dr. Reinhold Köhler in an article in *Orient und Occident*, vol. II. p. 111ff. Of course he does not mention the parallel in Laura von Gonzenbach's Sicilian stories, published in 1870, nor in his notes upon those tales does he mention the Indian tale. There are a great many interesting parallels of the kind in this little known periodical. I proceed to quote one which I am able to supplement from the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*. On page 135 of vol. I. Dr. Felix Liebrecht mentions a story in the *Avadânas* translated from the Chinese by Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1859, of a man who lost a vessel of silver, and made a mark in the water at the place where he lost it. He then remarks that he believes he has read this story in the 'Αστεῖα of Hierokles. On page 544 of vol. II. he gives an amusing parallel from England :—" A Yarmouth maltster hired an Irishman to assist in lading his ship with malt. Just as the vessel was about to set sail, the Irishman called out from the quay—Captain! I lost your shovel overboard, but I cut a big notch on the rail-fence round stern, right on the spot where it went down ; so you will find it when you come back." He compares also Hagen's *Narrenbuch*, p. 493.

The following is the form of this story in the Xth book of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* :—

" A certain foolish person, while travelling by sea, let a silver vessel fall from his hand into the water. The fool took notes of the spot, observing the eddies and other signs in the water, and said to himself—I will bring it up from the bottom when I return. He reached the other side of the sea, and as he was returning he saw the eddies and other signs, and thinking he recognised the spot, he plunged in to recover his silver vessel. When the others asked him what his object was, he told them, and got well laughed at and abused for his pains."

One of the amusing stories of fools related in the Xth Book of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* is (curious to say) found in one of Molière's plays. This is the Sanskṛit form of the story :—

" A certain fool was engaged in relating his father's good qualities in the midst of his friends. And describing his superior excellence he said—'My father has followed a strict vow of chastity from his youth, there is no man who can be compared with him.' When his friends heard this they said—'How did you come into the world?' He answered—'Oh! I am a mind-born son of his,' whereupon the matchless fool was well laughed at by the people." Now compare Sganarelle in *Le Mariage Forcé*—" La raison. C'est que je ne me sens pas propre pour le mariage et que je veux imiter mon père et tous ceux de ma race qui ne se sont jamais voulu marier."

The following *mûrkhakathâ* in the Xth Book of the *K. S. S.* has also its counterpart in Europe. A certain merchant said to his foolish servant—" Take care of the door of my shop, I am going home for a moment." After the merchant had said this, he went away, and the servant took the shop door on his shoulder, and went off to see an actor perform. And as he was returning his master met him, and gave him a scolding. And he answered : " I have taken care of this door as you told me." Compare with this the 37th story in Laura von Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*, " Giusa's mother wanted to go to the mass, and she said to him :—Giusa, if you wish to go out, draw the door to after you *(ziehe die Thür hinter dir zu)*. Instead of shutting the door Giusa took it off its hinges, and carried it to his mother in the church."

An incident in the 28th story of the *Sicilianische Märchen* may be paralleled from Indian literature. Lattughina said : " Fire be lighted," and immediately a clear fire burned upon the hearth. Then she said—" Come along, pan"—and a golden pan came and placed itself upon the fire ; " come along oil ;" and the oil came and poured itself into the pan. In the episode of Nala and Damayantî Nala is detected by his possessing similar powers. In the same episode the gods are discovered by their not winking. I do not know whether there are many parallels to this in Greek literature, but I lately came across one in the *Aethiopica* of

[1] See vol. VIII., p. 288.

Heliodorus which contains other Indian ideas. In the 13th chapter of the IIIrd book Kalasiris speaking of the gods, makes the following remark: *Τοὺς μὲν δὴ βεβήλους κὰν διαλάθοιεν, τὴν δὲ σοφοῦ γνῶσιν ὀυκ ἂν διαφύγοιεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ἂν γνωσθεῖεν ἀτενὲς διόλου βλέποντες καὶ τὸ βλέφαρον οὔποτ' ἐπιμύοντες, κ. τ. λ.* CHARLES H. TAWNEY.

JAMES WALES THE PAINTER.

In the Council Chamber at Bombay there are three large pictures, the first of Bâjî Râo, the second of the Nânâ Faḍnavîs, and the last of Mâdhavji Sindia.[1] All three were painted by Mr. James Wales, an artist who arrived in India in 1791, accompanied apparently by his family, as his eldest daughter was afterwards married to Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona, and became the mother of Sir Alexander Malet, so well known in diplomatic circles, and who still survives. The natural taste of the artist seems to have been in the direction of ancient architecture and sculpture. He was a Scotchman, hailing from Peterhead, on the coast of Aberdeen, and was educated at the Marischal College in the local capital. His exhibited pictures at the Academy were portraits, but in this country he devoted much time to the cave temples and other carvings, working in collaboration with Thomas Daniel at the Elurâ excavations. He worked also at Elephanta, making drawings of the sculptures there, and it was in pursuit of these researches that he met his death. The jungle grows thick in that part of the Island of Salsette where the interesting Buddhist works are found; and though the actual hill itself in which occur the caves of Kaṇheri is nearly bare, it has to be approached through tangles of undergrowth. Mr. Wales is reported to have died at Salsette, whither he had gone to make drawings of the excavations; we may presume he died at Ṭhâṇâ, which is some five miles from Kaṇheri, and unhealthy exposure was probably the cause of this sad and sudden termination of his labours. If he effected anything at Kaṇheri, it does not seem to have been preserved,[2] as the examination of the remains there is always associated with other names. We find no notice in the Indian Handbook of any monument to this worthy man.—*The Pioneer.*

[1] "Mr. Daniel's fine picture of the Punâ Durbar is unrivalled perhaps in oriental grouping, character, and costume; . . . It was painted for Sir Charles Malet from sketches by the late Mr. Wales; and the artist has shown the time when Sir Charles, then our ambassador at the Court of Punâ, attended by his suite, delivered to his Highness the Peshwa, in full Darbar, the treaty of alliance, ratified by his Majesty, between Great Britain and his Highness; made, preparatory to the war between the triple allied powers and Tipu in 1790."—This picture was well engraved, and published by Cribb in Holborn. Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon* (1810), p. 174.

[2] A collection of sketches in water colours, doubtless the work of Mr. Wales, is now in possession of J. Fergusson, Esq., D.C.L., of London. It contains sketches of the large slabs at Borwali, covered with carvings of fleets and armies in conflict, &c., of the curious little Buddhist Chaitya cave at Kondivtê, in Salsette, from which cave the inscription was copied by him, and with others from Elura, &c., given by him to Sir Charles Ware Malet, who sent them to Bengal for translation by Capt. Wilford, and publication in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. V., pp. 135-141).—ED.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA.*

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p. 29.*)

FATE OF THOSE WHO HAVE NO BELIEF IN VIRTUE; BENEFITS OF FAITH.

Mahâbhârata, iii. 13747f.

The fearful doom of all is sure
Who laugh at men whose lives are pure;
Who duty's binding force deny,
And scout all virtue as a lie.
The man who loves to live in sin
Is like a huge inflated skin;
With wisdom's show himself he cheats,
For vain are all his proud conceits.
No sin can want of faith exceed,
While men by faith from sin are freed.[3]
The faithful man throws off his sins;
As snakes cast off their worn-out skins.

[3] This, in sound, is very like the Antinomian doctrine of justification. The object of faith, however, in each case is different.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. WOOLLY HAIR, AND ELONGATED EAR-LOBES OF BUDDHA.—Where can I find any explanation of the Negro-like hair, short crisp curls, with which Buddha is generally represented in his statues? Recently at Kanauj and Sankêśar (Fatehgarh district) I have seen several statues of Buddha with this conventional treatment of the hair.

In these, and in other statues also, the lobes of the ear are greatly elongated (see also Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*). Has this ever been accounted for? If so, where?

At Manipuri, an old Zamindar, an Ahir, called upon me. The lobes of both his ears were elongated in the manner shown in the representations of Buddha, and hung down detached from the cheek, to a depth of about 2 inches. This formation did not appear to have been caused artificially, and the ears showed no marks of earrings, which, if heavy, would of course prolong the lobe of the ear.—H. RIVETT-CARNAC.

With regard to the query as to the woolly hair and elongated ear-lobes of Buddha, Mr. W. Simpson, the artist to the *Illustrated London News*, recently gave a lecture at the Society of Arts in London on Afghanistân and its antiquities. He mentioned the immense number of Buddhist

mounds and remains existing there, and Col. Yule, who was present, expressed his belief that ancient India extended to Kâbul, and that the Greeks when in those regions considered themselves in India. Amongst the antiquities from Afghanistân exhibited by Mr. Simpson, there was a small head of white stone, beautifully carved, the features purely and exquisitely regular and classical, but the ear-lobes as much elongated as in any image of Buddha, and the head covered with close crisp curls, with the border so sharply defined as strongly to suggest the sort of cap or wig imitating curled hair spoken of at page 240 vol. V. of the *Indian Antiquary*. There were the long pierced ear-lobes and the close curly hair, but the beautiful youthful countenance had no suggestion of Buddha, and the appearance of the hair strongly suggested an artificial covering.

London, December 1879. M. J. W.

Legend says that Gautama Buddha on leaving his home cut off his luxuriant locks; and as no images of him were made till long after his decease, the characteristics of the Buddha *sthaviras* of the day would be the only guide that the fabricators of the first images would have to model them by. Then, though *rupás* or ornamental figures in caves and temples were probably largely in vogue before this, there were no examples among them with short cut hair; this would puzzle the first artists. They would probably cut lines crossing each other all over the scalp and very close together; but the result would not be so satisfactory as the work would be laborious. By and bye we may suppose the width between the lines was increased, and the small knobs left between being somewhat rounded, the effect would be improved, and it would soon be generally adopted. When the Mahâyâna sect, in the sixth century, were gaining influence by their gorgeous ritual, this mode of representing the hair of Buddha was universal. It would be curious to compare any images that remain of earlier date or belonging to the Hinayâna or puritan sect. This short hair is one of the traditional points of beauty in Buddha's person.

As to the ear lobes: a mistake is not unfrequently made here. A careful examination of many images convinces me that what appears to be a very long pendant lobe is not always really so, but whilst the lobe was largely prolonged, as it is by the modern Kâṇphatas, an elongated link was inserted in the lower extremity of it: this link is often supposed to be *part* of the elongated lobe.

But it must not be forgotten that it is part of the physiognomical lore of the Hindus, that a man with short ear-lobes is deficient in religiousness, and that long ones are the sure mark of a good and great man: hence Buddha's ears must have had unusally long pendant lobes.

The Jaina Tîrthankaras are also represented with the same short hair and elongated ear lobes, as Buddha.

Ajanta Caves, 17th January 1880. Editor.

BOOK NOTICES.

Altindisches Leben: die Cultur der Vedischen Arier nach den Samhitâ dargestellt von Heinrich Zimmer; eine vom vierten Internationalen Orientalisten Congress in Florenz gekrönte preisschrift. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1879.[1]

The Prize gained by the author of this essay was one liberally offered by the Italian Government, which thus afforded a fresh stimulus to the efforts of the European scholars who are at present directing their attention to the study of Indian antiquity.

I shall first of all enumerate the contents of the work.

It is divided into three books. The first describes the land, its climate and formation, its products, mineral, vegetable, and animal, its inhabitants, Dasyus and Âryas, and their respective tribes. The second book treats of the external circumstances of the Vedic people, their government and law, their cattle-rearing and agricultural occupations, trades, commerce, &c., their clothing and finery, food and drink, amusements and wars. The third book gives an account of their internal relations, domestic life, morals, arts and sciences, writing and arithmetic, astronomy and cosmology, division of time, art of healing, death and burial, life after death.

In his preface (pp. v. ff.) the author remarks that the materials which we possess for sketching the state of civilization among the different races allied to us in speech, at the period when they emerged from the darkness of primeval antiquity, are very different in the case of each branch.

As regards the forefathers of the Germans, there is the *Germania* of Tacitus, in which scarcely any side of life is left undescribed. This, combined with their own language and literature, especially those of the north, furnishes a picture of their prehistorical life, such as is obtained in the case of no other kindred European race.

The sources of our knowledge of the earliest

[1] (Life in Ancient India; the Civilization of the Vedic Âryans described according to the Saṁhitâ; a prize essay crowned by the fourth International Congress of Orientalists in Florence. Berlin: Weidmann, 1879.)

history of the Indians, Dr. Zimmer proceeds, are of an essentially different character. None of the Phœnicians, who in Hiram's and Solomon's time, and no doubt earlier, sailed to Ophir, and brought back thence Indian names, along with Indian productions, give us any account of the people with whom they traded. Nor have the Indians any Homer belonging to the period preceding their immigration into Hindustan proper: our knowledge of this people's life is obtained solely by collecting the scattered allusions which are found in their surviving lyrical poetry of that period.

Yet the literature of no Indo-Germanic race has rescued from a remote antiquity such a mass of hymns as are found in the four Vedic *Sanhitâs* of the Indians. These Vedic lyrics are fortunately of a very realistic character.

Their prayers, hymns of praise or thanks-giving, supply us with many means of insight into their mundane relations and the objects of their desires. They lay bare their virtues and vices before the all-seeing gods. The *Rik* and *Atharva Sanhitâs*, which were not compiled with purely liturgical views, contain also a number of hymns and fragments which introduce us into the innermost life of the people. The notices which we thus obtain are the more valuable as coming from contemporaries who were taking a part in the affairs to which they refer, and who, besides, do not all belong to one period, but place before us the developments of their people's life during several centuries. These Ṛishis, it is true, do not answer all our questions; regarding many keen enquiries they maintain an obstinate silence. Setting aside such points as these (of which the writer gives some examples), from what the Ṛishis communicate, we can draw a picture of the life of that lively youthful people,—strong in faith in the gods,—which is clearer and more exact than Tacitus gives of the Germans. To supply such a picture is the author's design.

I shall proceed to state some of the contents of chapters iv., v. and vi. pp. 104ff. in which Dr. Zimmer treats of the Indian races, and traces the gradual formation of the caste system which afterwards prevailed in Hindustan.

The oldest settlements of the Âryas in historical times were in East Kâbulistân, and along the banks of the upper Indus. The different tribes advanced thence along the valley of the Indus southwards and eastwards into the land of the Seven Rivers, drove the aborigines out of their flourishing possessions, which they themselves then occupied. The expelled aborigines retired northward to the Himâlayas, or southward to the Vindhya mountains, while many of their men and women remained as the slaves of the invaders (p. 107). The distinction between the two races, Âryas and Dasyus or Dâsas (p. 109), was clearly marked by their difference of complexion (*varṇa*), the Dasyus being black and the Âryas white, a difference which must have been more striking in the early days of the immigration, before the colour of the Âryas had been much affected by the climate (p. 113). The two races also differed in speech (p. 114), but the greatest difference was in their religion (p. 115). The Dasyus did not worship the gods of the Âryas. Of their own religion little appears. But the author inclines to agree with Prof. Ludwig that the epithet *śiśnadeva* applied to the enemies of the Âryas means *phallus* or *linga*-worshippers (p. 116). The Dasyus are represented as being rich in cattle which the Âryas naturally coveted. Until the latter had gained the upper hand, they lived in a state of hostility with the Dasyus. This condition of things is discernible in the contents of the hymns. Eventually large Âryan tribes advance eastward and conquer for good Hindustân between the Himâlayas and Vindhyas. The large portions of the Dasyu population which did not retire to the hills, embraced the faith of the Âryas, and became to some extent assimilated to their conquerors. The social condition of the Âryas also underwent important changes; the caste system became more and more developed: the subjected aborigines obtained a recognised position in the State, by becoming a fourth caste. It is not to be doubted that in the long period before this took place, Âryan had become largely intermixed with aboriginal blood. Dasyu virgins and women came as slaves into the houses of the Âryas: some of them may have become mistresses of the household. The word Dasyu now disappears in our ethnological sense, (though the name continues to be applied to the aborigines), and is succeeded by the appellation Śûdra. The latter word is unknown to the early Vedic era: it only appears along with Brâhmaṇa, Râjanya, and Vaiśya in *R. V.* x. 90, 12, a hymn which can only date from the period when the Indian people had become divided into classes according to the Brâhmanical system (pp. 116, 117). Just alluding to what Dr. Zimmer tells us in pp. 118ff. of the different tribes of the Dasyus and of the Âryas, the *Pancha-janâh, Pancha-kṛishṭayaḥ*, appellations under which he understands the Yadus, Anus, Druhyus, Turvaśas and Pûrus to be meant, and what he says of the other tribes mentioned in the Ṛigveda, the Ṭṛitsus, Bharatas, &c. I come to the fuller account which he gives in his 6th chapter of the constitution of Âryan society, and the formation of the caste system.

Each Âryan state was ruled by a king (p. 162) whose office was often, though not always, heredi-

tary, but sometimes elective, though whether he could only be chosen out of a particular family does not appear. Constant obedience to him is enjoined (p. 166), and the offering of gifts, not the payment of tribute. In nearly every tribe we find families of bards, who were attached to the king's court, and celebrated his exploits and those of his people; like Vasishṭha's family among the Tṛitsus and that of Viśvâmitra among the Bharatas. They had to live chiefly on the king's bounty, and so sought as far as possible to render themselves indispensable. Offerings or libations, they said, were not acceptable to Indra unless accompanied by hymns of praise. But it was not every king or wealthy man who could, on occasion of important ceremonies, produce such a composition of the proper sort. A member of one of the families of bards then took his place, became his *purohita*. If the sacrifice was visibly blest, the bards knew how to turn this circumstance to account. Thus Vasishṭha impresses on Sudâs (*R. V.* vii. 33. 6) that it was because he (V.) was *puraetar*, that the Tṛitsus were victorious, and the Bharatas overcome; and his opponent Visvâmitra asserts (*R. V.* iii. 53. 12) that his hymn protected the Bharatas. The prince was constantly reminded how necessary it was to attach the bard to himself and to reward him liberally. To give force to these demands, the bards ascribed their calling, as well as their right to receive presents, to Indra.

The stingy are in the bard's eyes "godless," and they call the liberal, "pious, men who fulfil their duty." (p. 168f.) The presents which the kings made to them were often princely (p. 170), especially after victory over a dangerous foe. If these gifts are sometimes exaggerated with a purpose (that of influencing other patrons) in the portions of the hymns celebrating liberality, still they were often considerable. The subjects of the bards' encomiums were not only kings, but also wealthy men who employed them.

Passing over the contents of pp. 171—185 (from which various details of the civil and social life of the Âryas might be quoted), he comes to the question, proposed as follows, p. 186: Did the caste system exist in the Vedic age? To answer this precisely, that age must be itself defined. If we understand it of the time when all the hymns and sacrificial formulas which we find in the Vedic *Sanhitâs* were in existence, the question must be answered in the affirmative. But if we mean by it the period when the Âryas dwelt principally in East Kâbulistân, and in the land of the seven rivers, and single tribes only had advanced towards the Jumna and the Ganges, in short the period at the close of which king Sudâs and his Purohita Vasishṭha stand as the latest important figures,—then the existence of castes must be unconditionally denied. After other remarks, Dr. Zimmer goes on (in p. 189) to say: If the Vedic people while still living on this [the western no doubt is meant] side of the later Sarasvatî, in the land of the seven rivers, was already in possession of the Brâhmaṇical order, the caste system and a special priestly class, how does it happen that the Âryan tribes, which had continued to occupy these settlements, were at the time of the rise of the Indian epic poetry regarded as half barbarians by the Brâhmanized dwellers in Madhyadeśa? And the [*Tâṇḍya*, or] *Panchavinśa Brâhmaṇa*, which Weber (*Hist. of Ind. Lit.* p. 66ff. of Engl. transl.) would regard as the oldest of those works, when describing the march of these tribes to the Sarasvatî, says of them that "they do not observe the Brâhmaṇical rules; not being Brâhmaṇically consecrated, they speak the language of the consecrated" (17, 1. 14). Did these tribes remain true to the institutions of their ancestors, or had they abandoned the ancient traditional order of their society? The answer will not seem doubtful to any one to whom it is not, as it is to the Indian theologians, an article of faith, imbibed with their mothers' milk, that the social divisions prevailing in later times were primeval, that the divinely favoured Ṛishis of old worshipped the gods exactly as their successors did.

Let us therefore proceed on the established fact that the Vedic people were unacquainted with the division of society into castes during that period of their development at the close of which King Sudâs and his Purohita Vasishṭha appear as the last important figures.

These two men and the Tṛitsus whom they led succeeded in the famous battle of the ten kings, on the banks of the Parushṇî, in stopping the advance of the united tribes of the North-western Panjâb towards the south-east. But the Tṛitsus must at last have succumbed to a renewed invasion, as we hear no more of them, or of any descendants of the renowned Divodâsa and Sudâs, whilst some of the tribes which they had overcome in that battle, as the Pûrus, afterwards attained to great power. The period which follows is one of the darkest in Indian history. When we reach a period of more light, we encounter a people so accustomed to altered conditions of life, institutions and religious ideas, as to have begun to lose the power of understanding the state of things described in the hymns of the ancient Ṛishis, and to look upon their brethren of the same race who had remained in their old abodes, and adhered to their ancient institutions, as semi-barbarous (p. 191f).

Let us endeavour to make clear to ourselves

more in detail, the modifications gradually undergone by the Âryan Indians. The tribes in the north-west of the Panjâb begin to advance further into Hindustân. To effect this, and overcome the foes by whom they are opposed, they have to combine into larger masses. One of the kings, the most distinguished and powerful, is entrusted with the chief command, and thus gains yet more in consideration. The opposing tribes are overcome, and forced to aid in the expedition; and no doubt their chiefs lose their independence. Through severe conflicts with the aboriginal Śûdras, the extensive country between the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains is gained; large tracts on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges are occupied. Those of the aborigines who do not flee to the hills, embrace the religion of their conquerors, and remain in their villages as tolerated, though often oppressed, members of the State. The victors are scattered over the conquered territory, and so their fighting men cannot be readily collected, as they could be in the small principalities in the Panjâb. Plundering inroads of the dispossessed aborigines, who had retired to a distance, revolts of the only apparently subjected population, attacks of Âryan tribes, compel the S a m r â j (sovereign prince) to have always a band of warriors around him. The small tribal chiefs used to have a large number of followers. Now, under this new order of things, they were deprived of their power, either forcibly, or gradually through the importance of a single ruler, which constantly increased in troublous times, and sank with their numerous families and dependants into the position of a martial nobility surrounding the sovereign prince.

The sovereign was thus enabled in the small feuds which were constantly occurring, to dispense with the help of the people, the V i ś. The martial nobility began more and more to regard arms as their occupation, to devote themselves exclusively to a military life, and to transmit it as an inheritance to their descendants. The rest of the people, devoted entirely to agriculture, the rearing of cattle, and peaceable traffic, became less skilled in the use of arms, while the altered climatic conditions contributed more and more to relax their energies. In this way two classes arise which become always more separated (p. 193f).

But it was not to be the lot of the warrior class and of the ruler, to reap the entire harvest: the best part of it was taken from them by others.

We have seen that the families of the bards lived, held in high honour, at the courts of the petty tribal princes, whose exploits they celebrated. But their action in another direction was yet more important, and influenced profoundly the entire national development. With their poetical endowments they lived in the service of religion; they laid before the gods the desires of the princes and of wealthy men; they lauded in well composed hymns the might and glory of the deities, and thanked them for the blessings which they had bestowed. In return for this service, they obtained rich gifts. They thus acquired the reputation of being more highly qualified for the worship of the gods, for the celebration of sacrifice; they began to boast of being the objects of the special favour of the gods. Towards the end of the Vedic period properly so called, it had already become the custom for the prince, no longer himself to offer the sacrifices which were necessary for the State and the tribe, but to cause them to be celebrated by a bard so gifted. The person entrusted with this function was called *purohita* (*puraetar* in *R. V.* vii. 33. 6). We have here, as Roth was the first to recognize (on the *Lit. and Hist. of the Veda*, p. 117),—to seek for the origin and oldest form of the Indian priesthood (p. 194f).

The employment of a Purohita was, indeed, at this period customary, but not yet a duty binding upon the prince. But the priestly bards sought to impress upon the king the necessity for such a course. The functions of the Purohita, if one was appointed, were not however confined to one of these gifted bards. Kings' sons could fulfil them, as in the case of Devâpi (Yâska, *Nirukta*, ii. 10, and *R. V.* x. 98). Nor was the office as yet hereditary in any family.

But all the objects at which the priestly bards were aiming towards the close of the Vedic period, were fully and amply attained by them in the succeeding period of conflict, fermentation and confusion. If these priestly leaders had hitherto been honoured and rewarded by the tribal princes as trusted counsellors and helpers in religious matters, their estimation among the people in virtue of their actual or arrogated higher qualifications was not less, especially if they were the heads of numerous families. In the struggles of the pretty princes for supremacy, the leaning of such and such a bard towards one or the other side was, consequently, often decisive of the issue. Modesty was never a characteristic of the old Ṛishis: much less can these their descendants have failed to profit by the opportunity, when the king owed his power to their intervention.

The personal relations of individuals to the gods declined the more, the oftener these bards intervened as mediators; the forms of worship became more manifold, the number of the ceremonials increased, the results of the sacrifices were made to depend more upon their right celebration than

on the intention of the sacrificer. The families of the bards carefully preserved the ancient hymns of their forefathers which had often visibly secured the favour of the gods, the estimation of the hymns was in every way sought to be enhanced. Who else was it but these priestly families, with their preponderance of culture, and their intellectual and moral influence which was thus strengthened, that established on a new basis the worship in the conquered districts of Hindustân? And if they sought to make the civil institutions also entirely dependent on themselves, this is easily understood from the position which they had already occupied. If, now, these powerful associations, formed of the priestly bards of the petty tribal princes and their families, which were united by community of interests and identity of education, whose right of decision in divine things was scarcely disputed, which claimed, and in many points possessed, the same voice in civil matters also,—if these associations made their order dependent on birth, then a close priestly caste had been formed, and stood over against the other classes in the State.

The rulers, and the martial nobility, which had grown into a distinguished order, did not, however, bow submissively to the claims of the priestly community which became ever more unbounded. It was only after hard internal struggles, after being subjected to oppression and violence in different ways, that the priests succeeded in carrying through their demands, and in moulding the religious and civil life of the Indian people in accordance with their ideals, and in a way conducive to their own advantage (pp. 194—197).

Wonderful was the pertinacity with which the priestly class maintained its claims, and always brought them forward anew. They gradually succeeded in conquering the resistance of the kings and nobles, and in obtaining the recognition of their four prerogatives,—reverence (*archâ*), gifts (*dâna*), immunity from oppression (*ajyeyatâ*), and the inviolability of their persons (*avadhyatâ*). The further transformation of social and religious life according to their ideals now advanced irresistibly. In order to rear a further barrier between the different branches of the Âryan people it was only necessary further to make the order of warriors,—which was mainly composed of royal and noble families, and which had acquired a privileged position above the mass of the people, the cultivators and tradesmen,—dependent upon birth; and the common free men appertaining to the Viś, then formed the third caste, that of the Vaiśyas. As an authorized member of the State, was added the subjected indigenous population, which had become somewhat assimilated to the Âryas in religion and customs: it formed the fourth caste, that of the Śûdras.

The reader will, I think, have perused with interest the extracts from Dr. Zimmer's book which I have placed before him, and which appear to me to treat with ability a most important chapter in Indian history, the rise and growth of the caste-system, so far as its genesis can be conjecturally traced.

Edinburgh, September, 1879. J. MUIR.

INDIAN FAIRY TALES, collected and translated by MAIVE STOKES. Calcutta: 1879.[1]

No better account can be given of Miss Stokes's collection of Indian Fairy Tales, than that which she herself gives in the preface:—

"The first twenty-five stories in this book were told me at Calcutta and Simla by two Ayahs, Dunkni and Mûniyâ, and by Karîm, a Khidmatgar. The last five were told mother by Mûniyâ. At first the servants would only tell their stories to me, because I was a child, and would not laugh at them, but afterwards the Ayahs lost their shyness, and told almost all their stories over again to mother when they were passing through the press. Karîm would never tell his to her or before her. The stories were all told in Hindûstâni, which is the only language that these servants know."

We have thus the most unmistakable evidence that all these tales form part of the popular poetry that still lives among the people of India, and there is no reason to suspect that they have in any way been modified by European influences, except so far as the tellers must necessarily have modified them in order to adapt them to the understanding and morals of an English child. One obvious modification is pointed out and accounted for in the notes. "In these stories the word translated God is Khudâ. Excepting in 'How king Burtal became a Fakîr' (p. 85) and in 'Râjâ Harichand's Punishment' (p. 224) in which Mahâdeo plays a part, the tellers of these tales would never specify by name the god they spoke of. He was always Khudâ, 'the great Khudâ who lives up in the sky.' In this they differed from the narrator of the '*Old Deccan Days*' stories, who almost always gives her gods and goddesses their Hindu names, probably because from being a Christian she had no religious scruples to prevent her from so doing."

The stories have been rendered into English, which though simple is clear and forcible, and some of them would, we imagine, be favourites in an English nursery, as well as with children of a

[1] One hundred copies privately printed.

larger growth. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the interest they will excite in all students of folklore. Their value in this respect is much increased by the notes by the collector's mother, which contain illustrations from the Folklore of every country in the world, and are evidently the result of diligent and observant study. It would be difficult to find in any book so much erudition packed into so small a compass. We might instance as an example the elaborate note on the passage in the 1st story, "Her beauty lights up a dark room" (p. 240).

As a specimen of the stories we will choose the following, (p. 39) which happens to be one of the shortest :—

The Bulbul and the Cotton Tree.—There was once a bulbul, and one day as he was flying about, he saw a tree on which was a little fruit. The bulbul was much pleased and said, "I will sit here till this fruit is ripe, and then I will eat it." So he deserted his nest and his wife, and sat there for twelve years without eating anything, and everyday he said, "To-morrow I will eat this fruit." During these twelve years a great many birds tried to sit on the tree, and wished to build their nests in it, but whenever they came, the bulbul sent them away, saying, "This fruit is not good. Don't come here." One day a cuckoo came, and said, "Why do you send us away? Why should we not come and sit here too? All the trees here are not yours." "Never mind," said the bulbul, "I am going to sit here, and when this fruit is ripe, I shall eat it." Now the cuckoo knew that this tree was the cotton-tree, but the bulbul did not. First comes the bud, which the bulbul thought a fruit, then the flower, and the flower becomes a big pod, and the pod bursts, and all the cotton flies away. The bulbul was delighted when he saw the beautiful red flower, which he still thought a fruit, and said, "When it is ripe, it will be a delicious fruit." The flower became a pod, and the pod burst. "What is all this that is flying about?" said the bulbul. "The fruit must be ripe now," so he looked into the pod, and it was empty; all the cotton had fallen out. Then the cuckoo came, and said to the angry bulbul: "You see if you had allowed us to come and sit on the tree, you would have had something good to eat; but as you were selfish, and would not let any one share with you, God is angry, and has punished you by giving you a hollow fruit."

Then the cuckoo called all the other birds, and they came and mocked the bulbul. "Ah! you see God has punished you for your selfishness," they said. The bulbul got very angry, and all the birds went away. After they had gone, the bulbul said to the tree: "You are a bad tree, you are of use to no one, you give food to no one." The tree said, "You are mistaken, God made me what I am. My flower is given to sheep to eat. My cotton makes pillows and mattresses for man." Since that day no bulbul goes near a cotton tree.

We proceed to note one or two parallels which suggest themselves on a cursory perusal of the book.

The way in which Phûlmati Rânî is supplanted in the first story reminds us of Die Gänsemagd, No. 89 in Grimm's *Kinder und Hausmärchen*, also of the story of Hansâvatî in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Lambaka xii. Taranga 71. For the manner in which Phûlmati is recovered at the end of the story, compare the story of Hasan of El-Basrah, Lane's *Arabian Nights*, vol. III. p. 389.

A modern Indian story very nearly resembling the Xth story is quoted by Benfey, *Panchatantra*, vol. I. p. 261, from the XIth vol. of the *Asiatic Journal*. Here the monkey skin is worn by a lady.

In the XIth story Hirâlâl Bâsâ addresses the Râkshasa as "uncle." In the notes a tale is quoted from the *Indian Antiquary*, in which two brothers address a tiger by the same propitiatory title: compare the 7th Fable of the Vth book of the *Panchatantra* (Dr. Bühler's edition), where the musical donkey calls the jackal "nephew," and is in turn addressed by him as "uncle."

Sonahrî's betrayal of the Râkshasa finds a parallel in the betrayal of Angâraka by his daughter Angâravatî in the 11th Taranga of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*.

In the XIIth story the episode of the extraction of the thorn in the tiger's foot reminds us of the story of Androclus in Aulus Gellius, v. 14. Compare also *Gesta Romanorum* CIV. The gratitude of the animals calls to mind the story of Bodhisattva in the 65th Taranga of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, which is the same as the second story in the appendix to the 1st book in Benfey's translation of the *Panchatantra*, "Die dankbaren Thiere und der undankbare Mensch." For parallels see Benfey's 1st vol. p. 192 and ff. A striking one is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Bohn's edition, page 212. For the incident of the man coming out of the alligator's stomach, conf. *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Taranga 74, śl. 192ff. See also the story of the Śaktideva in the 25th Taranga.

With the *lichi* in the XVth story conf. the elixir in the beginning of the 39th Taranga of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, also the *pâyasa* in the 16th Sarga of the *Râmâyaṇa*.

The wonderful knowledge of Khelâparî Rânî in the XVIth tale may be paralleled by that of the *pativratâ* Brâhman lady in the 56th Taranga of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, śl. 174ff.

The horse Kâtar in the XXth story may be compared with that in the Widow's Son, Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, p. 295.

The XXIInd story may be compared with the fable in the *Panchatantra*, previously referred to under the title of "*die dankbaren Thiere und der undankbare Mensch.*" The episode of the ant-king resembles an incident in Svend's Exploits, Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories* p. 353.[2] For the tasks we may compare the story of Śringabhuja in the 39th Taranga of the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, and the numerous parallels adduced by Dr. Reinhold Köhler in *Orient und Occident*, vol. II. p. 103ff.

In this story, the Râjâ's son cheats four *fakîrs* out of a bed, a bowl, a stick, a rope, and a bag, which possess magic properties, by shooting four arrows in different directions, and persuading them to run and fetch them. The bed carried the owner whithersoever he wished to go, the bag gave its owner whatever he wanted in the way of food or clothes, the bowl gave him as much water as he required, and the stick and rope would, on being ordered, beat and tie up his enemies. Of course the prince escapes by means of the bed, while the *fakîrs* are fetching the arrows. This recalls Grimm's story of "Der Geldene Berg." In his notes he gives numerous parallels, one from the *Kathá Sarit Ságara* Taranga 3; many will be found also in H. H. Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. III. p. 168, note. We have found another in the 31st of the Sicilian Tales published by Laura von Gonzenbach.

In the XXIVth story, that of the "Demon and the King's Son," the demon causes his daughter to be dead all day and alive all night by changing the position of two sticks, one of which is at her head and another at her feet. In the Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα, of Antonius Diogenes (Didot's *Scriptores Erotici*, p. 509), Paapis makes Dercyllis and Mantinias die during the day and come to life at night by spitting in their faces.

For the way in which the heroine of the XXVth story gains her information about Prince Sabr, compare Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, p. 390. There are an intelligent *parrot* and an equally intelligent *maina* in the 3rd story of the *Vetála Panchavinśati* (*Kathá Sarit Ságara*, Taranga 77).

The XXVIIth story of Pânwpatti Rânî is the 1st of the *Vetála Panchavinśati*, the 75th Taranga of the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*.

The XXVIIIth story is compared with that of Upakośâ in the *Kathápítha*, translated by Dr. Bühler in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. I. (October 1872) p. 305. See also Mr. Damant's *Dinagepore Legends*, pp. 2 and 3 of the present volume.[3] Wilson tells us (*Collected Works*, vol. III. p. 173) that besides being found in other Oriental collections it is a story of ancient celebrity in Europe as 'Constant Du Hamel ou La Dame qui attrapa un Prêtre un Prevot et un Forestier' (Legrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris: 1829, vol. IV. pp. 246—256). See also Liebrecht's translation of Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, p. 246, and the translator's note. Dunlop expresses his belief that it came from India through Persia.

We think we have said enough to show the scientific importance of these stories.

In conclusion we beg to congratulate Miss Stokes on having done for the Folklore of Northern India what Miss Frere has done for that of the Dekhan.

C. H. T.

KÂVYETIHÂSASANGRAHA—A Collection of Poetical and Historical Pieces. Poona: 1878-79.

It is certainly a matter for congratulation, that there are at the present day numerous signs, showing that the attention of many of our educated people is being seriously directed to the preservation and development of Marâṭhi literature. It cannot be said, of course, that much has yet been actually done, still it is something to know that, at all events in many quarters, there is now none of that cold indifference with which the vernacular languages of the country used to be formerly looked upon. We may, therefore, fairly hope that, in process of time, this new feeling with respect to Marâṭhi literature may lead to very substantial and tangible benefits.

The publication, of which the name heads this notice, is, in our judgment, one of the most important and useful of the productions to which the feeling referred to has given birth. Whether in consequence of defect of management, or of some other cause, that publication has not become so widely known as it deserves to be. It commenced to be published in January 1878, and from that time till now the monthly parts have come out with pretty fair regularity. The contents are divided into three separate departments, so to say: the first is intended to contain old *documenta* of Marâṭhâ history; the second is to contain unpublished Marâṭhi poems; and the third is to contain unpublished Sanskṛit poems. The original matter which the Editors are to supply will embrace information regarding the various pieces to be published, and their authors, short notes in explanation of difficult words, &c., and in the case of the historical portion, references from time to time to Grant Duff's *History of the Marâṭhâs*, and other similar works. Such is the general scheme of the publication; and if it is executed with even ordinary care, it cannot fail to be of the greatest service to the interests of the literature and history of West-

[2] See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII. pp. 37-38, 230, and 288.

[3] I may here mention that there is a curious parallel to the termination of Mr. Damant's story in *Sicilianische Märchen*, 36, Die Geschichte von Sorfarina. But it is perhaps unnecessary to go so far afield when we have such a striking one in our own Shakspere.

ern India. So far as the undertaking has already progressed, we have no hesitation in saying that, upon the whole, the work has been done very judiciously. In the first department, we have already had one very interesting *Bakhar* completed. It gives a connected narrative of the careers of all the Peshvâs from Bâlâjî Vishvanâth down to the last Bâjîrâv, and has been called the "*Peshvâ's Bakhar.*" The other, which is now in process of publication, and which has been named "*Bhâu Sâheb's Bakhar,*" relates to that most important period of Marâṭhâ history, the period of the battle of Pâṇipat. The principle adopted in printing the first was rather an uncritical one, as the Editors permitted themselves to make sundry alterations in the text of the *Bakhar* in order to render the narrative more perspicuous. In printing the second *Bakhar*, however, they have abandoned that principle, and we trust they will not act on it again with reference to any of the other documents they may publish. And this the rather, that, as the Editors themselves observe, these *Bakhars*, besides supplying the raw material for History, are also of high value as specimens of the old style of Marâṭhi prose.

The Editors mention sundry other *Bakhars* as being in their possession, and they are also on the look-out for more. We trust that their efforts in rescuing from oblivion these valuable records will prove successful. The duty of contributing to a trustworthy and complete history of the Marâṭhâ power belongs especially to us in Western India. But no systematic attempt had been made in this direction till the publication of the work before us. Individual members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have often talked about the matter at meetings of the Society, but nothing tangible has yet come out of such talk, while the Society still continues to receive from Government a sum of nearly Rs. 300 per month, which was originally intended, we believe, to be applied towards the publication of documents illustrative of Marâṭhâ history. We hope that those who have the control of the affairs of the Society will look into this matter betimes.

In the second department of the publication before us, we have already had one or two small pieces by the poet Vâman and one or two by other and less known writers. The works now in process of publication are, firstly, the *Vana Parva* of Muktesvara, whom, the late Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstrî Chiplonkar used to regard as the best among Marâṭhi Poets, and secondly the *Pûrṇa Mantra Bhâgavata* of Moropant, which is remarkable, like most of that author's performances, for a very ingenious verbal contrivance, by which each stanza contains the letters नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय, in that order, although other letters intervene. The letters, it will be perceived, make up a sentence meaning "Salutation to the venerable Vâsudeva," which is the *Mantra* from which the work takes its name. In this department, the Editors have also collected together some useful items of information regarding the three great poets, whose works are embraced in it, namely, Vâman, Mukteśvar, and Moropant.

The third department contains unpublished Sanskṛit poems. In this part, the place of honour, if we may say so, was given to a work called *Mukundânanda Bhâṇa.* We own that we have been utterly unable to wade through the whole of that work. And we do not think we can be charged with squeamishness in our taste, if we say, that we consider the work so exceptionable, as not to be entitled to any place whatever in such a publication as the present, let alone the place of honour. We can only express our great regret that the Editors should have thought it worth while to preserve such a performance in print. The other pieces are, however, good ones. The first, *Aparokshânubhûti*, is a work ascribed to Śankarâchârya, and the other is a *Râmâyaṇa* by the famous Marâṭhi poet Moropant, which is curious as showing, among other things, the same verbal ingenuities as those which mark his Marâṭhi poetry. This work has not yet been completed.

Upon the whole, we trust we have said enough to show that this publication is a very meritorious one, and deserving of the patronage of all who take an interest in Sanskṛit and Marâṭhi literature and in the history of India—especially the history of the Marâṭhâs. It is at present conducted on a scale smaller than is required by the nature of the subjects it deals with. At the present rate, it will take years before even a fairly large number of *Bakhars* can be published. And the same thing may be said of the large mass of Marâṭhi literature which still remains unprinted. As to Sanskṛit, the call for such work is not urgent, because there are many other agencies at work directed to the publication of old Sanskṛit pieces. But as regards the other two departments, the publication before us is almost the only one in the field. A few years' delay, and we fear there will be no harvest to reap at all.

We have been informed, that the only difficulty in the way of enlarging the size of the present publication is the vulgar one—money. We trust that the public will patronize the work so as to get rid of this difficulty, and we shall be glad if our notice serves to introduce the publication to the knowledge of a larger circle of readers than it commands at present.

K. T. TELANG.

ÂNDHRA COINS.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

IN the *Indian Antiquary* vol. VI. for 1877, pp. 274 to 277, I described some remarkable coins of the Â n d h r a dynasty: simultaneously making an appeal to our correspondents in Southern India to aid in the development of the ancient history of the peninsula by contributing additional examples of the local coinages. This appeal has been responded to from several quarters, but notably in the new acquisitions of Mr. R. Sewell, Madras C.S., Mr. J. Burgess, and Dr. Codrington.

These contributions enable me to place the preliminary outline of the series upon a more scientific basis, so far as the sequence of coins extends, and I have ventured to add some suggestive notes, which may perhaps prove of value in the more advanced stages of the enquiry.

Family Coins.

A.—MÂDRI.

No. 1.—Lead, with traces of copper. Weight 220 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse—A crudely-outlined delineation of a primitive *round* bow, with a broadly-barbed arrow, in position.

Legend—रञो मदारि पुतस सिवाल कुरस
Raño Madâri-putasa Sivâla-kurasa (kulasa).[1]

In one example of this type, the words रञो मदारि पुतस *Raño Madâri putasa* are clear upon the margin of the original coin, which has been *superstruck*, or perhaps recast irregularly, with a die or stamp bearing the titles of रञो गोतमि पुत *Raño Gotami-putasa*, which words underline, in an inner semicircle, the previous or normal impress.[2]

Reverse.—A *Chaitya*, or conventional definition of a *tope* or tumulus, formed of four rows of inverted semi-circles or arches, surmounted by a half-moon: at the base of the *chaitya*, serving as a pedestal, is an oblong space filled-in with a bold representation of a serpent, in the wavy intervals of whose onward course, by way of completing the pattern, are inserted five dots[3]: to the right[4] of the chaitya, rising from the end of the pedestal, is seen the seven-leaved sacred, or possibly hereditary, family tree.[5]

B.—VASHTI.[6]

No. 2.—Lead, with traces of copper. Weight 228 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse Device—Bow and arrow, as above.

Legend—रञो वासिठि पुतस विडिराय कुरस
Raño Vasithe-putasa Vidirâya-Kurasa

Reverse—Similar device to the above, with the important modifications—1st, of the insertion of prominent dots within the semi-circles of

[1] "The aboriginal race goes a step further back (than the Âryan), and rests its system on the simpler political unit of a nomadic society, the family.

"The Indo-Aryan word for a household, *kula*, is not found by itself in Santali, but it subsists as the groundwork of every Santal community. A Santal village consists essentially of a single street, with houses on each side; and the pathway running between is called throughout the whole Santal country the *Kula-hi*, the divider of families."—W. W. Hunter, *Rural Bengal*; London: 1868, p. 179.

[Bhagwanlal Indraji has a coin of this type which distinctly reads
Raño Mâdharipulasa Sivala-kurasa.—ED.]

[2] This coin is figured as No. 13 of Indraji's Plates. The original piece leaves no doubt about the present interpretation of the order or sequence of the records.

[3] This wavy serpent pattern appears repeatedly in the ornamental scroll work on the Amarâvati Tope (see Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pls. xlviii, lvi, xcii, &c.)

[4] Its position to the *right* is not constant, it occasionally appears on the *left* of the device.

[5] Fergusson, *T. and S. Wor.* Amarâvati Tope, Plate lxxxvi, page 208. See also p. 175. It is important to note that this seven-leaved branch has remained to this day the device or conventional symbol of Jaipûr as figured on the local Gold Mohurs. See Prinsep's *Essays* Plate xlvi, No. 73, &c.

Mr. Lyall supplies us with an interesting note upon Family trees, and their worship, which may perchance afford a novel explanation of some of the scenes in the Topes:—

"Before concluding an alliance the Kunbi and other tribes look to the *dewak*, which literally means the deities worshipped at marriage ceremonies; the fact being that certain families hold in honour particular trees and plants, and at marriage time branches of these trees are set up in the house. It is said that a betrothal, in every other respect unexceptionable, will be broken off if the two houses are discovered to pay honour to the same kind of tree."—A. C. Lyall, *Gazetteer of Berâr* (Bombay, 1870) p. 187.

Mr. Lyall elsewhere remarks: At Wûn "the teak-trees are strictly preserved"—especially "in the vicinity of temples, or in honour of some presiding deity. The fear of incurring divine displeasure has saved these plantations from devastation," pp. 30, 31, see also *Jour. R. Asiatic Society* vol. V. p. 192, 301; vol. XVIII. p. 373; *loc.* p. 185; Wilson's *Works* vol. IV. p. 336; Pliny H. N. xii. 2, 2; Curtius viii. 9, 34.

[6] This is the same name as the Vashti of Scripture derived from वासित "perfumed." The origin of and use of the term are self-evident in our Biblical texts.

"Now it proved that this damsel, whose name was *Esther*, (آستر) was the most beautiful of all the rest, and the grace of her countenance drew the eyes of the spectators principally upon her; so she was committed to one of the eunuchs to take care of her; and she was very exactly provided with sweet odours, in great plenty, and with costly ointments, such as her body required to be anointed withal; and this was used for six months by the virgins, who were in number 400. And when the eunuch thought the virgins had been sufficiently purified, in the forementioned time &c." Josephus, *Ant.* bk. xi. c. vi. § 2, Whiston's translation. So also the text of *Esther* ii. 3, 9, 12: "Now when every maid's turn was come to go in to king Ahasuerus, after she had been twelve months, according to the manner of the women (for so were the days of their purifications accomplished, *to wit*, six months with oil of myrrh and six months with sweet odours), and with *other* things for the purifying of the women."

which the Chaitya is built up; 2nd, of the ordinary shifting of the sacred tree from the right to the left-hand corner of the pedestal.

C.—GOTAMI.

No. 3.—Lead with traces of copper. Weights varying from 180 to 196 grains. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse Device—The usual bow and arrow.

Legend—रञ्ञो गोतमिपुतस विदिवाय कुरस.

Raño Gotami-putasa Vidivâya-kurasa.[7]

Reverse Device—The general characteristics of these reverse devices are similar to those of the two varieties just described. There are, however, some peculiarities to be noticed. There are no dots within the semi-circles of the framework of the *Chaitya* as in the V a s i ṭ h i coins, the sacred tree is usually placed on the right: and the Chaitya itself is surmounted, at times, by a *chakra* or rayed circle,[8] denoting apparently the *sun*, as opposed to the *half-moon* of the other local families. This *chakra* again is often replaced by the figure of the *Swastika* or symbolic cross,[9] which so often appears with other objects of worship on the ancient Punch-die coins[10] and elsewhere: but which, in this instance, can only be taken to typify and represent the great luminary itself.

In this arrangement of symbols it coincides with the device of the unique coin of C h a ś t a n a; where the Chaitya retains its ordinary superimposed demilune, but has a second half-moon in the field on one side, which is balanced by a well-defined figure of a rayed sun on the other.[11]

No. 4.—Copper? Small coins. Weight 35 grains. Size 4 of Mionnet's scale.

Obverse—Similar device, Bow and arrow.

Legend—*Raño Vâsiṭho-putasa Vidivâya-kurasa.*

No. 4*a*.—Similar coins, in weight about 35 grains—bearing the legend *Raño Gotami-putasa Vidivâya-kurasa.*

Reverse—Chaitya, with the sacred tree placed *directly* above the apex of the edifice.

Monograms, in the field, No. 4—Letters seemingly representing तचा (*tachâ*) or तवा (*tavâ*), No. 4*a*, a letter very similar to a Chaldæo-Pahlvi א—*a*, with a curious *tântric* figure like one of the symbols on the H â t h i g u m p h â Rock Inscription of A i r a at U d a y a g i r i.[12] It may be added that the other associate devices on this rock represent the *Kurmachakra* or "tortoise symbol" and the *Swastika.*

I have separated, in this catalogue, the family or general maternity-descent coins, from those which, in addition to the tribal or ancestral record, bear the definite name of a reigning sovereign.

I prefix for the purposes of comparison the Purâṇik Dynastic succession list, which, however imperfect, in its more exact details, evidences a certain measure of value and authentic authority, in the confirmation afforded to its leading *data* by the appearance of so many coincident names on the extant coins described below.

The *Vishṇu Purâṇa's* leading text contributes the following series of the Â n d h r a kings: —

"Suśarman, the Kaṇwa, will be killed by a powerful servant, named (1) Ś i p r a k a, of the Ândhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Ândhrabhṛitya dynasty).

He will be succeeded by his brother (2) K ṛ i s h ṇ a;

His son will be (3) Ś â t a k a r ṇ i;

His son will be (4) P û r ṇ o t s a n g a;

His son will be (5) Ś â t a k a r ṇ i;

His son will be (6) L a m b o d a r a;

His son will be (7) I v î l a k a (V i k a l â ?);

His son will be (8) M e g h a s w â t i;

His son will be (9) P a ṭ u m a t (*Pudumâyî?*);

His son will be (10) A r i s h ṭ a k a r m a n;

His son will be (11) H â l a;

His son will be (12) P a t t a l a k a (Maṇḍalaka ?);

His son will be (13) P r a v i l a s e n a (Purîkasheṇa ?);

His son will be (14) S u n d a r a (named) ŚÂTAKARṆIN;

[7] On some at least the spelling is *Viḷivâya-kurasa*, the *ḷa* being the same as in Rudradama's Girnar Inscription, formed somewhat like the modern ढ़.—ED.

[8] This may be traced on the worn surface of Indraji's Coin No. 8, but I have it in a more definite form, on a coin of Mrs. Dunbar's, where it is not directly above the apex of the Chaitya, but placed on the right hand nearer the tree—the half-moon, in this example, appears on the same level in apparent equipoise or balance to the left.

[9] See Nos. 9 and 16 Indraji's Plates *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XIII. p 306ff.

[10] Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xx. vol. I. p. 209; and my Marsden, *Ancient Indian Weights*, Pl. i.

[11] Burgess's *Report on Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh*, 1874-5, Pl. vii. fig. 7, p. 47. See also my *Guptas in India*, Pl. I. fig. 7, p. 32, and Mr. Newton *Jour. Bo. Branch R. A. S.* vol. IX. p. cix. This combination of the sun and the moon seems to have necessarily constituted a fixed idea amid very many classes of men. It even so retained its hold upon public opinion in India that it reappears on the later coins of Arakan. *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1846, February; and 1872 p. 201.

[12] Sterling's *Orissa*. *Asiatic Researches* vol. XV.; M. Kittoe, *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VI. (1837) p. 1075, Plate lviii; and Râjendralâla in the *Proceedings A. S. Bengal* for 1877, page 163.

His son will be (15) Chakora Śâtakarṇin;

His son will be (16) Śivaswâti;

His son will be (17) Gotamîputra;

His son will be (18) Pulomat;

His son will be (19) Śivaśrî Śâtakarṇin;

His son will be (20) Śivaskandha (the *Matsya* adds Śâtakarṇi);

His son will be (21) Yajñaśrî;

His son will be (22) Vijaya;

His son will be (23) Chandraśrî (Daṇḍaśri);

His son will be (24) Pulomârchis (Pulomâvi).

These thirty Andrabhṛitya Kings will reign 456 years."[13]

The total numbers in the royal succession above enumerated only reach twenty-four. The other *Purâṇas* are equally, though irregularly, defective; the *Matsya* list is the fullest, and retains twenty-nine names, with an aggregate total of 435½ years.[14]

Personal Coins.

GOTAMÎ'S BRANCH.—YAÑA ŚÂTAKARNI.

No. 5.—Bronze? Weight 240 grains. Size 7. Sir W. Elliot.[15]

Obverse Device—Imitating, in some respects, the normal type of the preceding coins. The *Chaitya* or *tope*, in this case, seems to represent solid earth-work as distinguished from the *built-up* hollow outline of the earlier examples. It is, as usual, surmounted by the half-moon, while the conventional serpent at the bottom is left *free* and clear of the *stûpa*, unconfined within the lines of a basic pedestal. The sacred tree is also wanting, and in its place is supplied a *lotus* or water-lily on the one side and a conch-shell on the other.

Legend—

रञो गोतमि पुतस सिरि यञ सतकणस.

Raño Gotami-putasa Siri Yaña Satakanasa.

Reverse—Four circles, each composed of a central dot and two concentric circles, connected by semi-circular ligatures, surmounted apparently by a half-moon, forming, in effect, a leading type of the pattern, conventionally known as the Ujjain device.[16]

GOTAMÎ BRANCH.—YAÑA ŚÂTAKARNI.

No. 6.—Lead. Size 4½.

Obverse—A well-executed figure of an elephant to the left.

Legend—रञ गोतमी पुतस सिरि यञ सतक

Raño Gotami-putasa Siri Yaña Sataka.

Reverse—The usual Ujjain Symbol.

No. 7.—Variants of the type of No. 6.

Obverse—The leading device of the elephant is retained, but the animal is profusely adorned with head-gear, &c.

Legend—यञ सतक.

Yaña Sataka.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

The forms of the letters of the legends of these pieces clearly assign them to a later date, and possibly, to a different locality, from that of the prototype.

GOTAMI BRANCH.—YAÑA ŚÂTAKARNI.

No. 8.—Lead. Weight 70 grains. Size 4.

Obverse—A boldly sunk die, bearing a well-designed figure of a *horse* to the left.

Legend—रञो गोतमि पुतग सिरि यञ स...

Raño Gotami-putasa Siri Yaña Sataka.

Reverse—The conventional Ujjain symbol.

No. 9.—Lead. Weight 133 grains. Size 6.

Obverse—A well-executed figure of a horse to the right, half-moon in the field.

Legend— रञ ग .... सतकणस.

Raño G(otami-putasa) *Satakanasa.*

Reverse—Device indistinguishable.

VÂSIṬHÎ BRANCH.—YAŚODA?

No. 10.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 5.

Obverse—Small *Chaitya*, composed of three hollow inverted semi-circles or arches. Serpent *free* at the foot.

Legend—

रञो वासिठ पुतस सर यसतस.

Raño Vâsitho-putasa Siri Yasatasa. [Yasoda?]

Reverse—The conventional four-fold sun.

VÂSIṬHÎ BRANCH.—PULOMAT.

No. 11.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 4. Mr. Sewell's coin[17] from Gudivâḍâ.

[13] Wilson's *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, vol. IV. p. xxiv., (Hall's ed.) vol. IV. p. 194. See also Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II., *Useful Tables*, p. 241; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. p. 101; and *Brihat Sanhitâ*, *J. R. A. S.* (N.S.) vol. V. p. 82, etc.

[14] Wilson, *Works*, vol. IV. p. 199.

[15] Figured as No. 105 of his original plate xi. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. III. Mr. Sewell has another example from Amarâvati weighing also 240 grains.

[16] *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VII. plate lxi. Prinsep's *Essays*, Pl. xx. figs. 29, 31, 33, &c. *Numismata Orientalia*, pt. i. plate figs. 5, 6. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes* (1854), Plates xxxi., xxxii. We have a notice of such a combination in Ceylon:—"This monarch caused the *chhatta* on the Mahâthûpo to be gilt, and he set four gems in the centre of the four emblems of the sun, each of which cost a lakh."—*Mahâwanso*, Turnour, p. 229.

[17] See the engraving in Sir W. Elliot's Plate xi. figure

Obverse—Small *Chaitya*, with 3 arches. Serpent at the foot.

Legend— रञ वसट्ठुत ···· वुमवस·
Raño Vasitho-putasa...Puyumavasa.

Reverse—The usual Ujjain symbol.

VÂSITHÎ BRANCH.—SIVAŚRÎ.

No. 12.—Lead. Weight 86 grains. Size 4. Mr. Sewell's coin.

Obverse—Chaitya as above.

Legend— रञ वासिठा पुतस सिवसिर
Raño Vasitho-putasa Sivasirasa.

Reverse—As usual.

VÂSITHÎ BRANCH.—CHANDRA.

No. 13.—Lead. Size 4.

Obverse—Chaitya as usual.

Legend—

ञ वासिठा पुतस सिरि चंद सतस
Raño Vasistho-putasa Siri Chanda satasa.

This reading of this legend is to a certain extent conjectural. The absolute letters of the name would be preferentially rendered वदसतस *Vadasatasa.*

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

CHANDRA.

No. 14.—Lead. Weight 112 grains. Size 5. Mr. Sewell, from Gudivâḍâ.

Obverse—Horse to the right.

Legend—In coarsely engraved letters—

ञ सिरि चंद
Raño Siri Chandasa.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 14*a*.—Weight 70 grains. Size 4. Small coins of similar types, but of superior execution. The legend itself seems to be more full and complete, and the letters are better formed. Mr. Sewell's specimens are not in very good condition, but the legend seems to run—

रञ सिरि चंद सतस·
Raño Siri Chanda satasa.

ŚÂTAKARNI COINS.

No. 15.—Copper? Weight (average) 35 grains. Size 4.

Obverse—A well-outlined figure of an elephant, free, trunk erect, without trappings.

Legend—सिरि सतकणि
Siri Satakaṇi.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

No. 16.—Lead. Size 3. Weight 35 grains. 2 specimens.

Obverse—A crude figure of an *elephant* to the left.

Legend—सरिवण *Sarivaṇa* or *Salivaṇa*, perhaps a repetition of the name, but not necessarily indicative of the personality of the great monarch.

Reverse—The Ujjain symbol.

RUDRA.

No. 17.—Lead. Similar coins. 3 specimens.

Legend—सर रुद
Siri Ruda.

The द is on one occasion given as ड, and the *R*, if required for *Rudra*, has to be supplied to the existing context.

SINHA COINS.

No. 18.—Lead. Weight, varying from 218 to 250 grains. Sizes from 6 to 7.

Mr. Sewell. 11 coins from Amarâvati.[18]

Obverse—A spirited outline of a lion, standing erect, to the right: to the front, a square pedestal with cross lines, above which is a standard upright line intersected by four rows of bars, forming in effect with the central staff a series of four-repeated *triśulas* or tridents.

Legend—Above the lion, in somewhat indistinct letters, सकसकस *sakasakasa* or सकसकस्य *sakasakasya*, Seshak?

This is perhaps the most appropriate place to notice the metallic constituents of the coins and the coincident mechanical appliances of the Ândhra Mints.

Dr. Percy has taken so much interest in the former question, as to have the family class of coins exhaustively tested in the Laboratory of the School of Mines. The larger pieces prove to be simply *lead*, retaining only so far a trace of copper such as the local assayists did not take the trouble to eliminate. The secondary admixture of lead and copper with a view to form a new compound is stated to be chemically impracticable.

The larger leaden coins were obviously, in many cases, *cast*, but lead was alike so soft in it-

100; and Genl. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, (1871) page 541; see also Professor R. G. Bhandarkar, *London Oriental Congress*, 1874, pp. 307—310. No. 26. Nâsik Inscription, "on the 13th day, in the second fortnight of Grishma in the year 19 nineteen of the King Sri Pudumayi the son of Vâsishthî" सिरि पुडुम‚यस. No. 26*a* also commences रञनस्वामी वासिठ पुतं सिरीपुडुमवि, pp. 314-317, and see the Professor's remarks on the coins, page 349.

[18] Figured in Sir W. Elliot's Plate ix. *Madras Journal of Lit. and Science*, vol. III. No. 53, weight 226·9, and No. 57, *square* coin with similar devices.

See also Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII. Plate v. figs. 117, 118.

self, and so readily made softer by heat, that we should be wrong to pronounce any final opinion upon the actual methods of manipulation, which seem, however, to have admitted of a superimposed, or otherwise as it is *technically* termed superstruck, secondary impression. Whether this was effected by mere reheating and the pressure of a hard-clay mould upon the surface of the original casting, it would be hard to say. Numismatically-speaking the latest impression *ought* to decide relative dates. But we know too little about family or tribal relations in this case to venture to draw ordinary deductions from the given data.

That mechanical *striking*, or the complete formation of a coin of two dies, was in vogue at this coincident period, is proved by the smaller copper coins bearing the same legends and devices as the leaden pieces, which, however, come out far more distinctly in their devices, and sharper and more definite in their legends than the associate coins of the other metal.

The Siñha coins, just described, furnish us with unusually definite examples of a practice common in the early mintages of southern India—of designedly leaving the lower surface of the piece *blank*. In these instances, the *lead* has seemingly been poured out, in a fluid state, from a heated ladle, on to flat surfaces of stone, or even wood, and then sealed with the impress of the single authorized die, which was to give it a legal currency, according as the ultimate weight corresponded by this crude process with the intentional value. Mr. Tookey, who has lately held the position of English Mint-Assayer in Japan, informs me that a similar system of rude fabrication of money prevailed until very lately in that kingdom.

THE SWASTIKA.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

The crypto-import of the mystic cross of Western nations—the counterpart of the Indian *Swastika*, has hitherto proved an enigma alike to classic and oriental commentators. Our Ândhra coins seem to suggest a solution, which may, perchance, satisfy and convince all parties.

In describing Coin No. 3 of this series, (page 62, *ante*,) I pointed out, that the place of the more definite figure of the Sun, in its rayed-wheel form, was taken by the emblematic cross of the *Swastika*. The position, so taken, in apposition to, or in natural balance of the coincident semilune, could leave no doubt that the aim and intention in this case was to represent *symbolically* the great luminary itself.[1] In seeking for further confirmation of this inference, I found that, in one instance, the *Swastika* had been inserted within the rings or normal circles representing the four suns of the Ujjain pattern on coins,[2] in which position it seemed equally to declare its own meaning as indicating the onward movement and advancing rotation of the heavenly body[3] which is described in some texts[4] as never going back.

I had already noticed that there was an unaccountable absence of the visible *sun*, or its accepted representative, in the long list of the recognised devices of the twenty-four Jaina Tîrthankaras, whose distinguishing *chihnas*, or marks, constituted so important an element in the authoritative discrimination of the succession of their saints.

The sun, moreover, occupied a high place in

[1] "The sixth class of *Sauras* in opposition to the preceding deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material sun they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered: they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot irons."—H. H. Wilson, *Religion of the Hindus*, —*Essays*, vol. I. p. 19. See also Colebrooke's *Essays* (Cowell's Ed. London, 1873) vol. I. pp. 210-212, vol. II. p. 181, and the originals, in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. VII. and IX.

[2] Gen. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxxi. fig. 3. p. 354.

[3] "He, the impeller, the chief of charioteers, (Pûshan), ever urges on that golden wheel (*of his car*) for the radiant sun." *Rig-Veda* iv. viii. 7. Wilson, vol. III. p. 497. A note is appended to this passage to the effect that "the second is rendered *Aditya*, he who moves or revolves." So also "the 12 spoked wheel of the true (sun) revolves around the heavens." ii. 3. Wilson's *R. V.* vol. II. p. 130. The later Indian conceptions of the motion of the sun are embodied in the following terms:—"The chariot of the sun is * * on which is fixed a wheel with 3 naves (or rather, a triple nave, or 3 naves in one), five spokes, and 6 peripheries—consisting of the ever-enduring year: the whole constituting the circle or wheel of time."—*Vishnu Purâna* ii. 8. Wilson, vol. II. p. 237. "As the circumference of a potter's wheel revolves most rapidly, so the sun travels rapidly on his southern journey. *Ib.* ii. p. 246. "As the centre of the potters' wheel revolves more slowly (than the circumference), so the sun," &c. p. 247.

[4] Burnouf is not very clear as to this meaning, he says, *avâivartyâiḥ* incapable de se détourner; in the Tibetan the sense runs, qui fait tourner la roue de la loi qui ne revient pas sur elle-même. Bournouf, tom. II. 300, see also Remusat, p. 28, note 6.

their estimation,—even to the extent of an adverse charge of Vaishṇavism—but in this official list or catalogue there was no apparent sun-like orb, or even *wheel*, to denote the "universal deity."[5] Whereas the *Swastika* avowedly constituted the sign for the Supârśwa, the 7th Jina, and the closely-associated half-moon stood forth as the *chinha* of his successor Chandraprabha, the 8th Jina.[6]

Under the advanced interpretation of the design and purport of the *Swastika*, from an Indian point of view, now put forward—perhaps few archæologists will be disposed to dissent from the inference that, in this instance also, its figure, as representing one of the received attributes of the sun, was used, conventionally, to typify the solar orb itself.[7]

In describing the hand-made *whorls*, found on the site of Troy, which were unaided by the mechanical appliances of the potter's wheel, and whose ornamentation clearly preceded the use of alphabetical letters,—Dr. Schliemann, in commenting on the appearance of this identical *Swastika* symbol on so many of these clay objects, appears to have divined the leading idea associated with the foot or following limbs attached to the square or normal cross—in designating these devices as "representations of the wheel in motion effected by the incisions."[8] This independent conclusion is fully confirmed by an examination of the subsequent numismatic evidence.

The earliest Lycian coins have a constant *reverse* device, nearly identical with the original *Swastika*, except so far as consists in the more distinct sequent curve given to the four limbs, and a more definite opening out of the centre into an open circle, which, in one instance, is imagined to have a thread or rope inserted in the ring.[9] These four-limbed symbols are speedily reduced into similar objects having only three arms, the Âryan *triquetra*,[10] which admitted of the extension of the length of the limbs, and if so intended, would fancifully aid the speed of the revolutions[11] or clear the contracted die-space for improved artistic freedom of treatment.

A similar device of the *Trinacria* appears on the coins of Aspendus in Pamphylia,[12] but in this instance the curved lines are transformed into the likeness of three human legs, manifestly in motion, with a tumbling or rotatory onward course,[13] which recalls "the three steps of Vishṇu."[14] But the idea of speed and revolution is much more distinctly rendered in the mintages of Syracuse, where the ankles of the legs are aided by small wings, such as are represented as constant adjuncts of the statues of Mercury. In one instance this winged *triquetra* is placed above the horses of the chariot, who are at full speed[15] and in others it is associated with Pegasus. In some instances it replaces a quasi star, which clearly stands for the sun,[16] and the astronomical tendencies of the consecutive mint series are shown in the admission of a design of a new moon whose upper limb is given in an eclipse-like form, with a faint outline circle, perhaps intended to indicate the obscured portion of the moon itself.[17]

(*To be continued.*)

[5] Wilson *Rig Veda*, vol. IV. p. 12. Text V. i. 6.

[6] *Jour. R. A. S.* 1877, p. 161; Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 187; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX. p. 305; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II. p. 134.

[7] Of this optional interchange of signs and symbols there is further confirmatory evidence in the two examples of *punched* gold coins depicted in Sir Walter Elliot's Plate ix. vol. I‑I., *Madras Journal Lit. and Science*, where the central sun of No. 35 is supplanted by or alternated with the *Swastika* in No 34.

[8] *Troy*, pp. 38, 101 and 349. See also his *Mycenæ*, Nos. 404, 406, 411, &c.

[9] Sir C. Fellows, Plate i. fig. 4. Sir C. Fellows supposed these devices to represent *grapplers*, p. 15.

[10] A remarkable *leading* example of the tracing of the rotatory *three-feet* is to be seen on one of the *whorls* from Troy in Dr. Schliemann's work above cited.

[11] In one instance, pl. IX. 2, these curved lines are made to end in serpents' heads and in another in cocks' heads, IX. 7.

[12] The site of Aspendus was on a hill near the river Eurymedon, about 8 miles from the sea, in the gulf of Adalia, close to the eastern boundary of Lycia. The coins bear letters of cognate origin with the alphabet of the latter. The name of Aspendus is written ΕΣΤFΕΔΙΙVΣ. Leake, p. 28.

I have lately had occasion to point out the many curious identities of customs prevailing alike in Lycia and India. *J. R. A. S.* vol. XI. 1879 p. 10. The "3 steps of Vishnu" are variously interpreted as "the rising, meridian and setting Suns"—in one instance, the *Vishṇupada* is asserted to represent "the meridian sky" (*Vishṇu Purâṇa* iii. 19), perhaps the full round-sun, which takes the place of honour on the more archaic forms of "the feet?" The term *Tri-Vikrama*, or three paces, seems to indicate something more than three steps, as the word Vikrama would imply "to step on"—to step beyond—giving an idea of progress or motion.

[13] Combe, *Hunter Collection*, vol. VII. 15, 18.

[14] "The three steps of Vishṇu," *Rig-Veda*, I. 22, 17, Wilson, vol. I. p. 53. Goldstucker's *Literary Remains*, vol. I. p. 289. Max Müller, *Rig Veda*, translation pp. 117, 118. Colebrooke's *Essays*.

[15] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1874, Mr. Head's article, Pl. VIII. 7, 8, 4, 5, 6.

[16] *Num. Chron.* vol. XIV. Pl. ix. Nos. 11, 12—also Pl. vii.*a*, fig 4.

[17] *Num. Chron.* vol. XIV. Pl. x. Nos. 1—2. See also the Etruscan rendering of the Moon in Fabretti, Pl. xviii.

THE SWASTIKA.

BY REV. S. BEAL.

I have observed in the *Indian Antiquary* vol. VII. (1878) pp. 176ff. an article written by Mr. Walhouse, in which he refers to a paper by Mr. Westropp printed in the *Athenæum* for January 12th, 1878, relating to the origin and signification of the well-known symbol called the *Swastika*. As Mr. Westropp in the course of his remarks alludes to me by name, and points to some observations I had made (*Romantic Legend*, pp. 56, 196 nn.) on the same subject, I will ask you to permit me to state in the *Indian Antiquary*, somewhat more at length, what I have elsewhere written on this matter.

In order to open up the subject and lead to the explanation I have to give, I will quote Mr. Walhouse's words: "It is curious indeed," he says, "to find the same symbol used with a mystic meaning both in English and Japanese heraldry, and for the same office of repelling demons on Japanese coffins and English church bells." And without doubt it *is* a curious circumstance, and only to be accounted for by discovering whether the symbol itself does not embody a meaning equally widespread.

When I was located many years ago in the remote town of Hakodate, in the island of Yeso, the most northern of the Japanese islands, I was occasionally present at some of the religious functions of the Buddhist priests, who had several flourishing monasteries (*terahs*) in that place. My attention was drawn on more than one such occasion to the mode of their accepting, or perhaps consecrating, presents, sent to the brotherhood by charitable persons. The gift was placed in the middle of a circle (*mandala*), and the priests, in their canonical dresses, would march round it three times in single file, religiously keeping it *on their right*, *i.e.* with their right hands towards the centre of the circle as they moved. This of course brought to my mind the custom known for ages in India, and called *pradakshina*, commonly practised also in early times amongst the Romans, and styled *decursio*, equally common in Scotland down the present day, and called *deasil*, and so we [illegible] Ireland that the town of Tempo, in Fermanagh, is still in Irish called "*t'iompodh desiol*," which, as Mr. Joyce explains, is nothing more than a compound form of *iompodh*, meaning "turning" and *deisiol* "to the right." So that we here have a custom known from Japan to Ireland and common in India, the Roman Empire, Scotland, and doubtless throughout Northern Europe.

There is a volume before me, belonging to the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, printed in Chinese characters, and called "Account of the customs of countries in the Southern Ocean"; the 32nd cap. of the 2nd volume of this work is occupied by an account of the way in which the people of Ceylon mark their time by the sun's shadow, and hence the author says (he lived in the 7th century) is derived the religious ceremony known as *pradakshina*, *i. e.* turning to the right in conformity with the sun's shadow, in other words, turning "sun-ways."

I need hardly observe, in illustration of the same point, that in many Buddhist *Sûtras* the custom of circumambulating the Great Teacher three times, or seven times, with the right hand kept towards him, is mentioned as a religious custom generally practised at the time when these *Sûtras* were written: and in one *Sûtra* in my possession the entire argument is occupied in discussing the happiness (good fortune, or blessedness) of those who thus circumambulate Topes, or Chaityas in general, consecrated to Buddha or his disciples.

Enough then as to this widely recognized custom.

I come now to show that the figure called the *Swastika* symbolizes this idea of circumambulation, derived from the apparent movement of the sun from left to right round the earth. The idea is this, that if a person face the east at sunrising and follow its movement southward and westward, he will turn with his right hand fixed towards an object supposed to be placed like the earth in relation to the sun, in the centre of a circle.

Now the figure of the *Swastika* consists of two parts, 1st the cross + and secondly the *crampons* at the end of the arms. The figure of the cross + is one of the oldest symbols used to represent "the earth" or "the four quarters." General Cunningham in his recent work (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 44) has shown that this sign, viz. +, is in the Khâlsi inscription

equivalent to "*chatura*," *i.e. four*. But in Pâli the word *Chaturantâ* (*i.e.* the four quarters, or points) is a word for "the earth," hence *Châturanto* = Lord of the Earth, (*vide* Childers' *Pâli Dict.*) In Sanskrit we have similar compounds with the same meaning. But proof positive is derived from the Chinese, in which we not only have the symbol 田 for "an enclosed space of earth," and the symbol 午 (午) for "12 o'clock," or noon, (the upper portion indicating the heaven, with the sun on the meridian, and the lower portion (the cross) denoting the earth), but we also have in so many words the fact stated that "God made or fashioned the earth in the shape of a cross," and the symbol used is exactly this +. I refer to a passage in the celebrated Syrian inscription found by some Chinese workmen in the year A.D. 1625 near Si-gan-fu, the capital city of the province of Shen-si. In this inscription (which is given in the original characters), and with three translations in English, Latin, and French in the *Chinese Repository*, (vol. XIV. May 1845), we find the following passage towards the end of the first clause:—"he determined in the shape of a cross (*shih 'tsz* in the original is represented thus 十 字) to spread out the earth." So that at the time when this stone tablet was erected, *i. e.* A.D. 781, the symbol + was known (in China at least) as an ideogram representing "the earth."

There may be other illustrations in proof of the same point familiar to students which for the present can be passed over.

The *crampons* at the ends of the arms of the cross are, in Buddhist symbolism, mostly, though not always, drawn to the *right*—denoting, as we argue, the sun's movement round the earth from left to right. Now it is plain that this is always the apparent movement of the sun in *Northern latitudes*, that is, in latitudes to the north of the Tropic of Cancer. In Northern countries (unaffected by Southern or Phœnician influences) therefore we find the *crampons* of the + drawn to the *right*. But, as Milton has observed (*Paradise Regained*, Book IV.) l. 70,

> "Some from furthest South,
> Syene, and where *the shadow both way falls*."

The shadow of the sun, or, in other words, his apparent movement, is not always from left to right, but sometimes in intertropical countries, apparently from right to left, and this has generally attracted attention. Thus the Phœnicians who were in the fleet despatched by Pharoah Necho were surprised to find the sun on the north instead of the south—and so the ambassadors sent from North India to the Emperor Claudius expressed the same astonishment—and the first Portuguese navigators, who voyaged south along the coast of Africa, noticed the same fact—so that wherever sun-worship prevailed in such tropical countries, his path would be represented both from *left to right*, and from *right to left*. Hence the double form of the *Swastika*, the *crampons* being found on either side of the arms of the cross, apparently without distinction, as *e. g.* at Hissarlik, and on the altars found on the Roman wall in Northumberland (vid. *Lapidarium Septentrionale*; passim): and as the reason of this diverse form was gradually forgotten or lost, the figure would be drawn less carefully and without any regard to the symbolism pointed out.

The argument therefore amounts to this: that, as the figure of the *Swastika* is found scattered through countries reaching from Japan to England, so also the custom of turning 'sunways,' or with the sun, is equally widespread; and secondly, that as the *Swastika* is a sign of good luck, signified by its etymology, so also the practice of turning with the sun is considered a lucky or fortunate proceeding, and turning in the contrary way, especially among northern people, is dreaded as entailing a curse; (called by the Scots *withershins*; German, *wider-shins*) [*vide* the passage I have referred to above, in *Waverley* (Black's Ed. p. 76)]; the custom and the symbol therefore, we argue, are co-related.

THE BRANCHIDÆ.

BY REV. S. BEAL.

One of the most characteristic records left by Alexander the Great during his Eastern campaign is the massacre of the Branchidæ. These people, as is well known, claimed to be a sacred *gens*, descended from Branchos, the mythic founder of the Temple of Apollo, near Miletus in Ionia. Their forefathers had yielded up the treasures of their temple to the Persian

king, Xerxes, one hundred and fifty years before. This surrender brought on them so much odium that when the dominion of Xerxes was overthrown on the coast, they retired with him into the interior of Asia. The Persian king also carried away with him to Susa the colossal bronze statue of Apollo, which had been cast by Kanachus. This statue was afterwards restored by Seleukos Nikator (about 300 B.C.) to the temple rebuilt by Paionios and Dhapnis.

When Xerxes had carried away the Branchidæ, he did not retain them in Susiana, as Mr. Newton seems to imply (*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. II., p 158), but transported them to a small town in Sogdiana, between Balkh and Samarkand, where their descendants were found by Alexander. They were now a "bilingual and partially dishellenized race, yet still attached to their traditions and origin" (Grote). "Delighted to find themselves once more in commerce with Greeks, they poured forth to meet and welcome the army, tendering all they possessed. Alexander, when he heard who they were and what was their parentage, desired the Milesians to determine how they should be treated. But as these Milesians were neither decided nor unanimous, Alexander announced that he would determine for himself. Having first occupied the city in person with a select detachment, he posted his army all round the walls, and then gave orders not only to plunder it, but to massacre the whole population, men, women, and children. They were slain without arms or attempt at resistance, resorting to nothing but prayers and suppliant manifestations. Alexander next ordered the walls to be levelled, and the sacred groves cut down, so that no habitable site might remain, nor anything except solitude and sterility. Such was the revenge taken upon these unhappy victims for the deeds of their forefathers in the fourth or fifth generation before. Alexander doubtless considered himself as executing the wrath of Apollo against an accursed race who had robbed the treasure of the god. The Macedonian expedition had been proclaimed to be undertaken originally for the purpose of revenging upon the contemporary Persians the ancient wrongs done to Greece by Xerxes; so that Alexander would follow out the same sentiment in revenging upon the contemporary Branchidæ the acts of their ancestors—yet more guilty than Xerxes, in his belief. The massacre of the unfortunate population was, in fact, an example of human sacrifice on the largest scale offered to the gods by the religious impulses of Alexander, and worthy to be compared to that of the Carthaginian general Hannibal, when he sacrificed three thousand Grecian prisoners on the field of Himera, where his grandfather Hamilkar had been slain seventy years before."

Such is the brief account given us of this atrocious massacre. It would seem that Alexander, influenced by his feelings towards the aristocratic party in the Ionian cities (which had always been under the patronage of the Persian kings,) treated the Branchidæ as he had already dealt with the Milesians, that is, by simple extirpation. Be this as it may, there is much room for conjecture left as to the influence produced on the arts and philosophy of the neighbouring populations, by the residence of a colony of Ionian Greeks in Sogdiana during the one hundred and fifty years of their survival. There must have been some influence exerted. It has been a long question how and through what channels the civilization of India was affected by Greek intercourse. Both in literature and art the effect of contact is plainly visible, and this, too, apparently at an earlier period than the establishment of the Græco-Baktrian kingdom. We must look elsewhere, then, than to the court of Seleukos and his successors for the channel of this inter-action, and it would seem that the town of the Branchidæ, situated in the centre of Sogdiana, will provide us with some clue to the solution of the question.

That thus intercommunication of thought did take place at an early period may be gathered from several considerations. The *Râmâyaṇa* has been called the 'Iliad of India.' It was long ago observed by Turnour, and more recently by Weber, that some incidents, especially those connected with the adventures of Ulysses (in the *Odyssey*) and of Râma and his followers in Ceylon, bear a marked resemblance to one another. But, as a more striking instance of agreement, let us take the myth of the birth of Apollo (the god of the Branchidæ) and that of the Indian Buddha. Mr. Coxe, in his *Aryan Nation*, Vol. II., p. 21, gives the following account of the birth of the Sun-God:—"Then, as she drew near (*i.e.* Eileithyia) Leto cast her arms around a tall palm tree

as she reclined on the bank of Kynthos, and the babe leaped to life. The goddesses bathed him in pure water, and wrapped him in a glistering robe, fine and newly wrought. . . while Thetis touched his lips with the drink and food of the gods. No sooner had the child received this nourishment than he was endowed with an irresistible strength, and his swaddling bands fell off from him like flax, as he declared his mission 'of teaching to men the counsels of Jove.'" Compare with this the Indian account of the birth of the child of Mâya (the illusive dawn): "Having arrived at the garden, Queen Mâya stepped down from her chariot, and surrounded by her dancing women (*i.e.*, female attendants), passed from spot to spot and from tree to tree in the garden, admiring and looking at all. Now in the garden there was one particular tree called the *Palâśa* (palm), perfectly straight from top to bottom, its branches spread out in perfect regularity, &c. Delighted at the sight, Mâya paused awhile to admire it, and gradually approached under its shade . . . then taking hold of one of the branches, she looked up into heaven's expanse and the child was born . . . . At this time Śakra and the four Mahârâjas advanced and wrapped the child in his swaddling clothes, but he advanced four paces each way, and exclaimed: 'Now have I arrived at my last birth, &c.'"

There are so many points of resemblance here that the two myths cannot be separated. It is indifferent whether we suppose the one to have originated the other, or merely to have been engrafted on it. Probably the two have a common origin in the distant ages, but were modelled by mutual intercourse. And the existence of the Branchidæ, the priests of Apollo, in the neighbourhood of North India for one hundred and fifty years, may give us an insight into the source of agreement.

It would seem, again, as though the Græco-Buddhistic sculptures, about which so much has been lately written, were allied with the Ionian and Asiatic type of conception, rather than the pure Attic. Hence the resemblance has been traced principally with remains found at Cyprus and the islands bordering on the Asiatic coast. And we have further corroboration of this theory in the actual remains still existing at Branchidæ (Geronta) compared with some Indian sculptures equally open to examination. Let us take for example the form and general character of the chairs or thrones found along the "sacred way" leading from Port Panormus up to the Temple itself. Mr. Newton, in his second volume, p. 148, *Levant*, &c. has given us an account of one of these chairs. He gathers that they were evidently copied from wood. "Two of them are ornamented in front with a pair of pilasters, the capital of which formed a bracket, projecting at the end of the arm of the chair about three inches," whilst "the cushion on which the figure is seated is shown under the arm of the chair." He says nothing about a footstool. It would be pleasing to know if such an adjunct were provided in this case. At any rate, according to the Homeric formula, it ought to be there; compare for example the promise made by Juno to Hypnos (*Il.* xiv., l. 238):—

"*Δῶρα δέ τοι δώσω, καλὸν θρόνον, ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ,*
Χρύσεον· Ἥφαιστος δέ κ' ἐμὸς πάϊς ἀμφιγυήεις
Τεύξει ἀσκήσας, ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυν ποσὶν ἥσει,
Τῷ κεν ἐπισχοίης λιπαροὺς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων."

Here we not only have the normal idea of the throne and the footstool, but the added metaphors that the throne should be *ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ*. And so the seat or throne of Buddha on which he sat under the figtree is always designated as the *Vajrâsana*, "the diamond," or "imperishable throne." And as we see both at Sâñchi and Amarâvati, there are the cushions and the footstools, and the pilasters, and more than this, on many of the sculptures the simple inscription of the donor's name, as at Geronta on the back of the lion (p. 155, op. cit.), where the names of five donors are recorded who dedicated the figure to Apollo. The resemblance here appears to be more than accidental. It is true there is no *εἰκὼν* seated in the chairs at Sânchi and Amarâvati, as there is at Geronta, but the absence of such a figure is in complete harmony with the Buddhist theory of the spiritualized condition of the founder of this religion, who could not, therefore, be represented under any human form or by any visible resemblance.

These resemblances or parallelisms may be accidental, but I do not recollect to have seen allusion made to these priests of Apollo dwelling in exile near the Oxus, as possibly influencing the progress of Indian art. It seems to me that the presence of the Hebrew exiles in Susiana and these Greek priests in Sogdiana are

elements from which we may gather some information as to the inciting cause of the Buddhist development, so marked and in all respects abnormal, in the history of India.[1]

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from vol. VIII. p. 167.*)

No. XXIV.—*Ethical Parallels.*

Old Hesiod in his homely way affirms—No saying wholly dies which many people commonly utter; 'tis God's very voice.

During the last twenty or thirty years there has been a growing disposition to recognise this truth. But although St. Augustine has said that "the substance of what is now called the Christian religion was in existence amongst the ancients: it has never been wanting from the beginning of the human race," (*Retractatio.* I. 15); the idea that most nations have had Scriptures, in which the central and enduring principles of religion and morality are declared in diverse manners, would still perhaps be questioned, and impatiently heard in some quarters. In many pages of the *Indian Antiquary* Dr. Muir has largely illustrated the parallelisms traceable in the Old and New Testaments and Sanskrit literature, and I here venture a few references to the popular Scriptures of the Tamiḷ and Telugu peoples of the Madras Presidency.[2]

The *Kuṛaḷ*[3] is in all respects the Bible of Southern India: the earliest and best monument of the highly organized and elaborate Tamiḷ language, and constitutes the ethical and literary rule and standard against which there is no appeal: nor undeservedly. Higher and more comprehensive mortal teaching has never been set forth; like all ancient books it contains parts and passages which later culture passes by, and separates from the universal and enduring treasures. Its author Tiruvaḷḷuvar lived in the 9th, or perhaps as early as the 3rd century of our era. Brâhmaṇs have tried to disguise the fact that he was, as his name implies, born in a low and impure caste, and have surrounded his birth with legends, but they cannot claim him; none could decide from his writings to what caste he belonged except that he was not a Brâhmaṇ, and this from no attack upon priests or ritual observances, but from a simple constant enforcing of truth, gentleness, justice, and charity without any reference to aid from priestly intercession.

When Europe lay blinded in the depth of the dark ages, Tiruvaḷḷuvar wrote "Letters and numbers are the eyes of man, and the words of the good are like a staff in slippery places," almost echoing the words of the wise Job, 'I was eyes to the blind and feet was I to the lame.' His answer to What is truth? might, if considered, stay many mocking Pilates; he says: "It is the speaking of words that are without the least degree of evil to others." Want of truthfulness is a reproach compendiously flung against Hindus, but it was a Hindu who declared—"If a man abstain from falsehood, though he practise no other virtue, it shall be well with him. Truth will lead to every virtue." Want of gratitude, even incapacity to understand it, is another failing alleged by European self-complacency, but verses, familiar to the Tamiḷ people as any Bible-text, affirm: "He who has forgotten every virtue may escape; there is no escape for him who forgets a benefit: the wise will remember through seven-fold births the love of those who have wiped away their falling tears." The low-born Indian moralist gives these readings of the Golden Rule: "It is the resolve of the pure not to do evil in return to those who have done evil to them,—should a man inflict on others that which were grievous to himself?—Would you punish those who have done you evil? Then put them to shame by showing great kindness to them!" So would Tiruvaḷḷuvar heap coals of fire upon an enemy's head. He too saw clearly the little thank of lending to them from whom there is hope to receive. "To give to the destitute," he says, "is true charity. Other gifts may be returned." The following sentences show how true an insight he had into the sources of domestic

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[1] From *The Oriental*, Oct. 9th, 1875,—revised by the Author.

[2] The texts used are *The Cural of Tiruvalluvar*, by the Rev. W. H. Drew, Madras, 1840; and *The Verses of Vêmana*, by Charles Philip Brown, Madras Civil Service. Madras: 1829.

[3] When writing this *Note* I had overlooked the far more important and exhaustive *Notes on the Kurraḷ* by the Rev. Dr. Pope, with which this brief glance at the same subject will not interfere. Dr. Pope considers the Christian Scriptures were not unknown to Tiruvalluvar, and that he derived many of his sentiments from thence. This cannot be positively asserted or denied; but the whole range of Gentile Scriptures shows that, as St. Paul too seems to admit (*Romans* ii. 14), the conscience of man can of itself reach to precepts of humanity and morality.

happiness:—"Is there any bolt that can shut in love?" "The pipe is sweet, the lute is sweet, say those who have never heard the prattle of their own children." "He best labours for future happiness who lives well and kindly in his household"; and he knew as well as the Roman mother that "good children are the jewels of the good wife." The *Kuṛal* abounds with wise sayings on the conduct of affairs; take this for example on the necessity of forethought. "There are failures even in acting well. The work not done by suitable methods will fail, though many attempt to further it. The chariot is weak at sea, and the ship on land." And again: "Is aught difficult to him who works with the right instruments at the right time? he wins who can think silently, and bide his time." "Patience is finest gold; to bear with the ignorant is might of might." In *Wilhelm Meister's Travels* there is a passage full of Goethe's far-reaching meaning, when in the Paedagogic Province the elders inform Wilhelm that though a child may be born with many gifts, one there is which no child brings into the world with him, and yet on that one thing all depends for making man in every point a man, when Wilhelm could not discover this thing himself, "*Reverence*," they exclaimed, Reverence, all want it, perhaps you yourself; nor is the fear felt by rude people for natural convulsions or similar awful occurrences, an exception, for Nature is indeed adequate to fear, but to reverence not adequate." Tiruvaḷḷuvar had also felt the weight and meaning of this sentiment when he wrote, "Never will reverence be found with those who have not received careful instruction."

With this small handful of ears from Tiruvaḷḷuvar's abounding grainfield, we now turn to V ê m a n a, emphatically a people's poet, the familiar oracle of the old Telugu race, much below the great Tamiḻ Teacher in moral and poetic sentiment, and sweet reasonableness of perception, he excelled him in satirical force and vehemence of scorn. The mild wisdom of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is never aggressive, but Vêmana deals swashing blows at hypocritical sanctimoniousness, and never wearies in discharging shaft after shaft at Brahmaṇical assumption. Nothing certain is known of his life. Tradition hands him down as a *Kâpu* or farmer, and his translator, Mr. C. P. Brown, thinks he lived in the 16th century, but there is reason to think he lived long before. Several hundred quatrains are ascribed to him, a large number of which are probably popular sayings that in course of time gathered about his name. He embodies the popular distrust and hatred of Brâhmaṇs, and is one of the few singers whose works could be collected from the mouths of the people, who know him by heart, and are always delighted to fling one of his stinging sarcasms at pretentious purity and asceticism. He well discerned the emptiness of broadened phylacteries. "Sanyâsis," says he, "affect particular words and vests, they wear a brick-red garb and shaven pates. On these they pride themselves, their heads look clean, but are their hearts so? A tiger skin, a staff, bells, and smearing with ashes! what avail these for the worship of God, *who is a Spirit*?" In the same vein as Moses proclaimed that the commandment laid upon the people was not hidden nor far off, neither in heaven or beyond the sea, but very nigh to them, in their mouth, and in their heart, that they may do it (*Deut.* xxx), Vêmana exclaims, "Kâśi, they cry; why roam in pilgrimage to holy shrines to find the God that dwells within them?* Wandering in the wilds will not discover sanctity, nor is it in the sky, nor at the confluence of holy streams. Make the body pure, and thou shalt behold the king!" His version of the Golden Rule is very absolute: "Though an enemy worthy of death fall into thy hand, afflict him not, conciliate him by kindness, and bid him depart. This is death to him! Injure not others, O men, and live for ever!" The following expression is striking in the mouth of a Hindu:—"Why revile a Pariah? Of what caste is He who speaks in the Pariah?" Carlyle highly praises the words of the German Novalis, "There is but one temple in the universe, and that is the human body: nothing is holier than that high form, bending before men is a reverence done to this incarnation of the Divine." Long before him, however, Vêmana had written—"Why collect marble and build temples? The true temple is the body, the soul is the God therein," a strange unconscious echo of the words of St. Paul, "know ye not that

* See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 102, where this forms the substance of the last verse of some very striking Metrical Translations by Mr. R. Caldwell from the poetry of Sivavakkiyar.

ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" Vêmana despised a fool as utterly as any Hebrew prophet: "should a fool," says he, "find even the philosopher's stone, it would melt in his hand like a hailstone." There is quite a ring of Emerson in this saying:—"That alone is yours which you have bestowed upon others, the rest is not at your disposal," and here is one of the last words of the philosophy of to-day:—"Lo, all fear is ignorance: when fear leaves us the divine spirit shall become our own." It is no bad Indian version of the maxim—"To thy own self be true," to say with Vêmana, "If dissimulation leave thy heart, none in the world will be deceitful towards thee."

It has been conjectured that Vêmana lived at Kondavid near Guntûr in the south-west Telingana country; certain passages in his writings seem to favour this supposition, but it cannot be held certain. Whether contemporary with Shakespeare, or living as early as Chaucer, it is clear that he had intellectual strength and insight enough to shake off the worst superstitions that swayed the people amongst whom he lived. He had no respect for the *Vedas* or the Hindu deities; declares all castes equal; and scoffs unsparingly at Brâhmaṇs, ascetics, ceremonial observances, and the respect paid to omens and auguries. In effect he was a Stoical Pantheist, and his countrymen to-day, though outwardly conforming to the Brâhmaṇs, have all his bitter sayings at their finger-ends.

It has long been the fashion in Europe to regard the Hindus, as beyond other races, bigoted, fettered by caste, and immoveable in their religion and customs, but in fact no country can show more signal instances of the revolt of the intellect and conscience against idolatry, superstition, and priestly domination. Indeed it may be asserted that Europe has lagged behind India in the sphere of moral and religious insurrection. The Jaina and Buddhist systems, older than Christianity, are examples on the largest scale of triumphs over priestly pretensions, at times too when Brahmanical law and ascendancy were strongest, and the view taken of Buddhism in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. VIII. page 180) seems to me certainly correct. Again, no Puritan or Covenanter of the old stamp could have gone to work in a more root-and-branch style than Basava, the founder of the Jangam or Virasaiva sect in the 12th century. Himself the son of a Brâhmaṇ, he was led to rebel against the orthodox creed, even in its stronghold, and resolutely rejected all the Brahminical priesthood and principles, renounced the *Vedas*, *Râmâyaṇa* and *Bhagavat Gîtâ*, on which they are founded, and discarded all the observances and purificatory rites so tenaciously enforced by the Brâhmaṇs, teaching in their place the doctrine that all men are equal by birth and holy in proportion as they are temples of the great spirit, and that worship is due only to Siva conceived as the one God and Father of all. His teaching spread wide, many of the Râjas on the Western Coast were his followers, and they are still numerous in the Marâthâ and Kanara countries and in Maisûr and Berar. Three centuries later in Bengal, where Brâhmaṇical tyranny was most fixed and supreme, Chaitanya, born in the same year with Luther, renounced caste and priesthood, proclaimed the sufficiency of simple faith without works, ceremonial, or observances, and died with four millions of followers, now said to be doubled. And Vêmana, surrounded by Brâhmaṇs, shot shafts at them and all their works unceasingly. But India also exemplifies the apparently ineradicable tendency of the human mind towards sacerdotal direction, authority, and ritual, for the Brâhmaṇ, though so often defeated and seemingly near extinction, is again supreme, and his rivals have faded away, or exist in comparison as but a few scattered dissenters. Still amongst all the follies and servitudes of idolatry and priestcraft there will never be wanting in India many whose daily aspiration will be as of old, the famous hymn ascribed to the Muni Agastya always prefixed as a motto to Jangam and Jaina books, and continually uttered as a credo or confession of faith.

The Being, endless, giver of goodness, image of wisdom, whom pain and grief
Never can reach, the sky his emblem, whose names are countless, and Truth the chief.
The One, everlasting, stainless, stedfast, who knows all secrets, himself unknown,
Passionless ever, of perfect justice,—Him do I worship, and him alone.[5]

[5] **Bramhânandam, parama sukhadam, Kêvala jñânamûrtim Dvandvâtîtam, gagana sadṛiśam, tatvamasyâdilakshyam Ekam, nityam, vimalam-achalam, sarvatas sâkshi bhûtam Bhâvâtîtam, triguṇa rahitam, sad gurum tam namâmi!**

SANSKṚIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from Vol. VIII., p. 305.*)

No. LXI.

At a short distance to the south-west of the village of Aihoḷe, in Survey No. 72, there is a temple, small but highly interesting on account of the quaint and elaborate sculptures with which it is decorated, which is noticed by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archæological Report*, p. 40. It is now disused, and is partly in ruins, the whole of the roof having been removed. Mr. Burgess considers it to be of about the same age as the Durga-temple. It appears to have been originally a Vaishṇava temple, as there are figures of Garuḍa over the doors both of the *maṇḍapa* and of the shrine, and a figure of Lakshmî, with her elephants, over the entrance. But there is also a figure of Śiva, dancing, on the roof, with Pârvatî holding a child, which must be either Gaṇapati or Kârttikêya.

On the north side of the porch there is an Old-Canarese inscription of eleven letters, in characters of the ninth or tenth century A. D., of which a fac-simile is given in the *First Archæological Report*.[1] It commences with the word *Svasti*, followed by *Ganasobbana*, 'of Ganasobba'; the last four letters cannot be read satisfactorily.

And on a pilaster on the south side of the porch, there is the following inscription,[2] in the Sanskṛit language and in characters of the seventh or eighth century A. D., which probably records the name of the builder of the temple:—

Transcription.

[1] Svasti [||*] Jambudvîp-ântarê kaśchit
[2] vâstu-prâsâda-tadgataḥ
[3] Narasobba-samô vidvân
[4] na bhûtô na bhavishyuti ||

Translation.

Hail! There has not been, and there shall not be, in Jambudvîpa, any wise man, proficient in (*the art of building*) houses and temples, equal to N a r a s o b b a.

No. LXII.

Further to the south-west of the village, on the right bank of the river, in Survey Nos. 74 and 75, there is a large group of ruined and disused temples, mentioned incidentally by Mr. Burgess in his *First Archæological Report*, p. 43.

The largest and most interesting of them is the temple of the god Galiganâtha. On the front or east side of the courtyard there is a handsomely sculptured gateway, still nearly entire, after the fashion of the gates of the topes at Sâñchî and Amarâvatî, but not nearly so elaborate in design, and on a diminutive scale, being only ten or twelve feet high. It is the only gateway of the kind that I know of in this part of the country.

Just outside this gateway, and a few steps to the south of it, there is a small cell, on one of the beams of which is an Old-Canarese inscription[3] of the R â s h ṭ r a k û ṭ a king K a n n a r a or K ṛ i s h ṇ a, dated Śaka 831 (A.D. 909-10), the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara*.[4] I shall publish this hereafter in a separate paper on the R â s h ṭ r a k û ṭ a kings.

The only inscription, that I could find, belonging to the temple of Galiganâtha itself, is on the north face of one of the four pillars of a small square unroofed structure, in the centre of which there is a *liṅga*, standing in the middle of the courtyard. The characters are early,—perhaps of the sixth or seventh century A.D. The writing covers 4½″ by 6½.″ A fac-simile[5] is given herewith. The transcription is:—[1] *Vaṁśiga-Biṭṭu-* [2]*kritaṁ*; *i.e.*, 'Made by V a ṁ ś i g a-B i ṭ ṭ u.' 'Biṭṭu' is probably another form of 'Biṭṭi,' which is a corruption of the Sanskṛit 'Vishṇu'; *Vaṁśiga* is his surname, and is a corruption of the Sanskṛit *vaṁśika*.

No. LXIII.

In front of the abovementioned temple of Galiganâtha, there is a large unnamed temple with an Old-Canarese inscription, in one line, on the outside of one of the stones of the wall on the south side of the door, which is in the east wall.

The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D. The writing covers 1′ 4½″ by 4′ 8½″. A fac-simile[6] is given herewith. The transcrip-

[1] Pl. LV., No. 34.

[2] *First Archæol. Report*, Pl. LV., No. 33; and No. 75 of *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[3] No. 79 of *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[4] There is some uncertainty as to the exact date; for, Śaka 831 was the Śukla *saṁvatsara*, and the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 833.

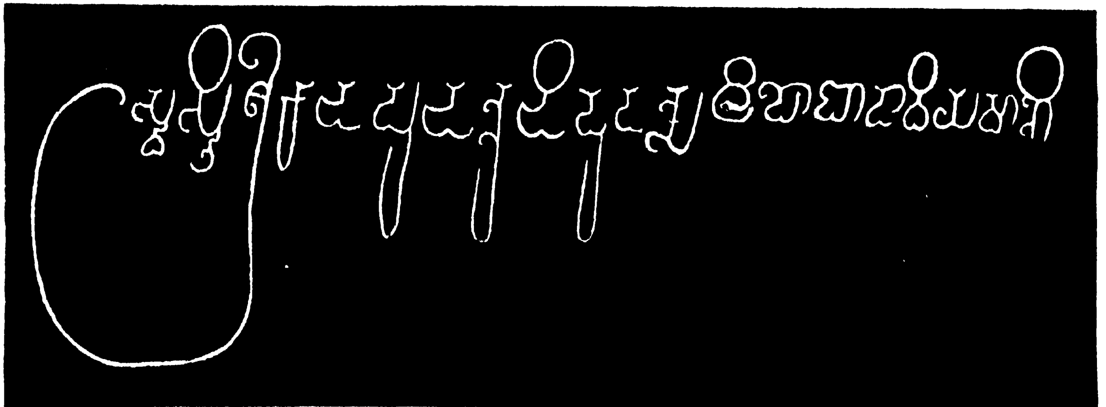
[5] No. 81 of *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[6] No. 80 of *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

ON A PILLAR IN THE COURT-YARD OF THE TEMPLE OF GALIGANATHA, AIHOLE.



ON THE FRONT WALL OF A TEMPLE IN FRONT OF THE TEMPLE OF GALIGANATHA, AT AIHOLE.



FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. Griggs Photo lith, London.

ON A PILLAR IN THE TEMPLE OF NARAYANA, AT AIHOLE.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITHO, LONDON.

tion is :—*Svasti Śrî-kaḍapuḍan=nuḍidan=salipô Bâdâviya mâṇi.*

Mr. V. R. Kaṭṭi explains *mâṇi* as a term applied to 'an old woman' or 'a goddess',—and proposes to correct *kaḍapuḍan* into *kaḍapuḍin*, which must then be taken as an irregular form of the instrumental singular of *kaḍapu, kadampu*, 'a cheek, a lip.' The translation would then be :—'Hail! The goddess (*or*, old woman) of Bâdâvi, who enforces that which is uttered (*or*, that which she utters) with the lip.'

This correction in the first word is rather a violent one. But I cannot suggest anything better,—with the exception, perhaps, of pointing out that Sanderson gives *mâṇi* as 'the *membrum virile*,' whence it might perhaps be used in the sense of a *liṅga*,—that *kaḍa* may be for *kaḍu*, 'excessive, great, much,'—and that *puḍa* may be for *buḍa*, which we have in *buḍakkane, buḍabuḍa, buḍabuḍane*, 'with force, hastily.' From this point of view the inscription would refer to some *liṅga*, probably a *liṅga* brought from Bâdâmi, and set up in this temple, which was supposed to have the power of immediately enforcing any vow made, or any promise given, in its presence.

No. LXIV.

In the same group of temples with the temple of Galiganâtha, but in Survey No. 75, and rather closer to the river, there is a temple of the god Nârâyaṇa. It contains three separate shrines, all leading out of the central hall. The inscription, of which a fac-simile[7] is given herewith, and of which there is a partial transcription in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, at Vol. I., p. 562, is on the front face of a pilaster on the right side of the entrance to the south shrine.

The language is Old-Canarese. The writing covers a space about 2′ 5″ high by 1′ 9″ broad. At the top of the inscriptions there are the usual emblems; *viz.*, in the centre, a figure of Basava, and a cow and calf; on their right, a *liṅga*, with the sun and moon above it; and on their left, a curved sword.

The inscription is dated in the forty-third year of the Châlukya Vikrama-Varsha,[8] *i. e.* in Śaka 1040 (A. D. 1118-9), the Vilambi *saṁvatsara*, and records the gift of certain lands to provide for the perpetual oblation of the god, and a grant of ten *gadyâṇas* to provide food for the *Pûjâri*, or officiating priest of the temple.

Transcription.

[1] Svasti Jayâ(yô)=bhivri(vṛi)dhdhi(ddhi)ś=cha [||*] Châḷukya-Vikra-
[2] ma-varishada 43[ne*]ya Viḷambi-saṁvatsa-
[3] rada uttarâyaṇa-saṁkramaṇad-aṁ-
[4] du Gaṁgâdhara-Saṇaṁgiyaruṁ Nârasiṁ-
[5] ga(ha)-Saṇaṁgiyaruṁ tamma dêvara pû-
[6] jârige nitya-ni(nai)vêdyakaṁ(kkaṁ) biṭṭa Kaggala-mâ-
[7] neya[9] keyi mattaru 12 Doḍḍana-mâṇi(ne)-
[8] ya keyi mata(tta)ru 8 Saṁdhi[10]gereya
[9] keyi mata(tta)ru 12 Beḷu[11]vâviya ke-
[10] yi mata(tta)ru 3 Banneya-kereya keyi
[11] mata(tta)ru 3 Mâdhavana-kereya keyi
[12] mata(tta)ru 3 Jachcha-geyi dêvara ho(?)ngipa(ppa ?)tu(ttu ?)-
[13] t...[12]yalu gaṁṭi-mata(tta)ru 2 bhô[13]janake(kkaṁ)
[14] biṭṭa gadyâṇa hatu(ttu) [| *] Aṁt=ani-
[15] tuvâ(vaṁ) dhârâ-pûrbba(rvva)kaṁ-mâḍi bi-
[16] ṭṭaru [||*]

Translation.

Hail! Victory and prosperity! At the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north in the Viḷambi *saṁvatsara* which was the forty-third (*year*) of the Châḷukya Vikrama-Varsha,—Gaṅgâdhara-Saṇaṅgi and Nârasiṁha-

[7] No. 82 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[8] See Vol. VIII., p. 187.

[9] Sc., *mânya.*

[10] In the lithograph this letter has come out as if it were *ṭi*; but the original has *dhi.*

[11] In the lithograph this letter reads as if it were *pa*, a small mark at the bottom, which would have distinguished it as *ḷu*, having failed to appear.

[12] It is not clear what the lower part of this character is meant for.

[13] The original being rather damaged here, this letter has not come out properly in the lithograph.

Saṇaṅgi allotted to the officiating priest of their god, for the purpose of the perpetual oblation, the cultivated land called Kaggala-mânya (*measuring*) twelve *mattars*, and the cultivated land called Doḍḍana-mânya (*measuring*) eight *mattars*, and the cultivated land of the tank called Sandhigere (*measuring*) twelve *mattars*, and the cultivated land of the well called Beḷuvâvi (*measuring*) three *mattars*, and the cultivated land of the tank called Banneyakere (*measuring*) three *mattars*, and the cultivated land of the tank of Mâdhava (*measuring*) three *mattars*, and the cultivated land called Jachchageyi, in .... of the god, (*measuring*) two *gaṇṭi-mattars*,—and, to provide for his food, ten *gadyâṇas*. This much they allotted, with libations of water.

STRAY NOTES.

BY CAPTAIN J. S. F. MACKENZIE.

1. In the North-West Provinces, on an outbreak of small pox, it is the practice with some people to place, in the centre room of the house, in a water-pot, a branch of the nimb tree decorated with flowers as representing the goddess (Sîtalâ Mâyi or Dêvi Bhawâni) of small-pox. The gardener's wife who furnishes fresh flowers every morning, worships the representation on behalf of the family. While small-pox is in the house, the inmates feed a donkey morning and evening with gram and jagari. The donkey is fed because it is the animal on which the goddess rides.

2. Among the Brâhmans of Bengal, eight out of the thirty-six castes into which the Hindus are divided, are considered clean. These eight are Ahirs (milkmen), Kunbis (ryots), Lohars (blacksmiths), Mâlis (gardeners), Tumbolis (pân sellers), Kumârs (potters), Hajâms (barbers) and Kahârs (bearers). Any one of these castes may come into the house, and touch the bedding or pots without necessarily defiling them. A Brahman will drink water out of the hands of any one of these. If any member of the other castes were to touch the things, they must be washed and purified.

3. While trying a case of adultery (in Mysore), in the course of cross-examination the headman of the village admitted that some time before the case had been brought into court, a panchâyat had enquired into the matter, but at the same time he showed a very marked reluctance to giving details of what then happened. It struck me that all the villagers were afraid they had done wrong in taking notice of the affair, and each pretended to know as little as possible of the doings of the panchâyat. The following facts were however elicited. A woman who could not get on with her husband returned to her parents' home, and they, at the request of her husband, after some months, turned her out, but she declined to go back to her husband, went off, and lived with the co-respondent, an inhabitant of the same village. On this there was a general panchâyat convened—at whose request I could not learn—*each house in the village* sending one member, who was summoned to attend by the village (*kulwadi*) '*toty*.' The meeting settled that if the woman were allowed to remain in the village, some misfortune would happen, and it was determined she should be expelled. The sentence was communicated to the headman, who said he had not been present at the meeting, but admits he executed the sentence by leading the woman out of the village, and dismissing her beyond the boundaries. I have often known cases where a breach of caste rules has been punished by a fine, but this is the only case I know of where the drastic course of expelling from the village an offending member has been followed.

4. The Holiars of Mysore are generally looked upon as outcasts of very low morals. On one occasion I was trying the headman of the caste, a reputed dacoit. The chief witnesses against him were members of his own caste. He tried to make out that the evidence of one of the witnesses was unworthy of any weight, since he was the offspring of a Holiar by a "Beder" woman. Now the Beder is admittedly of a higher caste, and yet a Holiar had been punished by a caste fine for marrying a woman even of a higher caste. And in the eyes of the caste a slur attaches to the offspring. Another witness he declared was unfit to give evidence because he lived with a woman without being married to her, and he had been fined by the caste for this. The incident is interesting as showing how even

among the lowest castes breach of the caste rules is looked on as detracting from the respectability of the offender, and rendering his evidence of less value in their own opinion.

5. Among the lower class of Musalmans in the North-West, there is a belief that bad luck will attend a child through life unless a naked sword or knife is shown to it soon after its birth. There is also a belief among this class extending to the lower castes of Hindus that the goddess or angel of good luck will not visit a house in which there is no sword of some sort or other.

6. When talking to a Bengali gentleman on the subject of tree and serpent worship, he told me—but I had better give his own words :— "In reference to the conversation of last Sunday morning, I have been, on the evening of that day, to a prostitute's house, and obtained the following correct information in respect to their system of marriage with flower plants.

"There are two classes of prostitutes :—One born of prostitute mother and carries on the profession from generation to generation. This class is married to flower plants, the daughters born of such prostitute mothers form no connection by rights of marriage with any living man, consequently any intercourse with this class of women is not considered a great social crime, as they bring no shame to any one by their pernicious profession.

"The other is the one who, on account of high metal, quits the protection of their guardians, leaving infant children, and thereby bring disgrace to the family which she had deserted. Intercourse with this class of women is in a moral and social point of view a heinous offence and sinfulness, as any assistance rendered to them encourages women of such disposition to enter into this profession.

"In the olden times, or what is called the *Satya Yuga*, according to Hindu mythology it appears from the *Purâṇas*, that there was a set of prostitutes of the first class such as Urvasî, Mênakâ, Rambhâ, Tilottamâ, &c., and the mode of their living is also defined there. Each woman attaches herself for one night or successive nights to one man only, and during that period she has no connection with anybody else.

"The ceremony observed in the marriage with flower plants by the first class is—that the mother of the girl gives away her daughter to a flower plant, previously planted in her house for the purpose, in the presence of a *priest* of their class and of other friends invited for the purpose. A wedding feast is given on the occasion, according to the circumstances of the party.

"So long as the flower plant with which the girl is married is alive, she daily waters it, and puts a light near it at night. When the plant withers and dies away, the girl observes mourning for a period of three days, and abstains from meat or fish during those days, but lives on one meal of rice and vegetables. On the fourth day she bathes, cuts her nails, feeds friends and Brahmans, and then leads her usual mode of life.

"All flowers are of the female sex, except four, which are of the male species. As I am not acquainted with their English or botanical names, I give their names as pronounced in Bengal :— Togore, Kund, Goluncho or Kulka, and Sephalika. With these four species of flower plants the tree-marriage is contracted, and with no other kind of flower trees."

So far as I can learn, nothing is known around Allahabad of tree-marriage. The nimb, as I have already noted, is worshipped, during an outbreak of small-pox, by the people. The pipal is worshipped as Mahâdêva by the Brahmans.

THE PERUMALS.

Mâlabâr or Malayâḷam denotes the country between the Western Ghâṭs and the Arabian Sea south of Koṅkaṇ. Its Sanskrit name Kêraḷam refers probably to the abundant growth of the *keram* or cocoanut in these parts.

According to tradition Paraśurâma, the sixth incarnation of Vishṇu, reclaimed it from the sea, and established the principal temples and grâmams. To distinguish the people of Mâlabâr from their fellow Aryans in other parts of the peninsula, certain changes were instituted in the manners and customs of the people; the principal of which are the wearing of the *kuḍumi* or tuft of hair, on the forepart of the head, the restriction that the eldest sons only of the Namburi Brâhmaṇs should marry, and the system of inheritance known as *Marumakkatayam* amongst the Śûdra castes. The

lands in the newly occupied country were divided, rent free, amongst the temples and a few Brâhmaṇ proprietors called thence "Janmis." These had each a large number of tenants or dependents, and at first established an aristocratic form of Government, till the rapid increase in the numbers of the colony and the dissensions amongst the chiefs[1] rendered it necessary to instal a supreme executive officer. About B. C. 60[2] a great congress was held, when it was agreed that a governor or Pôrumâl should be sent for from the neighbouring kingdom of Chôḍa, comprising Koimbatur and parts of Mâlabâr and Travankor. Each viceroy was restricted to a rule of 12 years only.

List of some of the Perumâl Princes who reigned in Malayâḷam, &c. :—

1. Kaya Pôrumâl,—Died before the expiration of the prescribed time.

2. Shoḷa Pôrumâl,—Assassinated by a Brâhmaṇ, who, with his associates, were expelled their tribe, and their descendants are called Nambidaimars.

3. Pâṇḍi Pêrumâl,—Described as an enterprising female who reigned under this name. She resigned her government.

4. Vânam Pôrumâl,—Described as having been converted to the Buddhist faith, and retired to Makka.[3]

5. Tulu Pôrumâl,—The division of Malayâḷam into four provinces took place in the reign of this chief.

6. Inderam Pôrumâl,—Subdivided the country; the north he called Tulunâd, the south Malayâḷam, and directed that the inhabitants of each should confine their alliances to those belonging to their own particular tract.

7. Âria Pêrumâl,—During the reign of this chief the country underwent a third change, from Gokarṇa to Perampalli it was called Tulunâd; thence to Pothupatnam, Kêraḷa Râj; thence to Kaniath, Muthaganâd; and thence to Kanya Kumârî, Kuvala Râj; each province was superintended by a Daledderi or Brâhmaṇ Councillor.

8. Kuna Pôrumâl.

9. Kottai Pêrumâl,—Is said to have founded Kottaikolam, the modern Calicut.

10. Munda Pêrumâl.

11. Yailia Pôrumâl.

12. Kumbum Pôrumâl.

13. Vijayam Pôrumâl,—Is said to have built Kulam then called Vaddakenkolam.

14. Valuvam Pôrumâl,—Derived his appellation from his constant tours through the country.

15. Arechendron Pêrumâl,—His successor early disappeared. He built the Fort of Puraviyamalla.

16. Mallam Pôrumâl,—Traced his lineage from the Madura kings.

17. Kolashagara Pêrumâl.

18 Chêraman Pôrumâl,—He made Tirûwanjekolam his residence and encouraged commerce. A Śaiva temple there perpetuates his memory.[4]

The Pêrumâls had their capital at Kranganor or Kodungalûr, and preserved the tributary relation to the Tamiḷ kingdom, till the fourth century after Christ, when the last Chêraman Pêrumâl made himself independent. The Jews and Syrian Christians had received the protection of the Pêrumâl as refugees and traders, and probably helped him to throw off the yoke of his sovereign.

Before the retirement of Chôraman Pêrumâl to Makka as a Buddhist (?) in A.D. 378,[5] he divided his dominions amongst his relatives and dependants. The Râjas of Cochin are the descendants of the Pêrumâl in the Maramakkatayom line, and as such were entitled to the paramount position in Mâlabâr. They were crowned at Ponâni in the presence of the other Râjas till that town was forfeited successively to the Samorin of Calicut, the Sulṭân of Maisur, and lastly to the British Government.

From the native annals of Mâlabâr and their own traditions, it appears that ten thousand Jews arrived on the coast shortly after the destruction of the second temple and the final desolation of Jerusalem.[6] It is supposed that some seven thousand settled at once on a spot

[1] This period is called the *Arichawattam* or state of misrule.—ED. [2] Some fix this about A. D. 200.—ED.

[3] The native History of Keraḷa appears to indicate more rationally that he became a Muhammadan; but if so, he must be placed very much later in the list. After mentioning the arrival in Mâlabâr of Mâr Śâphôr and Mâr Aphrôtta, the native Syrian Christian Brief History states that, "at that time the Jews and Arabs in this country were at war. We and the Jews were allies. The Arabs commenced the war—destroyed a city—slew the two Râjas Vilvanvattalo, and burnt their bodies." Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light*, pp. 54, 305; conf. *Madras Jour. Lit. Soc.* vol. II. p. 71.—ED.

[4] Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light*, pp. 2, 3.—ED.

[5] Others give A. D. 825 for this date.—ED.

[6] This is quite fabulous, see *ante*. vol. III. p. 323.—ED.

then called Mahâdêvapaṭnam, but now Kuḍangalur, and applied themselves with their usual sagacity, economy and success to trade, and thence early obtained the respect and protection of the native princes. Some considerable time afterwards[7] they procured a most valuable grant from the ruling sovereign, and had it engraved in old Tamiḷ upon copper plates. These plates are still in existence at Cochin. They have been already given in facsimile with a translation. The following is the transliteration of the first plate :—

Svasti śrî—kôgôn amai kŏṇḍân. kô śrî Pârkaraṇ-Iravivaṇmar tiruvaḍi pala nûṟâyira-ttâṇḍum śĕṅgôl naḍatti yâḷâ niṉṟa yânḍu iraṇḍâm âṇḍaikk'ĕdir muppattâṟâm âṇḍu Muyiṟikoṭṭu irunda 'ruḷiya nâḷ pirasâdiśśa 'ruḷiya pirasâdamâvadu : Îssuppu Iṟappâṇukku aṇjuvaṇṇamum vĕḍiyâlum pâyaṇattâlum pâgudanum aṇjuvaṇṇappêṟum pagalviḷakkum pâvaḍaiyum andôḷagamum kuḍaiyum . . [kŏḍuttôm].[8]

The States formed on the dismemberment of the Pêrumâl's empire were further weakened by smaller apportionments amongst Chiefs or Kaimals who were under a species of feudal subordination to the Râjas, and, subject to their control, exercised a tyrannical rule over the tenants and people included within their provinces. These subordinate Chiefs were styled Râjas again by their subjects, and were often at feud with one another. The army was raised by conscription from the Nâyars, and the inferior castes were pressed into the service as camp followers. When we consider that a loose patriarchal sort of government was all that pertained to the sovereign in those times, who levied no land taxes, and established no strong tribunals, it is not surprising that some of the chiefs latterly claimed sovereign rank for themselves, or were adjudged the same by foreigners, who found the lines of distinction between the honoured subject or tributary chief and the independent ruler too narrow to be perceived.[9]

FOLKLORE SCRAPS FROM BIRBHUM, BENGAL.

BY G. D. BYSACK.

Sujol, in the district of Birbhum, is situated one and a half kos to the north-east of the railway station of Bolpur. Its correct name is Sringalpur. Tradition says that this place was the hermitage of the great ascetic Rishya Śringa. The country is undulating, and the village Sujol is built on an elevated site. One of its wards is called Dêvîpârâ, and to the north-east of Dêvîpârâ is a narrow mound of earth where the great Rishi used to perform his devotions. Near the mound was his *Kuṇḍa* or sacrificial fount. That Kuṇḍa is now called Kunri land.

This place is regarded as sacred, and dedicated to a lion-mounted goddess Nava Durgâ. It is said that the father of Rishya Śriṅga, the great sage, Vibhândaka, established the stone image here. Cinders, rice and *bilva* leaves are still to be found in digging. A story prevails that a few years ago a European sunk an iron bar in the earth to know whether the place had a coal mine, when the bar was taken out of the ground he found it to be hot. This served to confirm the general belief or superstition that the Munis still perform their devotions below the earth. There is a tank in the middle of the village called Endo—the hermitage of Andhaka. A tank was dug to the east of the village in the year 1231 Beng. San, and called Morepukhar. When digging it pieces of broken boats, rotten tobacco, and human bones turned up. It is said that formerly the Ajai river flowed through this place. Daśaratha, the lord of Ajodhya, when celebrating the *Putresti yajna* (sacrifice to obtain a son) took Sringa to Ajodhya by the river. Rishya Sringa's father Mahârishi Vibhândaka was very old, and was by no means inclined to let his son go to so distant a place, but the mother was prevailed upon to assent to the Raja's earnest commands as there was no other alternative t for her. After the departure of her she became very anxious for him. The river which had helped Daśaratha to take her son away excited her ire. On the return of her son she stopped its course by a curse. From that time the river began to silt up, and

[7] In the eighth century A. D., see vol. III. p. 334.—Ed.

[8] I have added this from Dr. Burnell's *S. Indian Palæography* (2nd ed.) p. 140, in place of an unsatisfactory translation given in the *Report*. For his translation see *ante*, vol. III., pp. 333ff.—Ed.

[9] From the *Administration Report of Cochin for* 1875-76, communicated by H. H. Râma Varmâ, First Prince of Travankore.—Ed.

ultimately changed its course. The climate of the place was then highly salubrious. It is only lately that it has become unhealthy, as the ravages of cholera and malarious fever indicated by the number of deserted and dilapidated houses prove. The village is said to be very old, an old long Digi or tank, and the debris of an old brick-built house are the only vestiges left to testify to its former existence. From the people also we gather that the place was the abode of a Râja Basanta. His palace was to the east of the railway. Traces of buildings at the place are found to this day. There is also a story connected with this fort at Bhubarva. Once it is said the Raja took shelter with his army within this fort. The fort had only one gate, and a gate-keeper guarded the gate without closing it. One of the men from the enemy killed the door-keeper, and no one else could come out of the fort, so the Râja was killed with all his army and followers. The men killed in the fort became ghosts after their death, and it is said that now and then during the dead hours of night they resume their former shapes and march about in battle array, and sounds are audible—the noise of chariots, &c. To the south of this village is a place called Makdamtala. The Muhammadans say that at this place a great battle was fought between the Hindus and Muhammadans, and the men who died in the battle were buried there.

MISCELLANEA.

A VILLAGE LEGEND.

Kelûr is a village three miles to the south of Aihoḷe in the Hungund tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi zilla, and about a mile and a half to the west of the village is a *koḷ* or glen, in which is a temple of Siddhêśvaradêva. To the north of it is a cavern in the rock and another to the south. Once upon a time two cows used to come daily from the south cave, and graze on the pasture in the neighbourhood. A boy attending the village cattle observed them, and took it into his head to watch them so as to find out their owner, and ask wages for keeping them. Accordingly in the evening he followed them into the cave, where he found two Ṛishis engaged in their devotions, who, on opening their eyes, were surprised to see the cowherd boy. They questioned him who he was, and how he happened to come there. The boy explained all and asked for some wage for watching their cows. They gave him a ball of cow-dung and dismissed him, enjoining him not to reveal to any one what he had seen. The boy's mother finding her son had not come home at the usual time went out to seek him, and met him just as he had come out of the cave. She asked why he was so late that evening, when he told her the whole story, and shewed her the ball of cow-dung which he was carrying under his *dhoti*. The ball was found to be half gold and half dung, but the boy immediately expired on the spot. Since then nobody has ever attempted to enter the cave.

J. B.

THE GRAMMAR OF CHANDRA.

Kandy: Dec. 18, 1879.

1. At a time when the enquiry into the history and development of Sanskrit grammatical literature is engaging a large share of the attention of Oriental scholars, it gives me great pleasure to announce to them the discovery of an important work in Ceylon which will throw much light on this interesting subject.

That a grammar by Chandra existed till about eight or nine centuries ago, and that it now exists in a Tibetan version only, are facts within the knowledge of every well-read Orientalist. Not only is there the absence of its name from every catalogue of existing Sanskrit works, whether published or still in MS., but we have the distinct assertion of Râjendralâla Mitra, LL.D., on p. 162 of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, published in 1877, that the work is lost.

We find the author mentioned in the twelfth century by Vopadêva in the second verse of the Introduction to his admirable *Dhâtupâṭha* called the *Kavikalpadruma*. There a list is given of the eight principal grammarians, the founders, no doubt, of eight different schools, to some one or other of which all the existing grammatical treatises are referable. These are Indra, Chandra, Kâśakṛitsna, Âpiśali, Śâkaṭâyana, Pâṇini, Amara, and Jainendra. The works of Indra, Kâśakṛitsna, Âpiśali, and Amara are also lost, and MSS. have only been discovered of those of Śâkaṭâyana, Pâṇini, and Jainendra. That Âpiśali and Śâkaṭâyana were predecessors of Pâṇini appears from their being mentioned by him; and, although there is no mention of Indra in his work by name, yet there are reasons making it highly probable that the Prâñchaḥ frequently referred to by him belonged to his school. It is also clear that several works now extant, such as the *Kâtantra* and others, have been composed on the principles of the Aindra school of Sanskrit grammar. With

the exception, therefore, of Indra, more perhaps is known of Chandra from quotations in existing works than of any one of the other three whose works have shared the same fate—viz., Kâśakṛitsna, Âpiśali, and Amara. What is known of him, however, is so scanty that it would not enable us to form any definite idea of the character and extent of his work. To say that it consisted of sûtras, and that it was quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in the *Prauḍhamanoramâ*, by Ujjvaladatta in his commentary on the *Uṇâdi-sûtras*, and by one or two other authors, would embrace perhaps all that could have hitherto been said of the Châundra grammar. But the MS. just discovered enables us to ascertain with certainty several important facts regarding this work and its relation to the existing systems of Sanskrit grammar.

From this MS., of which I shall give a short account before concluding this paper, we gather that Chandra's work was based on the model of, and was intended as an improvement on, Pâṇini's *Ashṭâdhyâyî*. Both works have adopted the same arrangement, which may be termed artificial, as distinguished from the natural arrangement according to subjects observable in the *Kâtantra* and *Mugdhabodha*, and, in fact, in all European treatises on grammar. The division into *adhyâyas* and *pâdas* is also common to both works, with only this difference, that the number of *adhyâyas* in Pâṇini is eight, while that in Chandra is six. This has resulted probably from the latter embodying in one *adhyâya* the substance of Pâṇini's third, fourth, and fifth chapters, all of which treat of affixes.

Both works open with a peculiar arrangement of the letters, materially differing from the alphabetical arrangement, and styled by the Pâṇinîya school of grammarians the *Śivasûtras*. There is, however, a slight difference between the two schemes—viz., that the *it* or *anubandha* that the end of the fifth sûtra in Pâṇini's is omitted in Chandra's scheme, which thus contains thirteen sûtras, while the number in Pâṇini's is fourteen. This omission causes the absence from Chandra's work of only one pratyâhâra, *aṭ*, the necessity for which is obviated by Chandra in an ingenious manner, as will be seen from an instance which I cannot help adverting to.

Pâṇini, after laying down in viii. 4, 1, that the dental *n* should be changed to the cerebral *ṇ* when it follows *r* or *sh* in the same pada, states in the sûtra immediately following that the rule obtains even when the letters included in the pratyâhâra *aṭ*, and those belonging to the guttural and labial classes of consonants, as well as the preposition *âṅ* and the augment *num*, intervene between the *r* or *sh* and the dental *n*. Chandra, on the other hand, after giving a rule corresponding to Pâṇini viii. 4, 1, in nearly the same words, mentions in a subsequent sûtra a number of letters the intervention of which between the *r* or *sh* and the dental *n* prevents the operation of the first-mentioned rule. These letters are those belonging to the palatal, cerebral, and dental classes of consonants, those included in *śar* and the consonant *l*. The obvious meaning of this is that the intervention of any other letters—and the only others are those given by Pâṇini—does *not* prevent the cerebral change.

Aṭ also occurs in Pâṇini viii. 4, 63, but in the corresponding sûtra of Chandra we find, instead of it, the more comprehensive pratyâhâra *am*, which includes, besides the letters contained in *aṭ*, the nasals and the consonant *l*. That Chandra's rule is the better of the two will be readily admitted when it is remembered that Pâṇini's sûtra was amended by a vârttika of Kâtyâyana substituting this very pratyâhâra *am* for the less comprehensive *aṭ*.

Another pratyâhâra employed by Pâṇini but dispensed with by Chandra is the *aṇ* formed with the second *ṇ* in the scheme. This occurs only in one solitary sûtra of Pâṇini, viz., I. i. 69, according to which the letters contained in it would also represent or imply their homogeneous modifications; for instance, the short vowel *a*, which alone is given in the scheme, would imply, among others, the long and prolated *â*. Chandra finds no necessity for this rule, and omits it altogether, as the short vowel *a*, being a jâti term, would necessarily imply its long and prolated forms and its other homogeneous variations.

The only other pratyâhâra employed by Pâṇini and omitted by Chandra is *jhaś*; but he employs in his grammar the four pratyâhâras, *rik*, *ñam*, *mam*, and *chay*, which do not occur in Pâṇini. With reference to the last of these, *chay*, it must be stated that, though not employed by Pâṇini, it is used by Kâtyâyana in a vârttika to viii. 4, 48.

With the aid of these new pratyâhâras Chandra has effected a decided improvement on many of the sûtras of Pâṇini, an instance of which may here be mentioned. The sûtra Pâṇini i. 1, 51—Uraṇ raparaḥ—means, if we assign to the terms occurring in it their true and legitimate significations, that *aṇ*, that is to say the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*, substituted for the vowel *ṛi*, should be followed by *r*. It was found by grammarians that this rule stated too little, as it did not teach that *aṇ*, substituted for the vowel *ḷi*,[1] should be followed

[1] Almost all Oriental scholars transliterate this vowel by "ḷri." I have my reasons for omitting the *r* and retaining only *ḷi*, but they are too long to be stated in a foot-note. See Max Müller's *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 13.

by *l*. To remedy this defect Pâṇini's commentators were obliged to have recourse to several ingenious devices, attributing to Pâṇini doctrines he never inculcated and contrivances he never intended. They held that the vowels *ṛi* and *ḷi* are homogeneous, and that the former, according to i. 1, 69, implies the latter. This can scarcely be said to be a perfectly correct view, as *ḷi* is actually given in the śiva-sûtras. At all events the commentators are not consistent, as while asserting that *ḷi*, which is given in the scheme, is homogeneous with *ṛi* which in point of fact it is not, the former being a dental while the latter is a lingual—they, in almost the same breath, assert, for certain objects which it is foreign to my purpose to mention here, that *ai* and *au*, which in point of fact *are* homogeneous with *e* and *o* respectively, are *not* homogeneous with them, because the former are given in the scheme at the beginning of a sûtra. Having, however, by this grammatical fiction brought in the vowel *ḷ* by implication into the rule, they had a still greater difficulty to contend with, viz., to show that the consonant *l* is also mentioned in it. To meet this fresh difficulty they resorted to a step to which there is no parallel in point of subtlety in the whole range of grammatical invention. They contended that the *a* in the sixth śiva-sûtra, *laṇ*, is an *it*, and that the consonant *r* in the fifth śiva-sûtra forms with it the pratyâhâra *ra*, which includes the letters *r* and *l*. In this extraordinary way the commentators of Pâṇini have explained the sûtra in question to mean that *aṇ* substituted for *ṛi* and *ḷi* should be followed by *r* and *l*. If now we turn to the corresponding rule of Chandra—ṛiko'ṇo ralau—we are forced to admit that the doctrine is taught there in the plainest terms, and that this has been effected by the adoption of the pratyâhâra *ṛik* not occurring in the sûtras of Pâṇini.

In both works the employment of pratyâhâras is not confined to letters, but their application is extended to affixes also, which appear to be enumerated in the same order, beginning with *san* and ending with *kap*. The affix pratyâhâras are also identical in the sûtras of both grammarians, with this difference: that in Chandra there are two *sups*, one formed with *su* and *sup*, as in Pâṇini, and the other with *su* and *kap*.

A remarkable feature in the system of Chandra is the absence from it of several technical terms invented by Pâṇini, or adopted by him from prior grammarians such as *guṇa*, *vṛiddhi*, *pragṛihya*, *sarvanâmasthâna*, *ghi*, *nadî*, *shaṭ*, and several others. This circumstance led me at first to suppose that Chandra's work was prior to Pâṇini's; but a closer examination has convinced me that the omission was intentional. The reason for this step appears to be that, while by the omission of these terms no obscurity or lengthening of the sûtras would result, there was the decided advantage of many sûtras, such as those defining them, or rather explaining the meanings *assigned* to them being omitted and, indeed, of others being actually shortened—a primary object according to the *Mahâbhâshya* in all grammatical sûtras. I shall illustrate this by an example or two.

Pâṇini's explanation of *vṛiddhi* is "*vṛiddhir âdaich*" of *guṇa* "*adeṅ guṇaḥ*." It must be remembered that these sûtras are not properly speaking definitions of the terms *vṛiddhi* and *guṇa*, but that they merely give these names to the letters mentioned in the sûtras. Now these terms are by no means shorter than the convertible terms *âdaich* and *adeṅ*, and hence no advantage is gained by the use of the former in a sûtra in preference to the latter, which may be used to equal advantage, as they actually have been by Chandra.

In the case of *sarvanâmasthâna* consisting of six syllables, there is a considerable economising of space by its omission and by the retention of the dissyllabic *śisuṭ* used by Chandra, and occurring in two sûtras of Pâṇini, explaining the technical term *sarvanâmasthâna*—viz., *śi* in i. 1, 42 and *suṭ* in i. 1, 43.

The Vipratishedha-sûtra, Pâṇini i. 4, 2, and the Asiddha-sûtra, Pâṇini viii. 2, 1, also occur in Chandra, the latter being placed in about the middle of the third pâda of the sixth adhyâya. The sûtras, therefore, in the latter half of the third pâda and in the whole of the fourth are, as it were, non-existent in reference to those in the preceding five adhyâyas and two pâdas, and about one-half of the third pâda of the sixth.

2. I shall now advert to the work mentioned at the beginning of this paper, which has enabled me to gather the above-mentioned facts regarding Chandra's grammar and several other facts which the limited space of this paper precludes my stating here. It is called the *Bâlâvabodhana*, and is a reproduction of Chandra's grammar by a Buddhist priest named Kâśyapa, who lived in Ceylon about seven centuries ago, and of whom I hope to write a short account hereafter. The reader will be able to form some idea of the work and of its extent when I say that it bears the same relation, as regards matter and arrangement, to Chandra's grammar as the *Laghukaumudî* does to that of Pâṇini. The *Laghukaumudî* is an abridgement of a larger work called the *Siddhântakaumudî*, containing all the sûtras of Pâṇini, differently arranged and explained; but whether the *Bâlâvabodhana* is an abridgement of an already existing work bearing the same relation to

Chandra as the *Siddhântakaumudî* does to Pâṇini is a question which I am not yet in a position to decide. If, however, an introductory verse be any guide, I should be very much inclined to conclude that the work is an original one, or, in other words, that Kâśyapa has effected in the Chândra system what Râmachandra has done in the Pâṇinîya by his work called the *Prakriyâkaumudî* which, no doubt, afforded a model for Bhaṭṭoji in the composition of his *Siddhântakaumudî*. The verse referred to is the following:—

"Bhagavantaṁ jagadvandyam abhivandya tathâgataṁ |
Bâlâvabodhanam binduṁ Chândrasindhau karomy ahaṁ ||"

Here the author states that the *Bâlâvabodhana* which he composed is a drop from the ocean of Chandra. If the work was an abridgement of an already existing re-arrangement of all or the greater number of the sûtras of Chandra, the author would most probably have referred to that work in the Introduction, just as Varadarâja, in the introductory verse to the *Laghukaumudî*, has stated it to be an abridged *Siddhântakaumudî*.

The book begins with the usual adoration to Buddha as found in almost all Buddhistical works —Namas tasmai bhagavate 'rhate samyak-sambuddhâya. Then follow the introductory verse given above, and the scheme commonly called the śiva-sûtras, together with a gloss explaining the use of the scheme and the classification and formation of letters. The extraordinary statement in the *Kaumudîs* that the vowel *ḷi* has no long form, though it has a prolated one—a statement quite opposed to the *Kâtantra*—is also met with in the *Bâlâvabodhana*. A reason is assigned for the repetition of the *h* in the scheme, which is that it is repeated in order that it may be included in the pratyâhâra *val*. Such a reason is also mentioned in the *Praudhamanoramâ*, which enumerates, besides *val*, the pratyâhâras *ral*, *jhal*, and *śal*.

According to the *Kaumudîs*, *sthâna* and *prayatna* are concerned with the formation of letters, but in the work under notice a third thing is mentioned, namely, *karaṇa*. The *karaṇas* are the middle of the tongue, the vicinity of the tip of the tongue, and the tip of the tongue itself, as in pronouncing the palatals, the linguals, and the dentals respectively. In the case of the other letters the *sthâna* and *karaṇa* are the same.

Before leaving the subject of the classification of letters and the mode of their formation, and passing on to the chapter on sandhi, a kârikâ is given restricting the pratyâhâras to forty-two, which bears a close resemblance to that given in the *Kâśikâ* for the formation of Pâṇini's forty-one pratyâhâras, as will be seen on a comparison of the two which I quote here for the purpose:—

"Naṁañavâḥ syur ekasmâch chaturbhyas tu kachau nashau |
Dvâbhyâṁ raśmyo 'pi pañchabhyo las tu shaḍbhyo vidhîyate ||"

Kâśikâ: "Ekasmân ṅañaṇavaṭâ dvâbhyâṁ shas tribhya eva kaṇamâḥ syuḥ |
Jñeyau chayau chaturbhyo raḥ pañchabhyaḥ śalau shaḍbhyaḥ ||"

As regards the arrangement of the subjects in the *Bâlâvabodhana*, I am very much inclined to the opinion that it is more logical and, strange to say, more in consonance with European ideas than the arrangement in the *Kaumudîs*. As an instance affording proof of this, I may mention that in the former the declensions of pronouns and numerals are given in separate sections, and not blended with those of nouns as in the latter.

The MS. in question belongs to the Lankâtilaka-vihâra, a Buddhist temple in the Central Province of Ceylon, about eight miles from Kandy, the mountain capital of the island. Mr. A. C. Lawrie, district judge of Kandy, and a member of the committee of the Oriental Library of that city, whose services to the library cannot be too highly valued, having received information of there being a good collection of MSS. in this vihâra, at once proceeded to the place and had the whole collection examined and catalogued. At his request, Kobbekaduwe Śrinivâsa Buddharakkhita, the incumbent of the vihâra, lent the work to the library, and it was there that I found it about three months ago. A careful examination of the MS. led me to believe that its publication would be of immense service to Oriental scholars as tending to throw new light upon questions relative to the historical connexion of the different systems of Sanskrit grammar and upon other problems in the solution of which scholars are at present engaged. With a view, therefore, to its publication I made diligent enquiries for other copies of it, in every quarter where I thought any would be forthcoming, for the purpose of collation, but my search has resulted in the discovery of only two other copies. One of these belongs to the Suduhumpolavihâra, near Kandy, and the other to the learned high-priest, Sumangala, Principal of the Oriental College, Colombo. All the three copies now in my possession—and I do not believe it likely that any more could be added to the number—are in the Sinhalese character: but the edition I intend publishing will appear in the Devanâgarî type, together with a preface, explanatory notes, and a

list of the sûtras alphabetically arranged. The work of collating is being vigorously carried on, and I hope to send the edition to the press in about two or three months.

W. GOONETILLEKE.[*]

NOTE.

The *Nirayâvaliyâ Suttam* by Dr. S. Warren (Amsterdam: J. Müller), is the text in Jain Prâkrit, with notes and glossary, of five Jain *Upangas*, forming the above *Sutta*, and containing a legend of Bimbisâra and Ajâtasattu, a Jâtaka story by Mahâvîra, and several short *avadânas* or legends of Jain saints. Dr. Warren has not ventured on a translation, and confesses that he has not been able to understand all the text which he edits. The paucity of Jain texts compels us to welcome any new one, carefully edited, as this is, from four MSS.—*The Academy*, Jan. 17, 1880.

THE GÂTHA AHUNAVAITI OF THE PÂRSÎS.

Yasna xxx.

Now will I speak and proclaim to all who have come to listen.
Thy praise, Ahura-Mazda, and thine, O Vohumanô.
Asha! I ask that thy grace may appear in the lights of heaven.

Hear with your ears what is best, perceive with your minds what is purest,
So that each man for himself may, before the great doom cometh,
Choose the creed he prefers. May the wise ones be on our side!

These two spirits are twins; they made known in times that are bygone
That which is good and evil, in thought and word and action.
Rightly decided between them the good; not so the evil.

When these Two came together, first of all they created
Life and death, that at last there might be for such as are evil
Wretchedness, but for the good a happy blest existence.

Of these Two the One who was evil chose what was evil;
He who was kind and good, whose robe was the changeless Heaven,
Chose what was right; those, too, whose works pleased Ahura-Mazda.

They could not rightly discern who erred and worshipped the Dêvas;
They the Bad Spirit chose, and having held counsel together,
Turned to Rapine, that so they might make man's life an affliction.

But to the good came might; and with might came wisdom and virtue;
Armaiti, herself the Eternal, gave to their bodies
Vigour; e'en thou wert enriched by the gifts that she scattered, O Mazda!

Mazda, the time will come when the crimes of the bad shall be punished:
Then shall thy power be displayed in fitly rewarding the righteous—
Them that have bound and delivered up falsehood to Asha, the Truth-God.

Let us then be of those who advance this world and improve it,
O Ahura-Mazda, O Truth-God, bliss-conferring!
Let our minds be ever there where wisdom abideth!

Then indeed shall be seen the fall of pernicious falsehood;
But in the house where dwell Vohu-manô, Mazda, and Asha—
Beautiful house—shall be gathered for ever such as are worthy.

O men, if you but cling to the precepts Mazda has given,
Precepts, which to the bad are a torment, but joy to the righteous,
Then shall you one day find yourselves victorious through them.[1]

The following is Dr. Haug's prose version of the same section of this Gâtha[2]:—

1. I will now tell you who are assembled here, the wise sayings of Mazda, the praises of Ahura, and the hymns of the good spirit, the sublime truth which I see arising out of these sacred flames.

2. You shall, therefore, hearken to the soul of nature[3] (*i.e.*, to plough and cultivate the earth);

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[*] *The Academy*, Jan. 24 and 31, 1880, pp. 69ff., 88ff.

[1] Hübschmann, *Ein Zoroastrisches Lied, mit Rücksicht auf die Tradition übersetzt und erklärt* (München, 1872). Compare Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, pp. 237—9;—Rawlinson's *Religions of the Ancient World* in *Sunday at Home*, June 1879, pp. 373, 374.

[2] Haug's *Essays*, by West, pp. 149—151.

[3] *Gêush urvâ* means the universal soul of earth, the cause of all life and growth. The literal meaning of the word, "soul of a cow," implies a simile; for the earth is compared to a cow. By its cutting and dividing, ploughing is to be understood. The meaning of that decree, issued by Ahuramazda and the heavenly council, is that the soil is to be tilled; it, therefore, enjoins agriculture as a religious duty. Zarathushtra, when encouraging men by the order of Ahuramazda to cultivate the earth, acts as a prophet of agriculture and civilisation.

contemplate the beams of fire with a most pious mind! Every one, both men and women, ought to-day to choose his creed (*between the Dêva and the Ahura religion*). Ye offspring of renowned ancestors, awake to agree with us (*i.e.* to approve of my lore, to be delivered to you at this moment! The prophet begins to deliver the words revealed to him by the sacred flames).

3. In the beginning there was a pair of twins, two spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word, and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base!

4. And these two spirits united created the first (*the material things*); one, the reality, the other, the non-reality. To the liars (*the worshippers of the Devas, i.e. gods*) existence will become bad, whilst the believers in the true God enjoy prosperity.

5. Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true, holy spirit. Some may wish to have the hardest lot (*i.e., those who will not leave the polytheistic Deva-religion*), others adore Ahuramazda by means of sincere actions.

6. You cannot belong to both of them (*i.e., you cannot be worshippers of the one true God and of many gods at the same time*). One of the Devas, against whom we are fighting, might overtake you, when in deliberation (*what faith you are to embrace*), whispering to you to choose the worst mind.[4] Then the Dêvas flock together to assault the two lives (*the life of the body and that of the soul*), praised by the prophets.

7. And to succour this life (*to increase it*), Armaiti[5] came with wealth, the good and true mind; she, the everlasting one, created the material world; but the soul, as to time, the first cause among created beings, was with Thee.

8. But when he (*the evil spirit*) comes with one of these evils (*to sow mistrust among the believers*), then thou hast the power through the good mind of punishing them who break their promises, O righteous spirit![6]

9. Thus let us be such as help the life of the future.[7] The wise living spirits[8] are the greatest supporters of it. The prudent man wishes only to be there where wisdom is at home.

10. Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer (*the evil spirit*). All perfect things are garnered up in the splendid residence of the Good Mind (Vohu-manô), the Wise (Mazda), and the Righteous (Asha),[9] who are known as the best beings.

11. Therefore, perform ye the commandments which, performed by Mazda himself, have been given to mankind; for they are a nuisance and perdition to liars, but prosperity to the believers in the truth; they are the fountain of happiness.

AVALAMBANA.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

Mr. Eitel, in his very useful *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, arranges under the heading *Ulamba* the particulars which relate to the "sacrifice for the dead" common among Buddhists, at least in China and Japan, (and in Ceylon also, according to Spence Hardy; *Manual of Buddhism* p. 59), made on the 15th day of the 7th month. This title *Ulamba* should doubtless be restored to *Avalambana*, as Julien gives it in his *Méthode* (1315), and as the Encyclopædia *Yi-tsi-king-yin-i* fully explains (*Kiuen* xiv., fol. 25). This title *Avalambana* seems to be derived from the idea of the suspension, head downwards, of the unhappy occupants of the *Limbus patrum*. This idea is not a new one in Hindu fancy. We all know how the "Baital" or "Vetal," in the tale is suspended head downwards from a tree, and how Vikram repeatedly cuts him loose and carries him away on his back. We may remember also in the *Mahâbhârata* (*Vana Parvan*) how Agastya sees his ancestors suspended by their heels in a pit, and was told by them that they could only be extricated by his begetting a son (*Theatre of the Indus*, vol. I., p. 322 n.). These instances are sufficient to show that the term *Avalambana* is intended to signify literally the condition of those unredeemed souls who suffer in purgatory (we have no other word) by being suspended head downwards, till the sacrifice made by their offspring on earth compensates to rescue them from their sufferings. How nearly this idea of the Buddhists approaches to that of the condition of souls in Limbus and their rescue by the offerings or sacrifices of their friends on earth is too plain to need comment. Mr. Eitel, however, would assign the origin of this custom of "sacrificing for the dead" among the Buddhists to the time of the Y o g a c h â r a school, introduced into China about A. D. 733. But we have, in fact, a *Sûtra* translated into Chinese in the time of the Western Tsin

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[4] *Akem manô* (superl. t. *achishtem manô*) means literally "evil mind." It is a philosophical term applied by Zarathushtra to designate his principle of non-existence, non-reality, which is the cause of all evils.

[5] She is the angel of earth and the personification of prayers.

[6] That is to say, those who give to-day the solemn promise to leave the polytheistic religion, and to follow that preached by Zarathushtra, will be punished by God should they break their promise.

[7] In this passage we have the germs of the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead; see the author's German work on the *Gâthas*, vol. I. pp. 109—112.

[8] These are the archangels (Amshaspends).

[9] Three names of archangels.

dynasty (*i. e.* circ. 265 A. D.), by the famous priest Dharmaraksha, relating to this very subject. It occurs in the 5th chapter of the collection called *King-tsong-yo-shwo*, and is called *Fo-shwo-u-lam-pwan-king*, *i.e.* the *Sûtra Avalambana* spoken by Buddha. We shall proceed to give a translation of this short sermon, and so leave the matter in the hands of the student.

The Avalambana Sûtra.

Thus have I heard. Buddha at one time was residing in the country of Śrâvasti, in the garden of Jeta the friend of the orphans. At this time Mugalan having begun to acquire the six supernatural powers (*irdhi*), desiring above all things, from a motive of piety, to deliver his father and mother, forthwith called into use his power of supernatural sight, and looking throughout the world he beheld his unhappy mother existing without food or drink in the world of *Prêtas* (hungry ghosts) nothing but skin and bone. Mugalan, moved with filial pity, immediatety presented to her his alms-bowl filled with rice. His mother, then taking the bowl in her left hand, endeavoured with her right to convey the rice to her mouth, but before it came near to her lips, lo! the rice was converted into fiery ashes, so that she could not eat thereof. At the sight of this, Mugalan uttered a piteous cry, and wept many tears as he bent his way to the place where Buddha was located. Arrived there, he explained what had happened, and awaited Buddha's instruction. On this the master opened his mouth, and said, "The sin which binds your mother to this unhappy fate is a very grievous one, from it you can never by your own strength rescue her, no! nor yet all the powers of earth or heaven, men or divine beings: not all these are equal to the task of deliverance. But by assembling the priests of the ten quarters, through their spiritual energy deliverance may be had. I will now recount to you the method of rescue from this and all similar calamities." Then Buddha continued: "On the 15th day of the 7th month the priests of the ten quarters being gathered together ought to present an offering for the rescue of ancestors during seven generations past, as well as those of the present generation, every kind of choice food and drink, as well as sleeping materials and beds. These should be offered up by the assembled priesthood as though the ancestors themselves were present, by which they shall obtain deliverance from the pains, and be born at once in a condition of happiness in Heaven." And, moreover, the World-honoured One taught his followers certain words to be repeated at the offering of the sacrifices, by which the virtue thereof would be certainly secured.

On this Mugalan with joy accepted the instruction, and by means of this institution rescued his mother from her sufferings.

And so for all future time this means of deliverance shall be effectual for the purpose designed, as year by year the offerings are presented according to the form delivered by Buddha.

Having heard these words, Mugalan and the rest departed to their several places, with joyous hearts and glad thoughts.[1]

THE TOOTH-SEAL OF ASOKA.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

In the curious legend given of Aśoka in Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Hist. du Buddhisme Ind.* p. 407, we read that his wife Tishyarakshita, determined to punish her son-in-law Kunâla, for his non-compliance with her wishes, by having his beautiful eyes put out. For this purpose, having got the king to grant her the royal authority for seven days, she wrote a letter to the magistrates of Takshaśila giving orders to this effect—"That the eyes of Kunâla should at once be torn out." We read then that she caused this letter to be sealed with an "ivory seal," and to be dispatched to its destination. The expression "un sceau d'ivoire," used by Burnouf, has been shown by Julien (ii. 156n) to be really equivalent to the "seal of his tooth"—the Sanscrit *danta* meaning both "ivory" and "tooth," and the Chinese version demands the latter signification in the legend before us. We have here another proof of the advantage of studying the Chinese accounts in connection with these Buddhist legends translated from the Sanskrit or Pâli. But our object in drawing the reader's attention to this legend is that he may compare this tooth-seal of Aśoka with the following verses which occur in the gift of lands to the Rawdon family (Marquis of Hastings), *vide* "Burke's *Peerage*, sub. "Hastings":—

"I, William, king, the third of my reign,
Give to Paulyn Rawdon, Hope and Hopetowne,
With all the bounds both up and downe,
From heaven to yerthe, from yerthe to hel,
For thee and thyne there to dwell.
As truly as this kingright is mine,
For a crossbow and an arrow.
When I sal come to hunt on yarrow;
And in token that this thing is sooth,
I bit the whyt wax with my tooth.
Before Meg, Mawd, and Margery,
And my third son Henry."[2]

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[1] From *The Oriental*, Nov. 6, 1875.

[2] From *The Oriental*, October 2, 1875.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 52.)

THE INDIAN RATIONALIST IN ANCIENT TIMES.

Mahâbhârata, xiii. 2194ff.[1]

The man who on the Vedas looks
As on authoritative books,
Who breaks their rules, and spurns all law,
Down on his head must ruin draw.
The Brâhmaṇ who, in vain conceit,
With scorn those scriptures dares to treat,
Who, shallow, yet acute and smart,
On logic dotes—that worthless art,—
Who, versed in all its tactics, knows
His simpler brethren how to pose,
Who subtly syllogizing speaks,
In wordy war to conquer seeks,
Who Brâhmaṇs good and true reviles,
At all they say contemptuous smiles,
The truths they urge with doubt receives,
And absolutely nought believes,—
That man in speech so sharp, and wild,
Is nothing better than a child.
Nay worse: the wisest men and best
That wrangler, as a dog, detest.
For just as dogs assail their prey,
With savage growls, and rending, slay,
So too these noisy scoffers strive,
The scriptures into shreds to rive.

The following is a nearly literal version of the lines of which the above is a free paraphrase :—

"The opinion that the *Vedas* possess no authority, the transgression of the *Śâstras*, and an universal lawlessness—(*these things*) are the destruction of a man's self. The Brâhmaṇ who fancies himself a Paṇḍit (*learned man*), and who reviles the *Vedas*, who is devoted to the science of reasoning useless logic, who utters argumentative speeches among good men, who is a victorious wrangler, who continually insults and abuses Brâhmaṇs, who is an universal sceptic and deluded—such a man, however sharp in his speech, is to be regarded as a child. He is looked upon as a dog. Just as a dog assails to bark and to kill, so such a man aims at talking, and at destroying all the *Śâstras* (scriptures)."

Whatever conclusion might have been drawn from such passages as the preceding, the Brâhmaṇs of old were by no means indisposed to argumentative discussions; but, on the contrary, seem to have made a practice of indulging in them on important occasions when they met in large numbers. This is shown by two passages from the *Râmâyaṇa*, i. 14, 19 (Bombay edition), and the *Mahâbhârata*, xiv. 2536, in similar terms, that during the Aśvamedhas (horse-sacrifices) celebrated, in the one case by Daśaratha, and in the other by Yudhishṭhira, where it is said that "wise and eloquent Brâhmaṇs, eager for victory, engaged in argumentative discussions about the reason of things."

It was only when the authority of the *Vedas* was called in question, or anything decidedly heretical, or adverse to their own high caste pretensions (though in this last respect the *Mahâbhârata* itself is often unorthodox), was asserted, that they took the alarm, and sought to silence argument.

[1] The verses of which the following is a free translation have an interest, as showing that the same conflict with which we are familiar in our own day between the vindicators and the opponents of a supernatural revelation was hotly waged in India in early times.

BOOK NOTICE.

BRITISH BURMA AND ITS PEOPLE; being Sketches of Native Manners, Customs, and Religion. By Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes, F.R.G.S., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, British Burma. London: John Murray: 1878.

Captain Forbes tells us that his work owes its origin to a remark in the *Report* of the last Census. Nothing however could less resemble the bulk of the somewhat dry compilations which are produced under the impulse of Secretariates and gazetteer offices.

The statistical information occupies five lines of our author's preface, one-fifth of the space given to acknowledging the merits of pioneers in his own lines of research. Twelve chapters treat successively of physical geography, ethnology, social life (two chapters), occupations, games, festivals, folklore, forest tribes, Buddhism in Burma, the monastic order, and the language and literature of the country; and are followed by a good index.

Captain Forbes is well known to have a close acquaintance with the Burma of to-day, and does not attempt the historical treatment of his subject, though there are indications here and there in his book of the power to do so if he chose. Probably the most interesting parts of the work are the chapters on "Social Life and Manners," as

the most spirited are those upon amusements and festivals. In the former, it is pleasant to find him disinterestedly taking up the cudgels for the much abused opium-smokers, admitting the mischief of the habit when excessive, but reprehending the absurd generalizations under which all degrees of the habit are treated as alike ruinous and unconquerable. He gives an interesting case of an opium-eater whom he sent to jail (not for opium-eating, but as having no ostensible means of livelihood,) and who afterwards came to thank him for having thus begun his reformation. Captain Forbes considers opium *eating* much more injurious than the smoking. The present writer's observations in Western India lead to the opposite conclusion; which may probably be accounted for by some difference in the preparation and method of use.

Nothing Burman, perhaps, has been more discussed in British India than the peculiar position of the Burman women; especially as attention has been twice drawn to it by the well meant, but not very judicious, attempts of different Chief Commissioners to "moralize" the population by order numbered and dated. We are glad to find Captain Forbes, an excellent authority, bearing favourable testimony to the character of the Burman women. The freedom of divorce, very great indeed, but not greater than existed in Imperial Rome, and now exists in some of the United States, has led hasty observers to form unwarrantable conclusions against the general morality of the community. The fact seems to be, that while the position of women in Burma is decidedly freer and pleasanter than in peninsular India or most other parts of Asia, they are really much less apt there to abuse their liberty than their enslaved sisters are to cheat their servitude,—a result which might reasonably be expected, and for the details of which we can recommend our readers to our author.

Perhaps nothing could better illustrate one phase of this independence and community of interest with the men, than the description of a strange "tug of war" which is performed upon the funereal catafalque of a departed Buddhist saint. Two villages strive each to move the car in their own direction, tugging at huge manropes of cane or coir. "At first a few lads and idlers begin pulling at either side, without much effect on the heavy mass. Each side calls some more of their friends, then perhaps a headman of a village to which some of the lads belong joins in, the numbers gradually increase, and the car begins to oscillate; and as the attention of the crowd is drawn towards it, the villagers of A and B coming up, join their friends on either side. Suddenly a headman of B village sees the headman of A pulling away and inciting his men: he gives a yell, shouts for all his people, and rushes to the ropes, which are now well manned. The car, strongly made as it is, shakes and quivers with the strain, while the lofty canopy of elastic bamboo rocks violently backwards and forwards. I have seen the struggle last for an hour or more without either party stirring the car more than a few feet. The crowd, as usual, get violently excited; every man that has an acquaintance or friend in either village joins in; I have seen policemen on duty frantically waving their staves to encourage the contending heroes, or rushing at some shirker to bring him back to the lists—it was no use taking notice of the want of discipline. Now perhaps one side gain the advantage, and with deafening shouts drag the car some paces; but lo! in rush fresh forces. Led by some excited old lady, all the women and girls of the losing village fly to the rescue; and mingle with their husbands, brothers, and lovers at the ropes. Now, then--if you are men—you *kya ba tha'* pull for very shame till you snap the cables! Hurrah! *La hyee! La hyee!* it comes! it comes! and with a ringing cheer away we go triumphant, some hundred yards or so."

It is impossible to read this book, or for the matter of that any of the best works upon Burma, without remarking the strong resemblance between the characteristics assigned to the natives, and those of some of the older tribes in Western India, especially the coast Kolis, a race living under similar physical conditions, though politically depressed. There is the same physique, somewhat short and broad but active and of tougher fibre than is found among the more Aryan races, the same broad, almost Mongolian face and comeliness, rather than beauty, of the younger women; whose dress, too, the short *sari*, worn without the separate bodice, seems closely to resemble the Burmese *lamein*. And the cheerful, excitable character, and ready friendliness with any European who will take any trouble to approach them, contrasts strongly with the reserve of the superior Cis-Gangetic races, closest when it seems most thrown aside. Some speculations on this head are thrown out by our author, who mentions, besides, the Mongolian character of Buddhist sculptures at Sarnâth, which can be parallelled from some of the Western caves, where dress and feature are frequently distinctly Koli. This ground, however, on which we should like to accompany Captain Forbes further, is forbidden to us by caution and want of space.

W. F. S.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

I.

SINCE writing the first volume of my *History of the Mongols* I have had the good fortune to meet with the Russian translation by Palladius of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, or 'Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty,' which has been again translated for me by some of my friends. This work is by far the most important authority which we possess for the history of C h i n g h i z K h â n and his ancestors. According to Dr. Bretschneider it was originally written in the Mongol language and was finished in the year 1240, at the time of a great assembly on the river Kerulon. The work is quoted in the *Hung-wu-shi-lu*, or 'Detailed Record of the Reign of Hung-wu,' under the year 1382, where, we are told, that it had been written in the Mongol tongue and in Uighur characters, and that a Chinese translation of it was made, to which the Mongol text was annexed, not in the original letters, but by rendering the Mongol sounds by Chinese letters. Palladius translated his version from a copy in Chinese contained in a collection of reprints published in 1848. After he had translated this he discovered a copy of the Ming edition, accompanied by the Mongol text in Chinese characters, and found that what he had translated, and what is alone therefore available, was only an extract of the original work which comprises 15 chapters, and has no title.[1] To this notice I may add that my friend Mr. Wylie met with a copy of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, in China, written in the Mongol language in Chinese characters, as above mentioned. This was partially transcribed for him, but the original copy was lost during the rebellion, so that what he now has is only a fragment.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* I believe to be the main source of the matter contained in the first book of the *Yuan-shi*, or 'Imperial Annals of the Mongol dynasty,' of which the first three books were translated into Russian many years ago by Hyacinthe, while the first one has been recently translated into English by my friend Mr. Douglas. From the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the author of the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen apparently also drew the earlier portion of their matter. The *Altan Topchi* or 'Golden Epitome' is a Mongol chronicle discovered by the members of the Russian Mission to Peking, and published with a translation in the 6th volume of the *Mémoires* of the Eastern Branch of the Imperial Archæological Society of St. Petersburgh by a Buriat Lama named Galsan Gomboef. The last Khân mentioned in it is L i n g d a n, who mounted the throne in the year 1604, and the last redaction of the text was probably made during his reign, although from the many archaisms it contains, the original text is no doubt much older. It is apparently the *Erdeni Topchi* quoted by Ssanang Setzen.

The work of Ssanang Setzen entitled *Sanan Setsen u Namtar* is more generally known by the translation of Schmidt. Its author, S s a n a n g - S e t z e n K h u n g t a i j i, was a Mongol prince, who was born in 1604, and compiled his well known chronicle in the year 1662. (*op. cit.* 299.) Its text is of great use for recovering the correct form of names as they were current among the Mongols.

Pallas also, in his work entitled *Samlungen historischer Nachrichten ueber die Mongolischen Volkerschaften*, (St. Petersburgh, 1776), has related the traditional story of the origin of the Mongol Imperial house from the Lama work called *Bhodimer*, which describes the origin of gods and men, and which, *inter alia*, gives a genealogy of Chinghiz Khan (*op. cit.* 17). This practically exhausts the material which is extant in China and among the Mongols for the discussion of the origin of the Imperial stock of Chinghiz Khan.

On turning to the Musalman writers who have left us such valuable materials for the history of this dynasty, we shall find that their accounts of its origines are derived almost entirely from the well known *Jami ut Tawârikh* of Rashid-u'd-dîn, who was the main authority followed by Abu'lghazi, as the latter himself tells us.

Fazl u'llah Rashid, the son of Abu'l-khâir, was born at Hamadan about the year 1247, and was employed as a doctor in the service of the famous Ilkhan of Persia G a z a n K h â n, who in 1300 put him at the head of the administration of Persia, with the style of vazîr. This post he continued to hold during the reign of Gazan's successor U l j a i t u, to whom in 1309 he pre-

[1] Bretschneider, *Notices of Mediæval Geography*, etc. pp. 14, 15.

sented his famous work. Falsely accused of having poisoned Uljaitu, he was put to death by order of the latter's successor Abu Sayyid on the 13th of September 1318.[2]

He tells us in his preface that there existed in the archives (*i.e.* of the Mongol sovereign of Persia) historical fragments of undoubted authenticity written in Mongol. These he had been ordered by Gazan to consult, as well as learned Chinese, Indians, Uighurs, Kipchaks, and others who lived at his court, and especially the generalissimo and administrator of the kingdom, Pulad Chingsang, "who knows," he says, "better than any one in the world the origin and history of the Turkish tribes, and especially of the Mongols."[3] Elsewhere Rashid speaks of a book called the *Altan Defter*, or 'Golden Register,' which was deposited in the Imperial treasury under the custody of several officials, and which he refers to as containing a history of the house of Chinghiz Khan.[4] The *Altan Defter*, as I believe, was either identical with the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, or contained virtually the same materials.

The servant and panegyrist of a royal house, famous for its zeal in religious matters, it is not strange that Rashidu'd-dîn should have connected it with the patriarchs who are equally prominent in the *Bible* and the *Koran*, and have derived it from Nuh and Yafis, and that further he should have found a place for the eponymous representative of the Mongol stock in the strangely artificial and inconsequent ethnographic genealogy, in which, like other Eastern historians, he affiliates together the various branches of the human family known to him. It will suffice us to tabulate the story as given by these curious genealogists.

Nuh

Yafis

Turk — Khazar — Saklab — Rus — Ming — Chin — Gumari or Kimari — Tarikh

Tunag or Tutak — Chikal or Jinkal — Bazsinjar or Barsajar — Amlak

Ilchô Khân

Dibbakui Khân

Kuyuk or Kiwak Khân

Alinja Khân

Tatar Khân — Mughul Khân

Kara Khân — Uz Khân or Ur Khân — Kuz Khân or Kin Khân — Kur Khân or Gur Khân

Oghuz Khân

Kun Khân *i.e.* Sun Khân — Ai Khân *i.e.* Moon Khân — Yolduz Khân *i.e.* Star Khân — Kuk Khân *i.e.* Sky Khân — Tagh Khân *i.e.* Mountain Khân — Tenghiz Khân *i.e.* Lake Khân

Il Khan

Kian — Nokuz

[2] D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. I. p. xliii. [3] Id. pp. xxxv. and xxxvi. [4] Id. pp. 23 and 24 note 2.

In this table I have mainly followed the detailed list as given by Abu'l-ghazi, excluding only the three names of Yolduz Khân, Mingh Khân, and Tenghiz Khân, whom he places in succession after Ai Khân, and which do not occur in other authors. They have been clearly interpolated by him, and two of them merely repeat two names of brothers of Ai Khân. I ought here to add that the list has been recently illustrated at great length, and apparently with a full belief in its credibility, by Major Raverty, in the *Transactions of the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists*, but the whole is clearly fabulous. In it we have a curious medley of artificial and of real names, of mere eponymous creations, and of mythological figments. They are clearly also derived from the legends of the Western Turks. Kara Khân, Oghuz Khân, and Il Khân are famous names in Turkish tradition. We are told by Rashidu'd-dîn and his followers that this race of princes lived in the Urtagh mountains and the Karakum steppe, that is in the old land of the Western Turks, and it was no doubt the anxiety of the courtly Persian historian to find a suitably dignified ancestry for his hero, which made him link him to the legendary heroes of Turkish tradition.

I need not say that these early links in the chain are entirely absent from the Chinese and Mongol rescensions of the Saga about the origin of the Mongol royal stock, and may be accepted as of no value whatever, except as a proof of the religious loyalty and the diplomatic skill of Rashidu'd-dîn. From Japhet to the two chiefs Kian and Nokuz we may cheerfully erase the whole list of names from our memory as utterly irrelevant to the Mongols. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us these two last-named princes took refuge with their people in the retired valley of Irgonekun—where their descendants remained for 400 years. We are not told who the princes were who reigned during this interval, and after its close the story really begins again. The gap is interesting as showing how the patchwork story was built up. After the interval of 400 years just mentioned the Mongols are said to have broken the yoke of the Tartars, and to have issued from the defiles of Irgene-kun under a chief named Burtechino, descended from Kian, and of the race of the Kurulas. Burtechino and those who succeed him in Rashidu'd-dîn's story are well known also to the more primitive legend preserved in China and Mongolia, and to them we shall revert presently.

While Rashidu'd-dîn traces the Mongol Khâns to the Semitic patriarchs, the indigenous Mongol chroniclers in a similar manner trace them to the royal stock of Tibet, and through it to Hindustan to the sacred founder of their faith Śâkyamuni himself. In this the *Altan Topchi*, Ssanang Setzen, and the Kalmuk legend as reported by Pallas agree, and they all name the Indian sovereign, Olana Ergükdeksen, as the stem-father of the race. The two former authorities deduce the Tibetan royal stock from this chief, and trace it through several generations to Digum-Dsanbo Dalai Sabin Aru Altan Shireghetu, who had three sons, Śivaghochi, Borochu, and Burtechino. We are told that their father having been killed by his minister Longnam, who usurped the throne, the three brothers fled; the first to the land of Ngangbo, the second to that of Bubo, and the third to Gongbo.[5]

The story of the usurpation of Longnam is told in the native Tibetan books, whence it has been abstracted by Schmidt.[6] In the original story the three brothers are called Ja-thi, Nia-thi and Sha-za-thi. *Thi*, which is written *Khri*, means throne, and is the surname of all the early Tibetan kings. *Ja* means bird or fowl, *Nia* means fish, and *Sha-za* means the flesh-eater. The two former are similar in meaning to Śivaghochi and Borochu, which respectively mean the fowler and the fisherman. While the third brother, the flesh-eater, has been ingeniously identified with Burtechino, a name, as I shall show presently, meaning the 'blue-grey wolf,' assuredly a very typical flesh-eater. As Klaproth, to whom we owe the dissection of the story, has argued, it is clear that on the conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism in the 16th century, the Lamas naturally desired to connect their royal race with Buddha himself, and found in the plausible resemblance in meaning of the two names Sha-za and Burtechino a link by which to bridge over the incongruous lineage they desired *à priori* to establish. I need not say that none of this part of the story, any more than the earlier part of Rashidu'd-dîn's table, occurs either in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, or in the Chinese annals, which

[5] Ssanang Setzen, p. 25.
[6] Ssanang Setzen, p. 317 note 6; see also Schmidt, *Forschungen*, etc. 15; Klaproth *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie* p. 157-8, note.

preserve for us the earliest edition of the Saga, and that we must discard it all as an invention of the Lamas in the 16th century.

Having got rid of the accretions which the old tradition received at the hands of the Muhammadans of Persia and the Tibetan Lamas, let us now approach the older edition of it.

The authorities, old and young, eastern and western, agree in deducing the Mongol Imperial stock from Burtechino. First, as to the etymology of this name. *Chino* in Mongol means a 'wolf,'[7] *burte* means the bluish-grey colour which the fur of many animals acquires on the approach of winter.[8] So that *Burtechino* means merely the blue-grey, or winter-coated wolf, and we find that in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the ancestor of the Imperial family is simply called a blue wolf. This grey-blue colour is equivalent to that of the sky, and means in fact Celestial. Hence we find the royal race of the Mongols is known as that of the Borjigs, *i.e.* the grey or blue-grey eyed, from *boro*, grey or grey-blue,[9] the celestial being who visited Alun Goa, as I shall mention presently, having had eyes of this colour. Again Ssanang Setzen tells us Chinghiz Khan gave his people the name of *Köke Mongol*, *i. e.* Blue Mongols,[10] and blue was the Imperial colour of the Yuan dynasty.[11] In all these cases it no doubt refers to the heavenly or supernatural origin of the family whose members are so often apostrophized by Ssanang Setzen as the sons of the Tengri or of Heaven. Let us now continue our story. Burtechino, we are told, married Goa Maral.[12] *Goa* means white or shining, and is used as a personal name, and given to noble ladies; *maral* means a hind.[13] The blue wolf therefore married a white hind. In an abridgment of Chinese history written by Yuan-leao-fan, and quoted by Visdelou[14] the wolf is said to have been white and the hind grey. Together they roamed across the Tenghiz (*i.e.* the lake or sea), and having reached the sources of the river Onon in the mountain Burkhan, they had a son, who was called Bedetse Khân. This is the story as told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, in a Chinese work cited by Klaproth,[15] and in a Chinese dictionary entitled *Wang-sing-t'ung-pu*, in which last however the blue wolf has been converted by some rationalizer of the legend into a man of great size and a blue colour, and the white hind into a miserable and deserted woman:[16] Ssanang Setzen has sophisticated the story after his own fashion; he has converted the river Onon into lake Baikal, and he adds a paragraph to glorify his protegés the Lamas. He says that on arriving at the mountain Burkhan, Burtechino lived for a while with the people Bede who dwelt there. When they had interrogated him on the motives of his journey, and discovered that he was descended from the Indian Olana Ergükdeksen as well as from the Tibetan Tul Essen, they discussed matters together, and said—"this young man is of high birth, and we have no one to rule over us, let us make him our chief." Thereupon they made him their leader, and followed all his commands. He had two sons Bêdês Khân and Bèdêtsê Khân.[17]

The mountain Burkhan, the Burkhan Khalduna of Ssanang Setzen, the sacred mountain chain of the Mongols, is the famous Kentei Khân range, where the Onon takes its rise, which is called Burkhan-ula in the Chinese geographical work translated by Hyacinthe and Klaproth.[18] There Chinghiz was buried. *Burkhan* in Mongolian means 'divine', and Buddha according to Dr. Bretschneider is known among the Mongols as Śâkyamuni Burkhan. As we have seen Ssanang Setzen calls the inhabitants of the Burkhan Khalduna mountains the Bede people. The *Altan Topchi* calls this country the land of Zud, which is perhaps a corruption of Bede. Now Bêdêtsê or Batachi, according to Palladius, is a derivative of Bede or Bata (*Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, note 7). The name is in fact an eponymous one, created out of the race named Bede. This name Bede gave rise to a fierce polemic between Klaproth and Schmidt. I believe with Remusat that it is merely a corruption of the Chinese "*Pe-ti*," northern barbarians. In the Tibetan work named *Nom Gharkoi Todonkhoi Toli* the Turkish tribes known as Hor-pa to the Tibetans are called Bädä Hor.[19] Again, we are told by Erdmann, who is doubtless quoting Rashidu'd-dîn, that after the capture of Yanghi-

7 Klaproth. *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 284.
8 Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen, p. 372 note 1.
9 *Id.* p. 375 note 9.
10 *Op. cit.* pp. 71, and 380 note 22.
11 Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 265.
12 Ssanang Setzen, p. 57.
13 Schmidt, *op. cit.* p. 373 note 2.
14 *Bibl. Orient. Supp.* p. 340.
15 *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, p. 159.
16 *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 263.
17 Ssanang Setzen, p. 57.
18 Timkofski's *Travels*, vol. II., p. 226.
19 Schmidt, *Forschungen*, &c., p. 55.

kent-ling Juchi in 1218 the Ulus Bede returned home to its head-quarters at Karakorum, and was replaced by 10,000 Turkomans. Erdmann,[20] D'Ohsson,[21] and Von Hammer all state the same fact of the Uighurs. This points to Uighur and Bede being synonymous terms, a view which is strengthened when we find the Turks of northern Tibet called Shara Uighur by Ssanang Setzen. Now it is very extraordinary that the neighbourhood of the Kentei mountains was the original homeland of the Uighurs, from which they in fact sprang. The meaning of the story then is—that Burtechino became the ruler of the Turkish tribe of the Uighurs, and the inference is *à priori* a reasonable one, that the legend belonged originally to the Turks, and not to the Mongols. On inquiring further this is amply confirmed. The story of the wolf is in fact a Turkish story. We are told of the Usiun, a Turkish tribe, who were probably the ancestors of the Tukiu or Turks proper, that the Hiong-nu having attacked them, and killed their chief, his son was, like Romulus, miraculously tended by a she-wolf who suckled him, and by a bird which brought him food. The ruler of the Hiong-nu having heard of this miracle deemed the child to be divine, undertook his education, and eventually gave him the command of his western dominions.[22] But it is in the legendary history of the Tukiu or Turks proper that we meet with the real parallel to our story. In one version of this we read that the ancestors of the Tukiu lived on the western borders of the Si-hai or Western lake. There they were destroyed by a neighbouring nation, who killed them all without distinction, except a boy of ten years old, on whom the enemy had a certain compassion, and spared his life although they cut off his hands and feet. He now dragged himself to a great marsh, where he remained concealed. There he was tended by a she-wolf, who eventually became pregnant by him. As the enemy still sought to destroy the young man, the she-wolf, who was herself carried off by a spirit, took him with her, and transported him to the east of the Si-hai. She stopped with him on a mountain to the north-west of the kingdom of Kaochang, *i.e.* of the Uighurs of Bishbalig, where they found a cavern opening upon a retired valley more than 200 *li* in circumference. There the she-wolf bore ten male young-ones, who eventually married, and each one took a different family name. A-se-na, who was the cleverest was chosen as their king, and he ordered that the heads of his standards should be shaped like the heads of wolves, to show that he did not ignore his origin.[23]

Another legend reports that the Turks sprang from the country of So, situated to the north of the country of the Hiong-nu. Their chief named Kha-pam-pu had sixteen brothers, one of whom was called I-chi-ni-shuai-tu. He had a she-wolf for a mother. His brothers were all weak and without spirit. He, on the contrary, was very strong, and could control the wind and rain. He married two wives, one the ruler of summer and the other of winter, by each of whom he had two sons. The eldest of these sons was called No-tu-lu-shi. His father's subjects made him king, and at the same time adopted the name of Tu-kiu or Turks. He married ten wives, whose sons took the family names of their mothers. A-se-na was one of these names.[24] *Sena* or *A-se-na* is the equivalent of *chino*, and means wolf.

In these Turkish legends we assuredly have the origin of the Mongol Saga. In both we have a wolf for the common ancestor, in both it lives near a great lake which it crosses. In both it goes to the East or North-East on leaving it.[25] In both it reaches a mountain, and then brings forth offspring.

Again, the derivation of the stem-father of the race from the Si-hai or Western lake, the Tenghiz of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, exactly accords with what we know of the original homeland of the Turks proper, namely, the country round lake Issikul. Rashidu'd-dîn and his followers describe the valley in which the wolf settled as named Irgene-kun. This according to Abu'l-ghâzi means a sharp-peaked girdle of mountains (*op cit.* p. 32), a description which applies admirably to the actual cradle-land of the Turks, namely, the mountain girdled and secluded valley of Issikul, which district was still known in the 13th century as Organum, and is referred to under that name by Rubruquis. I may add that the range of hills west of the Volga run-

[20] *Temudschin der Unerschütterliche*, p. 373-4.

[21] *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. I. p. 223.

[22] De Guignes, vol. II. p. 56.

[23] Visdelou, pp. 91, 92; Klaproth, *Journ. Asiat.* 1st ser. t. II., pp. 209, 211.

[24] Visdelou, *op cit.* p. 92.

[25] See Abel Remusat, *Nouv Journ. Asiat.* tom. IX. pp. 136-7.

ning from Sarepta to the Manytsch are called the Irgene hills by the Kalmuks. Lastly, the western writers make Burtechino belong to the tribe of the Kurulas called by the Mongols Khorlut (*id.* 33), which, as I shall show further on, was a Turkish tribe. At all points, therefore, the legend proves itself to be Turkish. Burtechino and Goa Maral, the blue-grey wolf and white hind as we have said, had a son Bêdêtsê. Ssanang Setzen gives the latter a brother Bêdes, who is not known to any of the other writers, and who is no doubt an interpolation of his own. Bêdêtsê was succeeded by his son Tamatsak, or, as the western writers give his name, Timaj (Abu'l-ghazi. p. 63). He had a son Khoritsar Mergen, the Kichi Mergen of the western writers (*id.* p. 63). Rashidu'd-dîn makes him the eldest of five sons of Timaj, the other four being the ancestors of the tribe Durban —of which more presently—in which he differs from the more eastern writers, as we shall see presently. Khoritsar was succeeded by his son Aghojim Bughurul, the Kuchum Bughrul of Rashidu'd-dîn (*ib.*).

I have adopted the orthography of these names given by Ssanang Setzen, which is substantially the same as that given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the *Altan Topchi*, as I prefer to take Schmidt's direct transliteration of the Mongol words to one taken at second-hand through the medium of Russian letters.

Aghojim Bughurul was succeeded by his son Sali Khaljigho, who is not mentioned by Rashidu'd-dîn nor in the *Bodhimar* (*vide infra*). We may remark that one of the Mongol tribes named by Ssanang Setzen in the 15th century was called Khalighochin (*op cit.* pp. 175, 191 and 259). This fact, and the omission of the name from two independent lists, looks suspiciously like an interpolation for the purpose of flattering some tribe or family. Sali Khaljigho was succeeded by Yeke Nidün, *i. e.* the large-eyed, so called both in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the *Altan Topchi*, and by Rashidu'd-dîn, while Ssanang Setzen has corrupted it into Nige Nidün, the one-eyed. Rashidu'd-dîn makes him the son of Kichi Bughurul. He had a son Samsuji, and he had a son Khali Kharchu, who is ignored in the *Altan Topchi*, but is named by the author of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* by Ssanang Setzen and by Rashidu'd-dîn. The last author tells us these princes lived on the rivers Onon, Kerulon and Tuguli and on the mountains Berghad (*i.e.* Burkhan) and Bermi (?)[26]

So far the lists virtually agree, but at this point there is a marked divergence. Rashidu'd-dîn makes Dubun Bayan the son and successor of Khali Kharchu, while the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen interpolate two names between them. That these names are interpolations seems probable. According to the authors last named Khali Kharchu was succeeded by his son Borjigetei Mergen. This name has been created out of *borjighin*, *i. e.* the blue-eyed, a term applied to the Mongol Imperial family, and derived apparently from the story of Alun Goa, to be referred to presently. This Borjigetei is said to have married Mongholjin Goa, a name as artificially created out of the name Mongol, and which is ignored by the *Altan Topchi*. These two had a son Torghaljin Bayan, which was perhaps created in a similar way out of the name Turuk or Turk. He had for his wife Borokshin Goa, which seems also compounded of the particle *boro*, meaning blue-grey already referred to. The last named pair are said in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* to have had two horses named Tair and Boro, and a domestic named Boroldai. They also had two sons, namely, Doa Sokhor and Dobo Mergen.

This Dobo Mergen is the same person as the Dubun Bayan of Rashidu'd-dîn. As I have said, Rashidu'd-dîn ignores the names inserted by some authorities between Khali Kharchu and Dubun Bayan. In this he is supported by a very independent authority, namely, the Buddhist book cited under the name of *Bodhimer* by Pallas. The list of names given in that work under a corrupt orthography may be profitably compared with those we have discussed. It is as follows :—

Burudachi (*i. e.* Burtechino).
Berchen (*i. e.* Bêdêtsê).
Temana (*i. e.* Tamatsak).
Kakza Mergen (*i. e.* Khoritsar Mergen).
Aiza Borogol (*i. e.* Aghojim Bughurul).
Eke Dagun (*i. e.* Yeke Nidun).
Sai Sunji (*i. e.* Sam Suji).
Tebzu (*i. e.* Kharchu).
Derben Zargan (*i. e.* Dobo Mergen)[27]

Here we have the list as given by Rashidu'd-dîn confirmed in two respects ; first, by the omission of Sali Khaljigho between Yeke

[26] Erdmann's *Temudschin der Unerschütterliche*, p. 535.

[27] Pallas, *op cit.* vol. I. p. 17

Nidun and Sam Suji, and then by the exclusion of the names we are now discussing immediately before Dobo Mergen. This increases our faith greatly in the accuracy of Rashid, who was a singularly critical historian. He had the *Altan Defter* or 'Golden Register' before him and was besides assisted, as he tells us, by Pulad Ching-sang, a Mongol prince well versed in the traditions of his house. He is not likely to have excluded these names, especially the later ones with their peculiar colouring, the first of the line after Burtechino, whose wives are mentioned, if they had occurred in the documents before him, while their artificial and evidently made-up character also points to some ingenious pedigree-maker. I have no doubt that originally the list at this point stood very much as Rashidu'd-dîn gives it, and we shall presently mention a fact which makes this almost certain. According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* Doa Sokhor had four sons, who all lived together. On their father's death they behaved badly, separated from Dobo Mergen, and formed the family Durban (*i. e.* the four). Ssanang Setzen boldly tells us their names were Donoi, Dokshin, Emnek and Erke, and that they were the ancestors of the four Uirad tribes Ogheled, Baghatud, Khoit and Kergud, who in his day were known as "the Four" in contrast with the Mongols, who were known as "the Forty." Rashidu'd-dîn, as we have seen derives the Durbans from four sons of Timaj. As I shall shew further on the Durbans, who were contemporary with Chinghiz, were probably the four tribes of Tartars and not the four Uirads. Dobo Mergen married Alun Goa. It was from Alun Goa that the Mongol Khâns traced their descent, not from him. He and his ancestors have nothing whatever to do, in fact, with them, beyond his having in the legend married their progenetrix. Who then were these legendary chiefs? This was very ingeniously explained by Schmidt. Dobo is in fact no other than Topo Khân, the famous ruler of the Turks who died in 581. Doa Sokhor is the equivalent of Sekin, Topo's brother, who was also called Moko Khân, and the division of the tribes among the sons of Doa Sokhor answers to the division of the Turks into four divisions on the death of Topo Khân (Ssanang Setzen, p. 374). I may add as a remarkable confirmation of this view of Schmidt, and as a proof of the correctness of the fable as given by Rashidu'd-dîn, that the immediate predecessor of Sekin and Topo Khân as ruler of the Turks was Kolo, otherwise called Meke Khân, who assuredly answers to the Khali Kharchu of the above lists. This completes the proof that the earlier part of the genealogy of the Mongol Khâns, as preserved in its primitive form, has been adopted from the Turks. Here, however, the adoption is more or less legitimate, for, as we shall show presently, there is every reason to believe that the Mongol Imperial house was in fact descended from the old Turkish Khâns.

We will now complete the Saga of Dobo Mergen. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Doa Sokhor, while he was one day on the Mountain Burkhan, saw a number of people nomadizing along the river Tünggeli, the Tuguli of Rashidu'd-dîn (this Wolff identifies with the river still called Tunggelu, which springs on the western side of the Burkhan Mountains, and falls into the Kara Gol,[28] but as I shall shew further on it is probable that the Ingoda is really meant). Among the rest he noticed a black *kibitka* or tent on a waggon, on the driver's seat of which was a pretty girl, and he said I must secure her for my brother. This was the maiden Alun Goa, whom Dobo Mergen married, and by whom he had two sons, Belgetei and Begontei, called Belgayut and Buganut by Rashidu'd-dîn.[29]

Dobo died, according to Abu'l-ghazi, when he was 30, one of his sons being seven, and the other six years old.[30]

It was after his death that Alun Goa gave birth to three sons, whose father was a spirit, one of whom was the ancestor of Chinghiz Khan. So that, as we have said, Dobo and his ancestors have nothing to do directly with the lineage of the great conqueror, and it is remarkable that in the chapter of the *Yuan-shi* or 'Official Annals' of the Mongol dynasty, which has been examined for me by my friend Mr. Douglas, the dynasty is not traced beyond Alun Goa, and the earlier names are left out. M. D'Ohsson, in his well known history of the Mongols, has also excluded them, and has similarly commenced his story with the same ancestress.

(*To be continued.*)

Wolff, *Gesch der Mong.*, p. 14, note.
Erdmann, *op cit.* p. 535.

Op cit. p. 64.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p. 76.*)

No. LXV.

Inside the village of Aihoḷe, in the compound of the *Maṭha* of Huchchayya, there is an old and partially ruined temple of the god Îśvara, one of the columns of which bears an Old-Canarese inscription. It consists of twenty-five lines of about fifteen letters each. The greater part of this inscription is now undecipherable. But enough is legible to shew that the preamble refers itself to the reign of the Western Châḷukya king Trailôkyamalla or Sômêśvara I., and that it is dated in Śaka 989, the Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara*, on Sunday[1] the second day[2] of the bright fortnight of the month Mârgaśira or Mârgaśîrsha.

No. LXVI.

On a column in another ruined temple in the compound of the same *Maṭha* there is another Old-Canarese inscription, consisting of nineteen lines of about ten letters each. This, again, is for the most part undecipherable. But enough is legible to shew that, though it does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, this inscription, again, is dated in Śaka 989, the Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara*, on Wednesday[3] the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika.

No. LXVII.

There is also an Old-Canarese inscription at the temple of the god Râmaliṅga, in Survey No. 75 on the south of the village. A partial copy of it is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 360. Without referring itself to the reign of any particular king, it is dated at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north on Sunday[4], the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya of the Yuva *saṁvatsara*, which was the twentieth year of the Châḷukya Vikrama-Varsha, *i.e.* Śaka 1017 (A.D. 1095-6). I had no leisure to examine this inscription when I was at Aihoḷe.

No. LXVIII.

On a stone somewhere in the wall of the fort there is said to be an Old-Canarese inscription, which, without referring itself to the reign of any particular king, is dated in Śaka 1019, the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, at the time of an eclipse of the sun when the sun was commencing his progress to the north on Sunday[5] the fourth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya. This inscription, however, was not forthcoming at the time of my visit to the village.

No. LXIX.

Just outside the south-west gate of the village there is a modern shrine of the god Hanumanta, with a stone *dhvaja-stambha* standing in front of it. Into the pedestal of this *dhvaja-stambha* there has been built a *Vîragal* or monumental stone, with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, of which a copy is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 410. The upper compartment of the stone is now hidden from view. But three lines of writing are visible, recording the date of Monday[6] the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrâvaṇa of the Vishu *saṁvatsara*, which was the twenty-sixth year of the Châḷukya Vikrama-Kâla, *i.e.* Śaka 1023 (A.D. 1101-2). The next compartment of the stone has a figure of the god Jinêndra, sitting cross-legged, with on each side of him a *Yakshî* fanning him with a *chauri*. The rest of the stone is now hidden from view; but it records a grant by the five-hundred *Mahâjanas* of Ayyâvoḷe.

No. LXX.

There is another ruined temple of the god Îśvara in what is known as the courtyard of the *Aramane* or 'palace,' in Survey No. 86, not far from the Brâhmaṇical Cave. One of the pillars now lying in the *maṇḍapa* of this temple has on it an Old-Canarese inscription consisting of twenty-seven lines of about twelve letters each. A transcription is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. I., p. 640. But only enough is legible with certainty to show that it is dated at the time of a *saṁkramaṇa* on Friday[7] the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrâvaṇa of the Naḷa *saṁvatsara*, which was the sixty-first year of the Châḷukya Vikrama-Varsha, *i.e.* Śaka 1058 (A.D. 1136-7).

No. LXXI.

Inside the village, in a temple of the goddess Kontemma or Kontevva[8], which has been appro-

1 Âdityavâra. 2 *Bidige*; sc., *dvitîyâ*.
3 Budhavâra. 4 Âdivâra.
5 Âdityavâra. 6 Sômavâra.
7 Śukravâra. 8 Kuntî, the wife of Pâṇḍu.

priated as a house by the *Pûjârî*, there is a black-stone tablet with an Old-Canarese inscription on it, of which a partial transcription is given in the Elliot *MS. Collection*, Vol. II., p. 239. I have published it in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 274; but my version there was given from the photograph[9], which, from the letters having been imperfectly filled in with whitewash, represents the original but indifferently. I now give a revised version from the original itself.

The tablet is 4′ 3″ high, by 1′ 10¾″ broad. The letters are well-formed, but rather shallow. The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, a standing figure of a four-armed god, or perhaps goddess, with a worshipper kneeling at its right foot; on the proper right, a male and a female figure, kneeling and facing to the front, with the sun, partially effaced, above them; and on the proper left, a curved sword or dagger, with a cow and calf beyond it, and the moon in the space above.

It is a Sinda inscription of the time of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Châmuṇḍa or Châvuṇḍa II. and his sons, Bijjala and Vikrama,—by his second wife, Siriyâdêvî,—who were governing the Kisukâḍ Seventy, the Bâgaḍage Seventy, and the Keḷavâḍi Three-hundred. And it is dated in the Virôdhi *saṁvatsara*, which was the ninety-fourth year of the Châlukya Vikrama-Varsha, *i. e.* Saka 1091 (A.D. 1169-70).

Transcription.

[1] Namas-tuṁga-śiraś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-châmara-châravê trailôkya-nagar-âraṁbha-mûla-staṁbhâ-

[2] ya Śaṁbhavê || Svasti śrîmad-vinata-samast-âmara-makuta-nikata-vastu-gabhasti-nya-

[3] st-âṁghri-pîṭhan=îśaṁ sa(śa)staṁ paḍedaṁ dharitriyuman=a[ṁ*]budhiyuma[ṁ*] ||

[4] Vri(vṛi) || Udit-êṁdu Śrî-nivâsaṁ śaraṇagata-kubhri(bhṛi)dh(d)-râjitâ(taṁ) nûtna ratn-âbhyudaya-kshêtraṁ

[5] Mukuṁda-priya-śayana-talaṁ kûrmma-pâṭhîna-nakr-ônmadamâtaṁg-âḷi-kêḷî-chalita-

[6] jaḷachar-âsphâḷa-kallôḷa-mâḷâ-nada-nady-aṁbhaḥplav-âḷaṁkaraṇa nṛijagad-âvâsa-mudraṁ samudra ||

[7] Kaṁ || Tad-udadhi-mêkhaḷey=enal=oppida vasudhege makuṭam=enipa Mêruge teṁkal*u* sad-amaḷa-Bharat-â-

[8] vaniy=aṁt=adariṁdaṁ teṁkal eseva Kuṁtaḷa-viśa(sha)yaṁ || Adan=âḷdav(r)=araṁ(naṁ)ta-sukh-âspadam=enipa Chaḷukya-vaṁ-

[9] śa-ratnôttaṁśa(sa)r=mmadavad-ari-basti-mastaka-vidaḷana-kaṁ(ka)ṇṭhîrava-pratâpar=anêkar*u* || Svasti Śrî-Siṁdavaṁ-

[10] ś-ôdbhava-kamaḷa-van-âdityan=ânaṁ(na)mna(mra)-bhûbhṛin-mast-âḷaṁkâra-vastu-bra(vra)ja-viluḷita-vinyasta-pâd-âbjan=a-

[11] st-âri-stômaṁ Gûrjjar-Âṁdra(dhra)-Draviḷa-Magadha-Nêpâḷa-bhûpâḷak-âdi-prastutyaṁ nitya-têjaṁ praba-

[12] ḷa-baḷa-yutaṁ vîra-Châmma(mu)ṁḍa-bhûpaṁ || Jayati vijaya-lakshmî-nartya(rtta)kî-nâṭya-raṁgô | vijita-

[13] samara-raṁgô vairi-dôr-ddarppa-bhaṁgaḥ | vitaraṇa-guṇa-tuṁgô viśva-vidy-âṁ(â)ntaraṁgô | vividha-

[14] vibudha-saṁgô(gaḥ) sâhasôttuṁga-bhûpa[ḥ*] || Anat-ârâti-nṛipâḷaraṁ bedare beṁkoṁd=attha(rttha)maṁ

[15] vastu-vâhanamaṁ peṁḍira taṁḍamaṁ guḍigaḷaṁ gûḍâramaṁ nâḍumaṁ munisiṁd=irkkuḷi-

[16] goḷvud=eṁbude vinôdaṁ taṁ(ta)nnoḷ=eṁd=aṁdu pêḷ*u* ghana-sau(śau)ryyaṁ-baḍa(ḍe)d-ippar=âr=ttoḍerddu(rdu) Châ-

[17] muṁḍ-âvanipâḷanoḷ*u* || Ant-enisida śrîman-mahâmaṁḍaḷêśvaraṁ Châmma(mu)ṁḍ-arasar=a-

[18] var=ardhdhâṁ(r'dhâṁ)ga-lakshmî-Siriyâdêviyara daśa-dig-vartti-kîrtiy=eṁt=eṁdaḍe | Kaṁ || Pati-bhaktiyi[ṁ*]-

[19] p(d)=Aru[ṁ*]dhati matiyiṁ Bhârati subhâgyadiṁ Ratiy=eṁd=î kshi[tiyo]ḷ*u* Chamuṁḍa-bhûpana sa-

[9] No. 83 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[20] ti Siriyâdêviyam jagam bannisugum || Va || Ant=enisida Siriyâdêvigam Châham(mum)d-âvanîśam-

[21] ga[ṁ*] [putte*] negarttegam pogarttegam neley=enisida vîra-Bijjaladêva-Vikrava(ma)dêva-kumâraru śrî-

[22] matu-Kisukâd-eppattum Bâgadagey-eppattum Kelavâḍi-[mûnûru]mam su[kha]-samkathâ-[vi]-

[23] nôdadimd=âldu râjyam-geyyuttam-ire || Svasti Śrîmach-Châlukya-[Vikrama-varshada] 94neya

[24] Virôdhi-samvatsarada [10] . . . .

Translation.

Reverence to (*the god*) Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chauri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! Hail! He, the lord, the excellent one,—whose footstool is placed upon the substantial rays of all the diadems of the glorious immortals, who bow down before him,—acquired both the earth and the ocean!

(L. 4.)—The ocean,—from which the moon arose; which is the home of the goddess of fortune; which is adorned by the mountains that fled to it for protection; which is the place of the production of ever-new jewels; the surface of which is the favourite couch of (*the god*) Mukunda[11]; and which is decorated with the streams of rivers, large and small, and with lines of surging waves caused by the motion of the aquatic animals which are driven to and fro by the play of the tortoises and the *pâṭhîna*-fishes and the alligators and crowds of elephants in rut,—is marked, as if with a signet, with (*the earth which is*) the habitation of men and animals.

(L. 7.)—To the south of (*the mountain*) Mêru, which is esteemed the tiara of the earth which is charming as being considered to have that same ocean for its girdle, there is the good and spotless land of Bharata; and to the south of this there is the charming country of K u n t a ḷ a.

(L. 8.)—Many (*kings*),—who were the jewelled earrings of the race of the C h a ḷ u k y a s, which was considered to be the receptacle of endless happiness; and who were as mighty as lions in rending asunder the heads of the infuriated elephants which were their enemies,—governed it.

(L. 9.)—Hail! The brave king C h â m u ṇ ḍ a is the sun of the white waterlilies which are those who are born in the S i n d a lineage; the waterlilies, which are his feet, are shaken to and fro and are pressed down by the many head-ornaments of the kings who bow down before him; he has driven away the assemblage of his enemies; he is worthy to be praised by the kings of Gûrjara, Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, and Nêpâḷa, and others; his glory is perpetual; he is possessed of a very powerful army. Victorious is he, the king who excels in impetuosity;—who is the stage for the dances of the dancing-girl who is the goddess of victory; who has conquered (*in*) the battle-field; who has broken the pride of arm of his enemies; who excels in the virtue of generosity; who is deeply versed in all knowledge; and who associates with learned men of various kinds. Tell me now; who are those who have acquired sufficiently great courage to withstand the king C h â m u ṇ ḍ a, when they consider that it is his delight to frighten and pursue the hostile kings who bow not down before him, and then in his anger to assail their wealth, the vehicles in which they convey their goods, their troops of wives, their temples, their tents[12], and their countries?

(L. 17.)—And as to the glory, which extends to the ten regions of the heavens[13], of S i r i y â d ê v i, who was the wife of this glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* king C h â m u ṇ ḍ a:—Mankind praise S i r i y â d ê v i, the virtuous wife of king C h a m u ṇ ḍ a, saying that she is a very Arundhati in devotion to her husband, a very Bhârati in wisdom, and a very Rati in beauty.

(L. 20.)—While the princes, the brave B i j j a l a d ê v a and V i k r a m a d ê v a,—[*who were*

[10] There are faint traces, here and there, of two more lines of writing; and after that, the rest of the stone appears to have been left unpolished and blank, unless the details of the grant have been intentionally effaced.

[11] Vishṇu.

[12] *Guḍḍra, gûḍâra*, is not exactly a tent in the English meaning of the word. It is a large cloth which may be used indifferently as a carpet, or a curtain, or, suspended over a cross-bar supported at the extremities, as a rough kind of tent open at each end.

[13] The four cardinal points of the compass, the four intermediate points, the zenith, and the nadir.

born] to this Siriyâdêvi and king Châmuṇḍa; and who were considered the abiding-places of glory and the objects of praise,—were governing, with the delight of pleasing conversations, the glorious Kisukâḍ Seventy, and the Bâgaḍage Seventy, and the Koḷavâḍi Three-hundred, and were reigning:—

(L. 23.)—Hail! On . . . . of the Virôdhi *saṁvatsara*, which was the ninety-fourth year of the glorious Châḷukya Vikrama-Varsha, . .

No. LXXII.

The last and latest of the Aihoḷe inscriptions[14] is the following[15] on a rock in the bed of the river, below the temple of Paraśurâma in Survey No. 75. It is hardly worthy of notice, except as an instance of the extent to which corruptness of diction can be carried in the more recent inscriptions. The characters are of the fifteenth or sixteenth century; but the inscription is not specifically dated. The inscription contains no fact of any historical importance.

Transcription.

[1] Sva-dattaṁ[16] dvi-guṇaṁ puṁṇyaṁ para-datt-âuupâlanaṁ | para-datta-pahârêṇaṁ | sva-dataṁ nispalaṁ

[2] bhavêtu |(||)

[3] Prajôtpatya-saṁhmacharada | Chayitra ba 1 lû | śrîmatu râjê-śrî Baregedêvenâyaka-voḍeyaru

[4] Râmaliṁgâna stânika Mâpêkhânara Chika-Sômaṁṇanâyakarige Koṭapadebenakanavore-grâma-made Tusabuka-

[5] Chikereya staḷa sahâvâgi koṭa paṭeya [||*] Yidake âvan-ân-obba tappidare Hiṁdu tappida-

[6] re Kâsiyali âkaḷa koṁda pâtake hôharu Musulamâna tappidare Makkedalli

[7] musâpa bisâṭa pâtake hôharû [|*] Yî dharṁmake ârobbaru tappal-âgadû [||*]

Translation.

The preservation of the gift of another is twice as meritorious as making a gift oneself; by confiscating the gift of another, one's own gift becomes fruitless!

On the first day of the dark fortnight of (*the month*) Chaitra, of the Prajôtpatti *saṁvatsara*[17], the glorious and royal lord Baregedêvanâyaka gave a strip of land in the village of Koṭapadebenakanavore, together with the site of (*the tank, or village, called*) Tusabuka-Chikkere, to Mâpêkhânara-Chikka-Sômaṇṇanâyaka, who belonged to the shrine of (*the god*) Râmaliṅga.

If any one offends against this (*grant*),—if he be a Hindu, he incurs the guilt of killing a cow at Kâśi; and if he be a Musulmân, he incurs the guilt of . . . . at Makka! No one may offend against this (*act of*) religion!

No. LXXIII.

In the season 1876-7, I thoroughly examined all the inscriptions which were known to exist at Bâdâmi in the Kalâdgi District, and at the same time succeeded in discovering a few new ones that had never previously been brought to notice. Among the latter, is a very interesting fragment low down on the north side of a large and shapeless rock lying to the north-west of the temple of Teggina-Îrappa, or 'Îrappa of the hollow,' which is on the north bank of the tank at the back of the village.

A lithograph[18], from the *estampage* made by myself, is published herewith. It includes fragments of two inscriptions, which cover on the rock a space of 4′ 2″ broad by 3′ 11″ high. The upper six lines are in beautifully-cut characters of radically the same class with those of the early Chalukya and Kadamba grants which I have published. They have, however, certain distinct peculiarities and refinements of their own; and the only inscriptions known to me, the characters of which are of precisely the same type, are—1, the Pallava grant of Vishṇugôpavarmâ, which I have published at Vol. V., p. 50,—and 2, the Pallava grant of Attivarmâ, which I give below. But in Plate XII. of his *South-Indian Palæography*, Second Edition, Dr. Burnell gives an alphabet from a Pallava stone-inscription at the Seven Pagodas, referred by him to about A.D. 700, the characters of which are of the same type, though

[14] Concluded from Vol. VIII., pp. 237 to 246 and 284 to 288, and pp. 74 to 76 above.

[15] No. 84 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

[16] It would take up too much space, and make the transcription too unsightly, to correct the mistakes in this inscription.

[17] Probably Śaka 1373 (A.D. 1451-2), or 1433, or 1493.

[18] No. 88 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions.*

slightly modified and evidently of later date; he names them the Eastern Chôra or Pallava Alphabet, and, at p. 35 of his book, states that it was confined to the old Toṇḍainâḍu or Pallava kingdom of Conjeveram, and that the introduction of this alphabet into Toṇḍainâḍu is probably to be placed about the fourth century.

Owing to the peeling off of the surface of the rock, the greater part of this inscription has been entirely destroyed; and it is of course impossible to say how far the lines may have extended at the sides,—though ll. 3 &c. cannot have extended so far as l. 1 may have, owing to natural obstacles in the stone and to some square sockets which, for some reason or other, were cut on each side of the inscription. I give below a transcription of what remains; it is too fragmentary to translate. The fragment is of extreme interest as mentioning Bâdâmi, in l. 2, under its ancient name of Vâtâpi, and as speaking, in l. 4, of "the Pallava the foremost of kings." From this, and from the inscription being at Bâdâmi itself, there can be no doubt that Vâtâpi was originally the Western India stronghold of the Pallavas, and that it was from them that the Chalukyas wrested it. It is probable that Vâtâpi was temporarily recovered by the Pallavas from the Western Chalukyas after the reign of Pulikêśî II.; and there seems to be an allusion to this, in the later Pallava traditions, in l. 14 of the copper-plate grant published by Mr. Foulkes at Vol. VIII., p. 273.

The date is, unfortunately, entirely obliterated: but this fragment is, of course, of at least earlier date than the earliest Chalukya inscription at Bâdâmi, which is dated Śaka 500 (A.D. 578-9). And this is, in fact, the earliest stone-inscription as yet known to exist in these parts.

Lines 7 to 9 contain a few letters of another inscription of later date. The characters show it to be a Chalukya inscription of the sixth or seventh century A. D.

Transcription.

First inscription.

[1] . . . . [saṁ]vatsarê âtmanô râjya-varshê cha varddhamânê tra[yôdaśê] . . .

[2] . . . . hêna Mahâmall[ê]na vidvishâm Vâtâpir=atimâ . . . .

[3] . . . . pa(?)ja . . . . rishṇur=atulaṁ gôtraṁ guṇair=âtma . . . .

[4] . . . . t . . . . . tayaḥ kshitibhujâm=agrêsaraḥ Pall[avaḥ[19]] . . . .

[5] . . . . î . ṁ(?)ha-Vishṇur[20]=a[p]i yaḥ stambhañ=jaya . . . .

[6] . . . . pê(?)r-bbahu-matô prakhyâta- . . . .

Second inscription.

[7] . . . .[Sva]sti Śaka-varsha-sa[ṁvvatsara]- .

[8]

[9] na

No. LXXIV.

This is the grant of Vijayabuddhavarmâ, of which I have spoken at Vol. V., p. 175. I now give the text from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot. They were obtained for him by 'Baktavatchaliah' from a man named Mâdhavarao, who found them at 'Gunapadeya' in 'Kondakur' in the Guntûr District. They, therefore, come from the eastern coast of India.

[19] There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the letters that I have supplied here. Half of the *ll* is distinctly visible. And the metre requires *llavaḥ* to complete the verse.

[20] There was possibly here some such name as the Siṁhavishṇu or Narasiṁhavishṇu (either of which would suit the metre) of Mr. Foulkes' grant at Vol. VIII., p. 273,—except that the vowel of the syllable preceding *ṁ(?)ha* appears to be *î* not *i*, and the *Anusvâra* is to a certain extent doubtful.

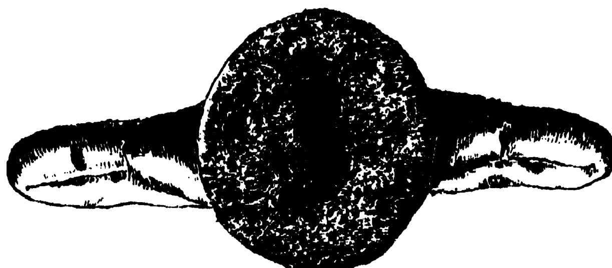
ON THE NORTH SIDE OF A BOULDER

NEAR THE TEMPLE OF TEGGINA-IRAPPA AT BADAMI.

FROM AN IMPRESSION BY J. F. FLEET, BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

SEAL OF THE PALLAVA GRANT OF VIJAYABUDDHAVARMA.



PALLAVA GRANT OF VIJAYABUDDHAVARMA.

I.

IIa.

IIb.

III.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

The plates are three in number, about 5⅞″ long by 2$\frac{1}{16}$″ broad. They are thin and smooth, having no raised edges; and they are much better preserved than I thought from the appearance of the ink-impression from which I first spoke of them. Together with the ring and seal, they weigh 33½ tolas. The second and third sides are numbered. The ring had been cut before the plates came into my hands; it is about ¼″ thick and 3½″ in diameter. The seal on it is circular, about 1¼″ in diameter; and has, sunk in the surface of the seal itself, a standing animal, which looks more like a deer than anything else, facing to the proper right.

I am unable to give a translation, as the body of this inscription is in Prâkṛit. But the purport of it is clear. It records a grant to the god Nârâyaṇa by the queen-consort of the *Yuvamahârâja* Vijayabuddhavarmâ in the reign of the *Mahârâja* Vijayaskandavarmâ, whose name occurs in its Prâkṛit form as *Vijayakhandavamma*. And Vijayabuddhavarmâ is said to be a Pallava, and of the Bhâraṭṭâyaṇa or Bhâradvâja *gôtra*.[21] There is, therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddhavarmâ of this grant, and the Vijayanandivarmâ of the Veṅgî grant at Vol. V., p. 175, who was of the Śâlaṅkâyana *gôtra*.

There is nothing in this inscription to indicate its date, or the position of these two kings in the Pallava genealogy. But it is unlikely that the Vijayaskandavarmâ of this grant is identical with either the first or the second Skandavarmâ of the grants at Vol. V., pp. 50 and 154. And, having regard to the rudeness of the characters in which it is engraved, and to its being in the Prâkṛit language, and to the emblem being sunk in the surface of the seal, and to the fact that it records only one generation anterior to the donor,—the probability is that this is the earliest Pallava grant that has as yet been brought to light.

The grant, as in the case of many of the Eastern Chalukya grants, ends with an *âjñapti*, or, in the Prâkṛit, *âṇatti*. It gives us practically the same forms of the numerals 2 and 3 as are given by the Pallava grants at Vol. V., pp. 50 and 154, and the Veṅgî grant at *id.*, p. 175. In line 9, there is a form of 4, which differs in detail from the 4 of the three plates mentioned just above, but exactly resembles the third form of the Gupta 4 given by Paṇḍit Bhagawânlâl Indrajî at Vol. VI., p. 44. And in l. 10, there are two more numerical symbols, which are somewhat uncertain, but which seem to be either 200 and 40, or, combined, 400,—and, perhaps, a third which is altogether doubtful.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Siddha || Siri-Vijayakhandavamma-mahârâjassa saṁvvachhara
[2] yuvamahârâjassa Bhâraṭṭâyaṇa ’allavâ-.
[3] ṇaṁ Siri-Vijayabuddhavammassa dêvî
[4] kûjanavîhâ(?)rudêvî kadâ(?)vîya

Second plate; first side.

[5] râjana lâchha(?)ṇê(?)ṭê(?) pâṇiya[25]. . . .
[6] pâd=uttarê pâsê ânyakassa ka(?nu)sita[26]. . .
[7] chhennaṁ dâlgi(?)rê kûmi-mahâ-naraka dêva-ku lassâ

Second plate; second side.

[8] bhagavan-Nârâyaṇassa abûṁ(?) âyuṁ bala vaddhanî-
[9] yaṁ kâtûṇa-bhûmî nivattanê chattâri 4 adhû(?)hi
[10] samya dattâtaṁ tâtûṇa-gâmê yêkâ 200(?)40(?)ttara(?)
[11] samya [? pa]rihârîhiparihâraḍhaparihaya [|| *]

[21] *Conf.* No. XII., l. 15 (Vol. V, p. 51), and No. XV., l. 14 (Vol. V., p. 155). The same statement is made in l. 10 of Mr. Foulkes' grant at Vol. VIII., p. 167; but I doubt the genuineness of this inscription. And the genealogy is traced through Bharadvâja in l. 10 of Mr. Foulkes' grant at Vol. VIII., p. 278.

[22] One numerical figure is illegible here, or perhaps two.

[23] Two letters, containing the first part of a proper name, are illegible here.

[24] One letter is illegible here.

[25] One letter is illegible here; and perhaps also one before the *pâ* of *pâṇiya*.

[26] One letter is illegible here.

Third plate.

[12] Bahubhir=vvasndhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ
[13] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||*]
[14] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêtta(ta) vasundharâm
[15] gavâṁ śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ dê(pi)vati dushkṛitam [||*]
[16] Âṇatti Rôhaṇi-guśvâtti ||

No. LXXV.

This is another copper-plate grant from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot, and were obtained for him by Sômasundara Mudaliyâr from Gôraṇṭla in the Guṇṭûr District.

The plates are three in number, and measure about $8\frac{3}{4}''$ long by $1\frac{3}{8}''$ broad; they are thin, and quite smooth, having no raised rims. Together with the ring and its seal, they weigh 35 tolas. The ring had been cut before the grant came into my hands; it is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick, and $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The seal is circular, about $\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter. The emblem on it is probably the figure of some god, sitting cross-legged on an altar; but it is anything but clear, even in the original. Like the emblem on the seal of No. LXXIV. above, it is sunk in the flat surface of the seal itself,—instead of being raised in relief on a countersunk surface, as is usually the case. The language is Sanskṛit. The characters will be remarked upon below.

The inscription covers both sides of two of the plates. One side of the third plate is blank. But parts of three lines of writing, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription, can be distinctly discerned about the centre of the other side of this plate; thus, in l. 2 I can clearly read *para-*[*da*]*tt*[*âṁ*] *vâ*, and, in l. 3, [*piba*]*ti kilbisha*[*m*], and many other letters are recognisable, though I cannot make a connected passage out of the first line. This obliterated writing has all the appearance of having been beaten down with a hammer, by way of cancellation, after heating the plate. And the plate was evidently then attached to the other two, as a guard to protect the writing. Probably there was another blank plate, now lost, attached to protect the writing at the other end of the grant.

The inscription records that king Attivarmâ, of the family of king Kandara, granted the village of Antukkûr, and a field of the measure of eight hundred *paṭṭis*, or a field called *Ashṭaśata-paṭṭi*, at the village of Tânthikontha on the south bank of the river Kṛishṇabeṇṇâ, to a Brâhmaṇ named Koṭṭiśarmâ. The grant is not dated.

The names of Attivarmâ and Kandara are unknown to me. But, from the style of the characters, which are of the same type as those of No. LXXIII. above,—and from the fact that this grant comes from the same locality as No. LXXIV. above,—and from there being the same peculiarity in the way of marking the emblem on the seal in both this grant and in No. LXXIV.,—and from the statement that Attivarmâ was descended from the god Hiraṇyagarbha, or Brahmâ,—there can be no doubt that this also is a Pallava grant, and that it is one of early date.

A transcription of this grant is given in the second Elliot *MS. Collection*, entitled *Telugu Śâsanams*, Vol. I., p. 13; but it is wrongly attributed there to the Early Chalukya king Kîrttivarmâ I.

Transcription.

First plate; first side.

[1] Svasty=Atula-vipula-yaśasi śrîmaty=Ânanda-maharshi-vaṁśa-samudbhûtê bhagavatô Va(?vaṁ)kêśvar-âdhi-
[2] vâsinas=tri-bhuvana-kartuḥ Śambhôś=charaṇa-kamala-rajaḥ-pavitrîkṛitô Kandara-nṛipati-kulô samu-
[3] dbhûtêna sundara-sujâta-pêśala-jana-parichârêṇ=âpramêya-Hiraṇyagarbha-prasavêna pratâp-ôpana-

First plate; second side.

[4] ta-sakala-sâmanta-maṇḍalêna Mahêndra-sama-vikramêṇa sura-guru-sadṛiśa-buddhinâ samyak-prajâ-pâlan-ô-

PALLAVA GRANT OF ATTIVARMA.

1a.

1b.

I/a.

I/b.

J. F. FLEET. BO. C. S.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM



[5] pârjjita-kîrttinâ râjñâ Attivarmmaṇâ anuparata-dharmma-kriyâ-parêṇa Kâśyapa-gôtrâ-

[6] ya Âpastaṁbha[27]-sûtra-vidê yama-ni[ya*]mavatê Ṛig-Yajus-Sâma-vidê brâhmaṇâya Brahma-kalpâ-

Second plate ; first side.

[7] ya Koṭṭiśarmmaṇê Kṛishṇabeṇṇâ-dakshiṇa-kûlê Tânthikontha-grâmê chatur-ddiśam=ashṭa-śata-pa-

[8] ṭṭi-kshêtrañ=ch=Ântukkûra-grâmaś=ch=ôdaka-pûrvvan=dattaḥ ssa(sa)rvvâ(rvva)-bâdha-parihâram [|| *] [S]v[a]-dattâṁ pa-

[9] ra-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâm gavâṁ śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ pibati kilbisham [|*]

Second plate ; second side.

[10] Bhûmi-dânât=paran=dânan=na bhûtan=na bhavishyati [tas]y=[aiva haraṇât=pâpa]n=na bh[ûtan=na bha]vish[y]at[i] [||*] [Bahubhi]-

[11] r=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ[28] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya [tadâ phalam] [||*]

[12] Brahma[29]-svaṁ vishaṁ ghôran=na vishaṁ visham=uchyatê visham=êkâkinaṁ hanti brahma-svaṁ putra-pautrikam [||*]

Translation.

Hail! By king Attivarmâ,—who is born in the family of king Kandara[30], which is possessed of unequalled and extensive fame, and which is glorious, and which is descended from the lineage of the great saint Ânanda, and which is purified by the pollen of the lotuses which are the feet of (*the god*) Śambhu, the holy one, who resides at (*the temple of*) Vakêśvara[31], and is the maker of the three worlds; who is attended by beautiful and well-born and clever people; who is of the posterity of the inscrutable (*god*) Hiraṇyagarbha; who has reduced the territories of all chieftains by his prowess; who is equal in valour to (*the god*) Mahêndra; who resembles in intellect the preceptor of the gods; whose fame has been acquired by properly governing his subjects; and who is intent upon (*maintaining*) the uninterrupted practises of religion,—a field of (*the measure of*) eight hundred *paṭṭis*, including (*its boundaries on*) the four quarters, at the village of Tanthikontha on the south bank of (*the river*) Kṛishṇabeṇṇâ, and also the village of Antukkûra, were given, with libations of water, free from all opposing claims, to the Brâhmaṇ Koṭṭiśarmâ, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, who knows the Âpastambha[32] *sûtra*, and who practises the major and the minor observances, and who is acquainted with the *Rig* and the *Yajur* and the *Sâma* (*Vêdas*), and who is a Brâhmaṇ, and who is almost equal to (*the god*) Brahmâ himself.

(L. 8.)—He incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another! There has not been, and there shall not be, any gift (*better*) than a gift of land; there has not been, and there shall not be, any sin (*greater*) than confiscating the same! Land has been given by many, and has been preserved in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it! The property of a Brâhmaṇ is said to be a terrible poison, (*but, in comparison with that*), poison is not called poison; (*for*) poison kills only one person, (*whereas*) the property of a Brâhmaṇ, (*if confiscated*), kills one's sons and sons' sons!

THE GAROS.

BY THE REV. W. AYERST, M. A.

The Gâros are a type of the more primitive and savage of the clans, and all of this clan have more or less of a family likeness to each other. They believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, who is "God over all." But they do not worship him by sacrifice, believing him to be

[27] The occurrence of this form of the name, instead of *Âpastamba*, is, I believe, sufficient proof in itself of the early date of this grant. Dr. Bühler has written on this point; but I have not his remarks to refer to.

[28] First *kâ* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *tâ*.

[29] The metre requires us to correct this into *brâhmana*.

[30] *Sc.*, Kṛishṇa.

[31] Or, perhaps, Vaṅkêśvara.

[32] See note 27 above.

benevolent, and therefore not in need of propitiation. Their numerous inferior deities are the objects of their dread, and they do sacrifice to them, whenever they believe that they have incurred their displeasure. Among the direct objects of their worship are the sun and moon. To ascertain which of the two they should worship on any given occasion, the priest takes a cup of water and some wheat; he then calls the name of the sun, and drops a grain into the water; if it sinks, that is a sign that they should worship the sun; if not, he drops another grain into the cup, in the name of the moon, and so on till one of the grains sinks.

Their minor deities are so numerous that even the votaries themselves cannot tell their names. Ṛishi is the chief of them. He is the same as the Hindu Śiva, and is also called Surjong. Ṛishi is said to preside over crops and health, Surjong over cotton. They are one, but divided into two. Their worshippers do not know of what gender they are, or where they live. Ṛishi is not displeased at murder.

Owing perhaps to their having no written language, the mythology of the Gâros varies with the age. In this way they have come to regard our gracious Queen, "the mother of all the Feringis," as one of their divinities. Unhappily they have brought into the same pantheon the Hindu deity Mahâdeva, whom they consider the spirit of evil.

They claim for themselves a divine origin, and practise hero-worship, making an offering to the newly-burnt ashes of the dead, and preserving the images of the deceased in their houses. They regard the higher mountains as the abodes of the blessed, the word *Azuk*, which signifies *mountain*, signifying also *heaven*, the abode of the gods. In the same way the Hindus regard the Himâlayas as the dwelling of their deities.

The first created man is believed by the Gâros to have been a priest, but their priesthood is not hereditary. It is the duty of the priest to perform certain rites at weddings and funerals, and at the investiture of chiefs; he also names children on the day of their births, but his most important ministrations are in time of sickness. Every house has one or more altars before it. The type is a certain fantastical disposition of bamboos, with festoons of cotton and other light appendages that wave in the breeze. This is the general shrine for all common occasions, and is referred to in all cases of sickness or scarcity.

In time of sickness, the priest is sent for to offer sacrifice to the particular deity he may pronounce to have been offended. With his peacock's feathers in his hair, and his official sandals on his feet, and with little other covering, he takes his seat on a low stool in front of the altar, and addresses it (there is no image) in a low monotonous chant. Meanwhile another person leads the victim round and round the shrine. It is taken away from time to time for lustration, and then led back to the priest, who caresses it and feeds it with salt; after this has been repeated, the head is struck off, and the altar is smeared with the blood. If a second blow should be needed, it would be thought of ill omen. The sufferer, in whose behalf the sacrifice is made, lies near the priest during the ceremony At the burning of the dead, if the deceased was of rank, a bullock was sacrificed, and the head buried with the body. If he was a chief of the upper Gâros, the head of one of his slaves is cut off and burnt with him. If he was of the first rank, it was formerly customary for a large body of his slaves to sally forth and seize a Hindu, and cut off his head, and burn it with their chief's. At weddings a cock and a hen are slain by the priest, but rather for augury than for sacrifice.

The dead are kept four days. They are then buried at midnight. The pile is erected at the distance of a few yards from the *chaung*, or house. The pile is adorned with stripes of red cloth, and the head of the victim named above, and the remains are placed in a small boat, and laid on the top of it. It is fired by the nearest relation, and the ashes are buried near the spot, and covered with a small thatched building surrounded by a railing. A lamp is lighted every night for a month in the building. Moreover, the wearing apparel of the deceased is hung on poles fixed at each corner of the railing, and left there for six weeks or two months, after which they are broken and allowed to hang downwards till they fall to pieces. The railed graves of chiefs are decorated with rude representations of animals placed over the graves, and the railing is often decorated with fresh flowers.

The dead are moreover kept in remembrance by means of monumental images, placed in the porch of the dwelling-house. Those in a single house frequently amount to a great number, a reproduction, perhaps, of the Hall of Ancestors among the Chinese. The figure is adorned with the earrings or other ornaments worn by the person represented, but in other respects bears no resemblance, or hardly any, to anything human. Their belief is that a Gâro, as soon as he is burnt, is born again a Gâro in some unknown spot far away in the hills. It is probably on account of their custom of representing their dead by images that the Gâros are unwilling to be sketched. They believe that the production of a likeness of themselves is ominous of their death.

Colonel Dalton describes one of these rude representations as "a full-length figure, decorated with all kinds of finery, and with an old silk umbrella supported over it." He thus describes the offerings made at the grave of a young girl. "In front of the house was a bamboo frame six feet long, two high, and three broad, at the corners of which carved posts were placed diagonally, and a lid of open lattice-work was lying ready to be placed on the top. Within the frame a small opening had been made in the earth, into which the remains, collected from amongst the ashes of the pile, were reverently placed by the nearest female relatives, the mother and the aunts, and then covered with earth. This done, the same mourners filled the bamboo framework with various offerings, of which I noted the following:—Three baskets of raw cotton, four baskets of unthreshed dhan, two grilled fowls, a few dozen shrimps, boiled rice, red pepper and salt, and gourds full of mhud or fermented liquor. After these, earthen vessels were broken and thrown in. The reason given for their being broken was that all this provision was for the use of the dead maiden, and that her spirit could not use the vessels till they had been broken, but that the fragments would reunite for her. The trellis-work covering was then laid on the top, and a coarse silk cloth, stretched upon hoops, spread over it. Meanwhile the boys of the community were beating drums, striking gongs, and blowing horns. Above all, a bull-fight was exhibited, and attracted crowds. Indeed, but for the grave carriage and silent grief of the poor mother, as she slowly and quietly put one offering after another into the grave of her child, all looked like a merry making. The bamboo frame is allowed to remain a year, and is then burnt amidst fresh rejoicings."

Their marriage ceremonies and customs are different from the European. If a young Gâro should make advances to a maiden, and she rejecting him, chose to tell her friends of it, it would be regarded as an insult to her whole clan, which the blood of the offender must atone for if among the Upper Gâros, but a feast will conciliate resentment among the lower clans. The custom is for all Gâro maidens except heiresses (and these can only marry according to certain laws of kindred) to indicate their own choice of a husband. When the wedding day arrives, and the bridal party begin to lead off the bridegroom, his parents and family feign uncontrollable grief, and make loud lamentations, and some force is used to tear the bridegroom from them.

The investiture of a chief consists in a horn ring being placed on each arm by the priest, who is to be presented with one ring, which he is entitled to wear on his left arm. The feast, which forms a necessary part of the ceremony, is so costly that none but the most wealthy can afford it.

When a man has been killed by a tiger, they believe that he appears in a dream, bidding his relatives change their names, whereupon his parents and brothers and sisters adopt new names. The object is to prevent the tiger from discovering the kindred of the man he has slain, and thus attacking them too. The tiger's nose is worn as an amulet, to facilitate childbirth.

These simple people have great reverence for truth. Their mode of attestation on oath is very solemn. The oath is taken upon a stone, which they first salute, and then, with the hands joined and up-lifted, and with their eyes steadfastly fixed on the hills, where they believe their god to reside, they will press him in the most solemn manner to witness what they are about to declare as true or false. They then again touch the stone, with all appearance of the utmost fear, and bow their heads to it, again calling upon their god. They also look steadfastly in the direction of the hills, and keep

their right hand upon the stone during their narration. In some of the hills they place a tiger's bone between their teeth before they give evidence. On rare occasions they swear with their weapons in their hands. When a Gâro is sworn in the Goalpura Court a little chalk scraped from the wall answers the purpose of earth. Amongst themselves, a lie is punished with instant death, not so much as an act of justice, as of indignation. In case of murder, the relatives of the slain are bound to demand blood for blood, and ought according to Gâro custom to put to death either the murderer or one of his kindred, or at least one of his slaves. The offending family is then bound to retaliate, and so on without ceasing, unless the Council succeed in bringing about a reconciliation. The mode of effecting this is by inducing the injured party to accept a fine from the other as the price of the blood.

In a deadly feud the weaker party flies to a distant hill to elude the stronger. Both parties immediately plant a tree bearing a sour fruit called *chaluka*, and make a vow that they will do their best to eat the fruit of that tree with the head of their enemy. A generation may pass away without opportunity of revenge. In that case the feud descends to the children. The successful person carries off his enemy's head, and boils it with the fruit of the tree which had been planted; he then drinks of the juices thus mingled, and the feud is at an end.

When head hunting parties have succeeded in massacring sufficient victims they call vast numbers of their friends to see the "reeking heads," which they fill with wine and food, and dance round them, singing loud songs of triumph. After these rejoicings the heads are buried for the purpose of rotting off the flesh. When arrived at a proper stage, they are dug up and cleansed of their putrid flesh, and then the warriors sing and dance round them again in triumph, and finally hang them upon the houses of the slayers as trophies. "Skulls so taken have a marketable value, varying with the position of the owner, and the degree of hatred entertained for the victim." Thus the skull of a Gomaśta, who bought Kalumabopara, was valued at a thousand rupees, and that of an India-Talukdâr, an agent of the Kanibani Zamindâr at five hundred rupees, while the price of a ryot's head is from ten to twelve rupees. Hence the Gâros are careful to reduce the skulls of their own kindred to powder, lest by accident or for gain they should find their way into the market. Of late years the British Government has brought its influence too near to admit of such raids.

In case of disputes between clans,—and among a people so impatient of unjust disputes these are very serious—the territories of the hostile clans are mutually proscribed. Neither may eat or drink within the territories of the other, food so taken would not nourish, water so drunk would be poison. The difference may be adjusted by the intervention of a third party. The angry clans may be brought together on neutral ground, that the cause of quarrel may be discussed. If the arbitrator succeed in effecting peace, the parties swear to observe it, by biting their swords: as a sign that friendly relations have been restored, the representatives of the clans must put food into each other's mouths, and pour *mhud*, the festival beverage, down each other's throats.

I will only add Colonel Dalton's account of a building "bee" among the Garôs. He witnessed the process, and has thus described it: "At the Lushkar's (chief's) village, there was a considerable gathering of young people from all the neighbouring villages, not often seen at this season, as the inhabitants are occupied on their farms, either planting cotton, or preparing their ground for cultivation. But I was most fortunate in finding here a house-building party, and a merry one it was. All the young men and young women of the Gundupâra clans were employed, and most rapidly and yet neatly they worked. The framework was ready, and they were thatching; curiosity at the sight of the stranger stopped them; but, on being reminded by one of their elders that the day is short, they went briskly to work again. The girls dived down the hills into the valley, and reappeared laden with bamboo-leaves, while the lads on the roof covered it in with them. A feast was in preparation for the house-builders, provided by the individual who profited by their labour, and this is all his house cost him."[1]

[1] From a paper on "The North-east frontier considered as a Mission field," in *The Indian Christian Intelligencer* vol. II. (Dec. 1878), pp. 365-377. For an early paper on this tribe by John Eliot, see *Asiat. Res.* vol. III., pp. 17-37.—ED.

MISCELLANEA.

JAMES WALES THE PAINTER.

To the Editor, "Indian Antiquary."

Sir,—In the *Indian Antiquary* for February, page 52, there are several curious details regarding the Indian career of James Wales, artist, in connection with which the following additional facts may possess some interest for your readers.

In Stanley's edition of Bryan's *Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters*, it is stated in the notice of Wales, written by Stanley, that he died at Bombay in November 1796, and the article also mentions that he "made all those splendid drawings of the caves of Ellora and the plans which were, after his death, published by Thomas Daniell."

In the well known work, *Oriental Scenery*, by T. and W. Daniell, there will be found twenty-four views of the mountains of Ellora and the Hindu Excavations, (or as we now call them, Rock-Cut temples) *drawn* by James Wales, and *engraved* under the direction of Daniell.

It would appear, however, from a statement in the introduction to a small oblong quarto book in the possession of the writer, entitled *Sketches illustrative of Oriental Manners and Customs* by Robert Mabon, that Wales was assisted in his archæological undertakings by Mabon, who says in his preface, dated Calcutta, Feburary 1st, 1797:—"The following sketches were made during my travels, while engaged in an arduous undertaking (which took me five years to accomplish, for a Mr. Wales, lately deceased;) viz:—Oriental Antiquities, or Drawings of all the excavated Hindoo Temples in India, particularly those at Ellora, near Aurungabad, Ekvera, near Poona, and those on the Islands of Elephanta, and Salsette, near Bombay."

"Being requested by a few Friends to favor them with Drawings illustrative of the Manners and Customs of the Asiaticks, to send to their Relations, who had never been in India, I concluded a small Pocket Volume, containing Twenty sketches, would be very acceptable to them, and the Public in general; and accordingly published my Proposals for the present Work."

"I return the respectable few, whose Names are here annexed, my grateful thanks, for the readiness they have shewn to encourage the undertaking; and sincerely wish it may answer their expectations on the subject."

The plates, 19 in number, are hand-coloured engravings, of considerable merit, each plate being accompanied by an interesting letter press description, full of allusions to "the Archæological Survey" work on which the artist was engaged.

Robert Mabon appears to have been a good architectural draughtsman, as may be seen from those of his sketches (such as Nos. 9 and 16) in which buildings are introduced.

I have not been able to trace any reference to Mabon as yet, but doubtless a search in the *Calcutta Gazettes* for the years 1790—1800 would discover some particulars of this English artist in India.

The Governor General of India, Sir John Shore; Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay; and many other well known names are among the subscribers to the book, which unfortunately bears no imprint whatever.

The title page, which is engraved, was given, as stated by the author, in substitution for the 20th plate, promised in the proposals for publishing the work, and is thus described by Mabon:—

"I have introduced a Frontispiece to this work, instead of the last mentioned subject in my proposals:—In the Vignette of the Frontispiece, the emblematical Figures are *History* directing the attention of *Painting* to Indian subjects, a part of one of which is represented on a Tablet, which she supports. I have given the Figure of *Painting*, the attitude of striking the Rainbow with her pencil, to denote the Power which this art has in giving a just representation of nature, and her many varied Tints." The "Indian subject" on the tablet is an Elephant, with a howdah on its back, kneeling down.

The following brief epitome of the contents of this book will, it is hoped, prove of interest, as this volume is, it is believed, the earliest *published* collection of authentic plates illustrating the manners and customs of the natives of any part of India. The Calcutta edition of Balthasar Solvyn's plates, illustrating the manners and customs of the Hindoos, was not published till 1799, although the prospectus or proposal for publishing them will be found in the *Calcutta Gazette* for 6th February 1794. The better known French edition of Solvyn appeared in Paris in 1808, in 4 volumes, atlas folio, the publishing price being 100 guineas the set.

Plate I.—The *manner* of crossing the river at Wanker, near Poona, during the monsoon.

Seated on a trunk, on the top of a raft formed of "calibashes" lashed together, is an officer dressed in uniform; three natives swimming by the side of the raft are urging it over a river. "In the background I have introduced coolies with his baggage; distant from these, his bearers and palankeen, floating in the same manner. Since the year 1793, this mode of crossing the river has been discontinued, on account of accidents

which have happened, people having often been carried down by the strength of the current, notwithstanding the united efforts of those who conducted the calibashes."

Plate II. Savoy Mahadowrow Pundit Purdhun, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, seated on the Musnud, at the Durbar of Poona, in which is introduced Nana Furnavese.

The Peshwa is seated "do-zanu" on the musnud, to the left is Nana Furnavese. "In surveying the Peshwa seated on the musnud, the eye is dazzled with the immense riches about him, but his effeminate dress and the unmanly-like attitude which the customs of the people make him under the necessity of observing, takes away from that dignity in appearance, which an European might expect to see in a Prince seated on a throne."

Plate III.—Savoy Mahadowrow, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, exercising the long spear, with other Bramin Chiefs, near Parbuttee, at Poona.

Plate IV.—Savoy Mahadowrow Pundit Purdhun, late Peshwa of the Mahratta Empire, mounting his elephant on his return from Parbuttee, to the Durbar.

Plate V.—The late Mahadajee Scindia, the celebrated Mahratta Chief, seated in his tent.

Plate VI.—Mahratta Pendarees returning to camp, after a plundering excursion during the late Savoy Mahadowrow Pundit Purdhun, late Peshwa of the Mahratta's expedition against Nizam Ally Khan.

Pindarees, on elephants, mounted on horses and on foot, driving before them villagers laden with sheaves of ripe grain.

"This sketch was made on my way to Ellora in order to make drawings of the stupendous excavated Hindoo temples there. At that period Savoy Mahadowrow had taken the field against Nizam Ally Khan, on account of the latter refusing to pay some tribute due to the Mahrattas."

Plate VII.—A Suttee, or ceremony of a Hindoo woman proceeding to the funeral pile, to be burnt with her deceased husband.

"While at Poona, I was present at three ceremonies of this kind: the annexed sketch was taken from the first I saw. The unfortunate victim was a beautiful young Hindoo woman. On the death of her husband, she declared her resolution to the court of Poona, that she would burn upon the same pile. They immediately issued orders, that every honor should be paid her; sepoys and a number of other attendants were sent, as also palankeens, and musicians, eleplants, camels, horses, and in short everything which could form a grand procession. She went attended by these through the streets of Poona, making a salam, (the token of her departure,) indiscriminately, to almost every one she met, after which she proceeded to the funeral pile, attended by a vast concourse of people. The pile was erected at the side of the Mulna and the Motta, two rivers which form a conjunction at Poona. The construction of the pile was very simple—it consisted of four poles, about eight feet high, struck slightly in the ground, at the distance of seven feet by five. Billets of wood were placed regularly within the space marked by them, to the height of four feet; between these were placed gobur, or cow-dung, baked in the sun, straw and other combustible matters;—over these, oil was poured to accelerate the dissolution of the unfortunate victim. From the top of the poles others were tied across, so that the whole had the rude appearance of a bedstead. On the top of all were laid a great many billets of wood.

"On her arrival at the pile, her husband's corpse (which was carried before her to the place) was immersed in the river, during which the Bramin priests, who attended on the occasion, muttered some prayers, and laid it on the ground. She sat some distance from it. Her head was adorned with flowers; her relations presented her with beetlenut and sweetmeats, of which she partook: and they placed upon her wrists, bangles or bracelets. She seemed to be almost in a state of insensibility, on account of their having previously given her gunja. After taking an affectionate leave of her friends she rose; her husband's body was carried beside her, and laid upon the pile, she ascended and laid down by it, embracing the corpse;—afterwards, four or five people laid hold of the poles fixed on the ground, and pulled them down, by which means, all the billets of wood, which were placed at top, fell upon them. In the interim, her nearest relations were employed in setting fire to the pile below, which they speedily effected, on account of the combustible matter contained: in a few minutes it was in an entire blaze—they retreated, applying their hands to their mouths, making a most lamentable noise; this with the shrieks of the unfortunate woman, were drowned by various music. She endeavoured to extricate herself from the flames, on which a Bramin, with a large billet of wood, struck her on the forehead; which effectually stunned her, or perhaps deprived her of life—as after it, she was at rest. In a few hours, all that remained of this faithful pair was ashes; those were thrown with some degree of ceremony into the river.

"Nothing could have induced me to be a spectator of this horrid scene, but a wish to give an exact representation of it."

Plate VIII.—A group of dancing girls.

Plate IX.—Getterha, or Annual Fair, held in front of the excavations of Ekvera, in the Mahratta Country.

"This wonderful work is very near the top of the Bhaur Ghaut, and almost opposite to the fort of Logur."

Plate X.—Mohometans performing the Mohurrum, or mourning of Hossein.

Plate XI.—Parsees assembled for devotion at sunset.

Plate XII.—Different modes of conveyance used at Bombay.

"In this sketch, I have introduced palankeens, chair-palankeens, mehannas, doolies, and a hackery, or cart; these being the modes of conveyance prevalent there, and indeed all over India."

In the "chair palankeen," which is like a sedan chair, is seated a stout Englishman, in white clothes, reading a book, very like General "Koir Wig" in Rowlandson's sketch, in the '*Adventures of Qui Hi? in Hindostan*,' London: 1816.

Plate XIII.—Bombay Subadars, Jemadars, Sepoys, &c.

Plate XIV.—The launching of the ship Carron from the Bombay Dockyard.

Plate XV.—Artificers at work.

Goldsmiths at work on the steps in front of an Englishman's house, a lady and two gentlemen looking on.

Plate XVI.—Gentoos at devotion.

"In this sketch I have introduced the Bramin priest at Ekvera, with other two Hindoos worshipping in the temple there, the Lingum or Mahdew."

Plate XVII.—Gentoos lamenting the death of a deceased relative, or friend.

A group of six Hindu women at the door of a native hut, beating their breasts with the palms of their hands: through the doorway of the hut is seen the dead person, covered with a white cloth, laid out on a charpâi.

Plate XVIII.—Snake catchers exhibiting a cobra de capello.

Plate XIX.—Fakeers or devotees of different casts.

In this plate Mabon delineates, two Hindu, two Muhammadan and one Sikh Faqir.

Archd. Constable.

A HINDOO SHRINE ON THE CASPIAN.

In our walks about the streets of Resht our servant Gopal, with his red turban and Indian costume, attracted great attention among the Khurds and Kosaks, who frequently inquired if he was a Tûrk. The Persians seemed to understand better his belongings, called him a Multâni, and declared he had come to join his brother. I inquired what they meant, and learned in reply, that one of the "lions" of the place was Surakhani, a temple some ten miles away, which all visitors made a point to see, containing images that were worshipped. It was lighted by sacred flames, which shot up out of the ground, and for centuries it had been under the faithful guardianship of Multânis. Who the Multânis were I did not at first comprehend; but, finally, it occurred to me that a Multâni must be synonymous with Hindustâni, or a native of India; that the city of Multân on the Indus must have been in the distant past an important centre, commercially and politically; and Multâni might have been used by the Eastern nations to designate the people from that city itself, as well as those who hailed from portions south of the Indus. We were now very anxious to see what we concluded must be a Hindu temple in Russia; and especially to interview the Hindu priest, if such he could be, in charge of the sacred spot, as we should then settle all doubts, and learn how it came to pass that the natives of Hindustan, who have such an antipathy to wandering to any great distance from their own country, were induced to make such an extensive journey, exposed to every kind of danger, both by sea and land, and finally be willing to erect a temple in such an out-of-the-way place, among people who were perfect strangers to their faith. Still more surprising was it that they should keep up so faithfully the guardianship of their idols, by constant recruits sent from time to time all the way from India, as we were told. These were points that cast an air of improbability about the whole matter, causing it to seem most unlikely, and made us very desirous of solving the mystery. If the pagoda was a fire-temple belonging to the Guebres, such a circumstance would be not at all strange, but would rather be the most natural thing that could happen; and that it is such a temple is distinctly stated in the works of several travellers, who are regarded as authority on matters out here, but who evidently would not know a Hindu were they to meet him, and to whom a fire-temple and a heathen pagoda were one and the same thing. As much as a century and a half ago, Jonas Hanway mentioned the existence of forty or more Hindu devotees residing at Baku. Why, then, we thought, might there not be some descendant of them still living, who would be a curiosity to behold, and whose acquaintance it would be profitable for us to make? Accordingly in the afternoon, we hired a fine-looking droschky with a span of fast hardy Kalmuk ponies, who took us all about the town for only sixty kopeks (one shilling and

eightpence) for the first hour, which is the government regulation. The charge for the next hour is about one-half that of the first. An hour later, we had arranged with our driver to take us in his droschky to Surakhani, and bring us back, for the sum of five roubles (fourteen shillings). In addition to the span of horses we had, a third horse was quickly harnessed abreast of the other two, which we learned was the custom when driving off for some distance. We started from Baku at a quarter to four o'clock. Our driver was a Kosak, with a tall, black Astrakhan hat on; and, what is more, he was a regular Jehu, as he drove us over the undulating and poorly constructed roads, full of ruts and sand, at a ten-mile-per-hour rate. We passed through two small villages, and in sight of many oil-factories, which from the dark smoke they emitted, showed that they were running on full time. The air around was filled with an outrageous odour.

On approaching Surakhani, a place composed simply of two large oil factories, we readily distinguished the Hindu temple, whitewashed, and surrounded by a high stone wall, with a large wooden gate for its main entrance. Gopal could hardly contain himself. We got out of the carriage; but found the door locked, and could see no one in the inside. We then walked around into the nearest factory yard, where we were told that the priest had gone that afternoon to Baku, and that without him we could not enter the temple. However, by persuasion and the offer of a keran, the key to a small backdoor was forthcoming, by means of which an entrance was easily effected at a point where the walls of the factory and the temple joined. We passed through and out of one of the cells, several of which are built into the high surrounding wall, where the devotees lived. In the centre of this almost circular enclosure, with a diameter averaging about one hundred feet was the temple proper,—a strong, quadrangular structure, bearing marks of age, but in good repair, surmounted with a dome some thirty to forty feet high. From the dome hung a rope on the inside; and to its end, some three feet from the floor, was fastened, suspended in the air, a good-sized copper bell, just such as is rung by Hindus in their temples when performing their devotions. Besides the bell, nothing was to be seen, save a metallic tube, which protruded a foot or two out of the floor, and had some cotton batting stuck into it. This the man who furnished us the key pulled out, and in its place held a lighted match. The result was the same as when one lights a gas jet. We then were shown into the only cell still occupied. In it we readily recognized articles peculiar to the Hindus. There were pictures of Gaṇpati, the four-armed elephant god of Śiva, and a few other deities. The last were Penates, or household divinities, cut out of small pieces of silver and gilded ware. They were arranged on a small raised altar in the middle of the cell: and about them were gas-jets like the one already described, and which our cicerone lighted, one after the other, whispering audibly that the place we were in was very holy. The man, though a Muhammadan, had evidently witnessed the Hindu priest in profound earnestness at his prayers; and the darkness of the room, lighted up with flames fed from the spirit world beneath, had impressed him with an awe that characterized his every action. Having noticed all that was to be seen, and satisfied ourselves that, though miles away from India, we had not yet got away from India's gods, we started to return to the city; hoping to find the old priest there, and get out of him something about the temple and its wonderful history. It was already growing dark. The fires from ignited gas in ditches, dug here and there for burning lime and baking brick, lighted up the sky, and enabled us to realize, to a very exact degree, the appearance of the country when under an extensive illumination gotten up by the citizens of Baku to celebrate some festive occasion, or in honour of the visit of some important official to their city. Few, if any, places have such natural resources for an illumination on so grand, yet economical a scale as Baku; and the idea that we were riding over "gas-works" on a gigantic scale, it must be confessed, suggested thoughts quite peculiar to the time and place. Our Jehu drove back even faster than when we came, breaking the harness twice in his efforts to urge on the horses, regardless of deep ruts and steep banks. We give the palm to Russian steel and Baku carriages, manufactured, we were told, in St. Petersburg, for withstanding all strain when a Kosak is the driver, and three Kalmak ponies harnessed abreast are making for home. We were back in the city by seven o'clock; and were just dashing round a corner, before drawing up by our steamer, when the driver suddenly reined in the horses and stopped. We wondered what had happened. The driver, pointing to a group of men seated on the steps of a liquor shop, informed us that the priest we wanted to see was there. I turned and spoke in Hindustani, asking the man to come to us. The sound of his native tongue startled him; and he stared at us wildly as he approached. When we told him that we had just come from his country, and as a proof showed him Gopal, the man's joy knew no bounds. His story, in brief, was, that he was a native of Lahor. Nearly ten years had elapsed since he left Karâchi by native

craft, in company with two associates, and arrived at Bandar Abbas, after a narrow escape from drowning in a storm. From Bandar Abbas, they came on by hard, exposed marches to Kirman, Yezd, and Teheran, and thence by the same route that we had taken. They were twelve months making their long journey. At Baku, they found the temple in charge of an old priest, who, on being relieved, returned to India, there to induce others to follow his footsteps, just as his predecessor had secured these three fresh arrivals. One of the associates died after a stay here of a year or two. Shortly after, the other became so homesick that he returned to India, promising straightway to send substitutes in his place. No one as yet had appeared; and the priest, still a man in the prime of life, was getting very much discouraged. He declared he could not stay any longer a voluntary exile from friends and country, even though he should have to commit the unpardonable sin of leaving the divinities unattended,—a circumstance without a precedent, he said; for no break had yet occurred in the guardianship by Hindus of the temple since its erection, over eleven hundred years ago, but about which he evidently knew as little as he did about its subsequent history. Further than this, he was rapidly forgetting his mother-tongue, and talking a mixture of Armenian and Turkish: so that, outside of a plain, ordinary conversation, he not only had difficulty in expressing himself, but often failed to complete his Hindustani sentences, making it very hard to understand him. One thing was evident: the man was losing faith in the virtue and efficacy of his Penates, and declared that they were not what they used to be. To prove this, he went on to show how much wealth had been slowly accumulating for ages at his shrine, part of which had come all the way from India; but the rest was the result of offerings from many people not so far away, who, though of a different faith, visited the sacred spot,—partly from curiosity, and partly from a general superstition in the vague belief that it is wise to appease deity under all forms. This wealth had lately been carried off in the night by parties who could not be found; and, if the gods could not take care of what was their own, the priest seriously doubted whether they could look after him and his interests, and that of those gone before him. Evidently this idea had made a strong impression upon him; for on the next day, when our steamer was advertised to start, this orthodox Hindu urged and besought me to take him along as my servant, just as I was doing by Gopal, even at the risk of his losing caste and undoing the accumulated merit, which was the direct result of so many years of self-sacrifice and penance. From England he said he would return with Gopal to India. On finding I could not take him, he determined he would abandon the idols to the tender mercies of some Muhammadan friends, and go back the way he had come; declaring this life he was leading to be a humbug![1]

PROF. SCHIEFNER.

The death of Anton von Schiefner, which was announced in the *Athenæum* of November 29th of last year, leaves such a sensible void in more than one department of Oriental and linguistical research that a fuller notice of his life and literary work may, it is hoped, be welcome to many students to whom his name has long been familiar as one of the foremost Oriental scholars in Russia.

Schiefner was born on July 18th, 1817, at Reval, where his father, who had emigrated from Bohemia at the end of last century, was established as a merchant. After passing through the grammar school of his native place, he matriculated in the University of St. Petersburg in 1836, and at the wish of his uncle, W. Schneider, who held the professorship of Roman Law and was anxious that young Schiefner should succeed him some day, enrolled his name as a student of jurisprudence, while he continued at the same time his philological studies under Prof. Graefe, who had been the first in Russia to write and lecture on comparative grammar. After creditably passing the usual examination at the end of a four years' course, he went to Berlin in 1840 to attend the lectures of the celebrated jurist F. C. von Savigny; but soon the classes of Boeckh, Bopp, Lachmann, and Trendelenburg had greater attractions for him, and eventually he gave himself entirely up to his favourite philological pursuits. The influence which the lectures of those far-famed professors exerted on him is traceable throughout his literary career. On his return to St. Petersburg he was made, in 1843, Professor of Latin, and subsequently of Greek, in the First Grammar School, and devoted himself exclusively to the study of the classics and more especially the Greek philosophers. A few years later, however, he took up the serious study of Tibetan, for which the libraries of St Petersburg offered special opportunities. After being appointed in 1848 one of the librarians of the Imperial Academy, he was elected in 1852 a member of that learned body, the cultivation of the Tibetan language and literature being assigned

[1] From *Midnight Marches through Persia*. By H. Balantine of Bombay, (Boston, 1879), pp. 229—238.

to him as his special function. Simultaneously he held from 1860 to 1873 the professorship of the classical languages in the Roman Catholic theological seminary. In the last-mentioned year he was promoted to an ordinary membership in the Imperial Academy, with the predicate "Excellency." After a fortnight's illness, which from the very beginning gave rise to the gravest apprehensions, he died on November 16th of the year which has closed.

It is in three directions that Schiefner has made his mark in literary history. In the first place he contributed to the *Mémoires* and *Bulletin* of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg a number of valuable articles on the language and literature of Tibet, of which the following are of special interest:—*Additions and Corrections to Schmidt's Edition of the Dsanglun*, 1852; *The Life of Çâkyamuni, translated in abstract from the Tibetan*, 1853; 'On Foucaux's Edition and Translation of *Rgya tch'er rol pa*,' 1850; *Studies on the Tibetan Language*, 1851, 1856, 1864, 1877; *On the Periods of Human Decadence, from a Buddhistic Point of View*, 1851; *Translation of the forty-two Sûtras*, 1851; *On some Eastern Versions of the Legend of Rhampsinitus*, 1869; *Buddhistic Stories, translated from the Tibetan*, 1875-7; *On Vasubandhu's Gâthâsangraha* (the Tibetan *Dhammapada*), 1878. Besides, he separately published in Tibetan and German *Vimalapraśnottararatnamâlâ*, 1858, and *Târanâtha's History of Buddhism in India*, 1869; in Tibetan and Latin, *Bharata's Answers*, 1875, and the ancient Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian glossary *Mahâvyutpatti* (1859). When his fatal illness overtook him he was busy collecting and arranging materials towards a work on the Bonpo or pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

Schiefner possessed also a respectable acquaintance with Mongolian; but, unlike his predecessor I. J. Schmidt, who was a far better Mongolian than Tibetan scholar, he confined his principal labours to the Tibetan language.

In the second place, he was for a considerable number of years engaged in arranging and preparing for publication the memoirs and linguistical materials left by the great Finnic ethnologist Alexander Castrén, who, after spending twelve years among the various Ugro-Finnic tribes of Norway, Lapland, and Siberia, had finally succumbed in the prime of life to the hardships which he had had to endure. Of the twelve volumes brought out by Schiefner from 1853 to 1861 only two are narrative; seven treat of the languages of the Samoyedic tribes, the Koibal, Karagass, Tungusian, Buryat, Ostiak, and Kottic tongues, and three contain Castrén's researches on the mythology, ethnology, and literature of the tribes he had visited. This mass of valuable material would probably long have remained dormant in the University library at Helsingfors had not Schiefner, at the instance of the Imperial Academy, arranged it and made it generally accessible in a lucid translation from the Swedish original into German. His independent works under this head comprise translations of the great Finnic epic *Kalevala* (1852), the heroic poetry of the Tartars of Minussin (1859), and the lays of the Wotes (1856), as well as a number of highly interesting essays on Finnic mythology (1850-62).

While he was still in the midst of these studies, the languages of the Caucasus began to engage his attention; and it was in the first place the Tush language on the analysis of which he brought to bear his wonderful philological acumen. After a preliminary report on that language, which he laid before the Academy in June, 1854, he brought out two years later a full treatise upon it. It was mainly through the study of this work that Baron P. Uslar was stimulated to investigating on the spot also the other languages of the Caucasus. In a full account by Schiefner of recent researches on these languages, which will be found incorporated in the Annual Address of the President of the Philological Society, just published, the author speaks of his own share in those most difficult researches with a modesty and reserve which might well be commended to linguistic scholars of far inferior abilities and attainments.

As that statement can easily be referred to for further details, it may here suffice to enumerate the various memoirs by Schiefner on those languages:—*Essay on the Awar* (1862), followed (in 1872) by a more comprehensive account of that language and a collection of Awar texts, with a translation; *Essay on the language of the Udes* 1863); *on P. von Uslar's Abchasian studies* (1863); *Researches into the Tchetchenz language* (1864); *Report on P. von Uslar's Kasi Kumük studies* (1866); *Reports on P. von Uslar's investigation of the Hurkanian* (1871), and *Kürinian languages* (1873). Also of the Ossetic language (which, though locally Caucasian, belongs to the Iranian group) Schiefner had made himself master; a number of translations from that language by his pen, several of them accompanied with the original text, appeared in the *Bulletin* of the Academy in the years 1862 to 1867. For many of his linguistical investigations he had, with as much tact as patience, availed himself of the presence in St. Petersburg of natives (soldiers chiefly) of the districts on the languages of which he happened to be engaged. The importance, however, of the vast mass of linguistical material thus opened up by him, and of the results to which his investiga-

tions led, has not yet been fully realized, except so far, perhaps, as his numerous contributions to our knowledge of Eastern fables are concerned, for which branch of literature he evinced throughout his works a keen appreciation.

While his loss as the representative authority on all matters concerning Tibetan literature and the languages of the Caucasus is felt to be irreparable, it is not less deplored by many *savants* in this country, as well as in France, Germany, and Austria, with whom he was allied by ties of intimate friendship.

He visited England three times for the purpose of literary researches—in 1863, 1867, and 1878—and he will long be remembered here for his single-heartedness, his sprightly conversation, and his unswerving devotion to the scientific pursuits which he had made the task of his life.[1]

R. ROST.

January 1, 1880.

BOOK NOTICES.

BUDDHA GAYÂ, the Hermitage of Śâkya Muni. By Râjendralâla Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., &c. &c. *Published under orders of the Government of Bengal.* Calcutta, 1878.

First Notice.

Outwardly this is a large quarto volume, handsomely printed, of 258 pages of text and 16 of preface, contents and errata, with fifty-one plates —34 tinted and 5 plain lithographs, and 12 photographs. Published by orders of the Bengal Government, no pains has been spared to make it look well by printers or lithographers.

Buddha Gayâ, the birthplace of Buddhism, the Holy City of the great monastic religion of Eastern Asia, is a place of much interest, and the illustration of its history and antiquities is well deserving the patronage of Government. Its remains had already been to some extent illustrated by Buchanan Hamilton, Major M. Kittoe, General Cunningham, Mr. Fergusson, and others, and in this bulky volume Dr. Râjendralâla Mitra takes up the subject with a view, we might expect, to an exhaustive treatment of it. It may therefore not be out of place here to examine, somewhat in detail, how he has performed this public task, and to indicate the quality of the contents of this large volume. The author has such a repute as a scholar, that no one can wonder that the Bengal Government entrusted him with so important a duty. But of late he has so frequently contradicted our greatest authorities in Indian Antiquities—J. Fergusson, D.C.L., and General Cunningham—men of true genius, who have done lasting service to the subject of their special study,—that it seems desirable to learn whether he or they speak with the greater knowledge and authority, or whether the Bengali Doctor is not liable to mistakes of even more serious character than the authorities he differs from.

The great point aimed at in the volume seems to be to prove that Mr. Fergusson is wrong in attributing the building of the great Buddha-Gayâ temple to the Burmese,—though his opinion is fully borne out by the style, especially when compared with that of existing remains of temples of about the same age in Burma,[2] and supported by the evidence of inscriptions, one of which records the repairs or rebuilding of the temple in 1106 A.D.,[3] and the other distinctly states (p. 208) that this temple "was constructed a fourth time and finished on Friday the 10th day of Pyadola in the Sakkarâj year 667 (1305 A.D)." The author on the contrary holds that—as there was a great temple here in the 7th century,—that still existing must be the same: the Burmese could only have plastered it and done some trifling repairs!

At p. 102 we meet a statement that might have been expected in Baron Munchausen, and there is no correction of it in the Errata: it is to the effect that the author measured ten bricks, and the first was 15′ × 5′ 0″ × 9′ 5″ × 2′ 7″:—that brick of *four* dimensions would be a puzzle for mathematicians who assert that there are only three dimensions; and the other nine were also extraordinary bricks, for they measured from 14′ to 16 feet in length, some 9′ 8″ and others 10′ 5″ broad and 2′ 3″ to 2′ 7″ thick! We have seen big bricks of great age, but nothing like the size of these: possibly, however, it is a mistake or rather a series of mistakes, of which the author as well as the printer must share the blame.

We pass from the author's ideas on the representation of the sizes of bricks, to those on Palæontology, which are as strange. At p. 213 he remarks that the "Chhadanta" elephant, so well known in Buddhist mythology, could have been neither a *Mastodon trilopodon* nor *M. tetralopodon*, nor yet an *Elephas* of the *stegodon, loxodon* or *enclephasis* species, but probably the extinct *Hippopotamus Sivalensis!* This long extinct fossil animal he believes to have been remembered by the early Hindus (p. 153). Are the representations of the Chhadanta Elephant like a Hippopotamus?

[1] From *The Athenæum* of January 24.

[2] It is nearly a counterpart of the Bodhidruma temple at Pagan which was erected by king Jayasimha, 1204-1227 A.D.—See Crawford's *Embassy to Ava* (8vo ed.), vol. I. p. 117.

[3] See *Jour. A. S. Ben.* vol. XXXVII. p. 97.

Some of the illustrations will amuse, if they do not perplex, the reader: thus on plate vii. is given a photograph of the 'Southern Façade of the Great Temple', which is intelligible enough, but the next plate is the same thing "restored." No one looking at it would suppose that the first could ever be *restored* so as to look the least like the second; their proportionate heights to the bottom of the finial (which is destroyed in the first) are as 3 to 5. We turn to the text p. 79, and are told in a footnote that the plate is wrong; "the number of storeys above the terrace should be eight as in the photograph" (the first we suppose) "and not nine." But even this correction would not make the two in any way comparable. The author in trying his hand at a 'restored drawing' has failed to see that both the proportions and the details of the original should be followed; and, not having attended to this, his restoration is a delusion. After comparing these two plates, on looking next at the 'restored Porch of the Great Temple' in plate xix, of which "there is at present no such structure," the reader will have no hesitation in concluding that it never did nor could have existed —unless it had been put up in the 19th century.

This failure to comprehend what is before him, must seriously affect the value of any reconstruction Dr. Râjendralâla may attempt. We doubt if he so understands the elements that enter into the distinction of successive forms of a style, as to be able to judge of the value of a restoration of any building.

From architecture we turn to the sculptures represented in his many tinted plates; and of these we first remark generally that the features given to the figures are not such as are usually met with in Hindu or Buddhist sculptures: the faces are two narrow below, and just such as students from our Schools of Art are most apt to draw if not carefully watched and kept right. In the smaller details also there are errors of carelessness and inaccuracy that the author ought not to have tolerated: some of these we shall remark below.

Dr. Râjendralâla, however, whilst intent on contradicting what he considers the mistakes of General Cunningham, Mr. J. Fergusson and Professor Weber, has but short space to devote to the description and explanation of the details of the sculptures he presents; but being a native of India, and having a great reputation for scholarship, it could hardly be supposed he would make any mistake in mythology. We are sorry, however, to have to point out even in this department such errors as he might surely have easily avoided.

[4] Here the draughtsman has omitted his tail.

[5] Here again the elephant's head, represented in the sculpture, is omitted in the drawing.

At p. 133 is a very meagre account of the sculpture on plate xx. fig. 3. The central figure is Buddha under the Bodhi tree conventionally represented by two leaves; and round him are some of the principal scenes in the legend of his life. Below, on his right, is a representation of the story told by Hiwen Thsang, of Buddha at Mathurâ, when the monkey brought him a pot of honey and then fell into a tank,[4] and was drowned, but, for this meritorious act, became a man in the next birth. Above this is the well-known incident at Râjagriha, in which the elephant let loose to kill Buddha, is represented[5] kneeling at the feet of the teacher. Above this, again, is the Banâras scene of Buddha seated (in the *dharmachakra mudrâ*) and first preaching his law. On the opposite side a similar representation is perhaps intended to represent him on his visit to Svarga to teach his mother; and just below it is the scene where Mahâ Modgalâyana requested him to descend. Below this is Mâyâdêvî holding the branch of a tree;[6] and on the lowest compartment is represented, according to custom, the maker of the image. Above all is the *Nirvâṇa* scene. Such slabs are abundant about Buddha-Gayâ, all representing the same favourite scenes, none of which need be mistaken. In the Pânch Pâṇḍava temple there is a very good example of it where the monkey in the first and the elephant in the second scene are very well cut; also the deer below the Banâras scene, and a sâl tree at the head and feet of the *nirvâṇa* figure; while in the Svarga scene a disciple is making *namaśkâra* to the standing Buddha, as related by Fa-Hian; and the infant Buddha is represented as being born from the side of Mâyâ—Śakra making music at the great event. Round the nimbus is the formula *Ye dharma hetu*, &c., and on the pedestal is an inscription, dated in the 11th year of King Mahipâla's reign which reads thus:—

[1] ...... तद्भवत्वाचार्योपाध्यायमातापितृपूर्व्वेङ्गमं कृत्वा सकलसत्त्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तय इति महा-

[2] ...... मेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपरमसौगतश्रीमन्महीपाल-देवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये एकादशमे सम्वत्सरे अभिलिख्य

[3] ......पञ्चम्यां तिथौ गन्धकुटीद्वयसहितादृषभहस्ति.. कारिताविति ॥

Why has Dr. Râjendralâla passed over all this in entire silence? The details are just what give interest to the sculpture, and the inscription so far fixes its age.

On plate xxx. are represented three figures, which he regards as 'Buddha and attendants or disciples' (p. 135): but if we look at the two

[6] This is so badly drawn that no one would recognise even the attitude.

attendants, the *ushṇîś* (turban) or top-knot at once indicates that they are not *disciples* (who are never so represented), but all three are Buddhas. On plate xxi. fig. 3 is another similar sculpture which he has failed to explain (p. 135), though it is plainly enough Buddha travelling, with Indra the râja of Swarga carrying the umbrella over him, and Nâgarâja the king of Pâtala with the *saptaphaṇa* or seven-hooded cobra[7] and bearing the *kamaṇḍalu* or water bottle.

The object in the lap of Buddha (plate xxiii. fig. 2) seems to have perplexed our author (p. 134), yet it is quite common in the later representations of Buddha, and indicates no penance, as he imagines, but is simply the *bhikshâpâtra*.[8]

With the representations of the Bodhisattwas he seems to be even less acquainted than with those of the Buddhas; for, (on p. 136) he makes out fig. 2[9] on pl. xiii, with the *chakra chinha* on his hand, to be Avalokiteśwara—which it certainly is not. On pl. xx. fig. 1, the figure now worshipped as Târâ dêvî, was indeed originally a *form* of Padmapâṇi, though it is hardly ever recognised as such, but is well known as Siṁhanâtha Lokêśvara—easily recognised by the lion which attends him, and on which he is sometimes represented as seated. At the right side of this figure is cut, in letters of the 8th or 9th century, the words *Śri Buddhanâgasya*, which neither the artist nor the author has noticed. The figure on pl. xxxii. fig. 3 *may* be Padmapâṇi, as he says,—but it is much more like Minanâtha or Manjughosha; and that on plate xxiii. fig. 6, is not Padmapâṇi, for it has a bell in the one hand and a *jala pâtra* in the other, and is a figure frequently seen in temples of the Âbhyantara sect of Buddhists. Figure 3 on the same plate is similarly wrongly called Padmapâṇi (p. 136), for it has the northern style of dress, described by Varâha Mihira as appropriate to Sûrya, with stockings on his feet and *two* lotus flowers in his hands.

Figure 2 on pl. xxxii is the image now worshipped as Vâgîśvarî. This the author mistakes for Vajrapâṇi, whilst it is undoubtedly a form of Manjuśrî, the Buddhist god of learning, of which Vâgîśvara (*Vâk-îśvara*) is a well known name among the Buddhists of Nepâl,—a fact that might have kept the learned author right. The three figures (pls. xxix. and xxvi. figs. 1 and 3) which he calls Mâyâdêvîs (p. 137), we suspect are not so, for what the Bâbu calls a tilaka is really a third eye which Mâyâdevi is never represented with;—these are most probably Tantric forms of Târâ.

The supposed female Demon, plate xxxi. fig. 2, is Vasudhârâ,—and here again the Bâbu perhaps forgot his spectacles when he examined the original, for there are no *horses* on the stone (as on his drawing) but *pigs!* This figure is common on the east side of the great tope at Sânchi: at least three lay there, not long ago, among the ruins. In Banâras there is a fine black stone one with seven hogs below, and an inscription; and *there* one of the faces of the dêvî is also that of a pig.

Again fig. 1 plate xxxi. is another image of Vasudhârâ, which he "fancies" is "intended for Sâvitrî Dêvî, who has apparently seized an opportunity to have a drive in the chariot of her husband the sun-god Sûrya" (p. 132). Where in India did he get hold of such an idea? and the horses!—why, he has indeed represented them by seven horse heads, but the stone has *boars!*

Plate xxxi. fig. 3 represents an image of a dêvî, brought from the ruins of the monastery to the north of the temple:[10] by estimation it is about 7½ feet high by 4 broad. This figure with its nine pairs of hands[11] is not accurately described by our author, (p. 138) nor does he notice the inscription below it in letters of the 9th or 10th century, which reads,—

[1] देयधर्म्मोयं प्रवरमहायानयायिनो महाक्षपटलव्यक्तकरणि-
कश्रीशुभङ्करस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवत्वाचार्योपाध्यायमातापि-
तृपूर्व्वंङ्गमं कृत्वा सकलस-
[2] त्त्वराशेरनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये.

What he calls in the text (p. 138) 'another representation of this dêvî,' but on the plate (xx. fig. 2) 'a figure of Buddha,'—is a form of Târâ.

Figure 2 on pl. xxi. he calls a Nâgakanyâ (p. 138): why a mother with her child in her lap should be called a *kanyâ* or 'maiden,' he does not tell us. The dress is sufficient to show that his "devotee," on pl. xxiii, is only a *sâlika* or figure of a laic, such as were often presented by worshippers to the temples.

Even Hindu gods, the author misnames; thus (p. 139) he calls fig. 4 on pl. xx. Prithvîdêvî, whereas it is evidently Yamunâ on the tortoise, as represented again and again at Elurâ, at Udayagiri in Bhopal, and elsewhere. Fig. 4 on pl. xxxi. he has not recognised as the Buddhist Mahâkâla. The subject represented in plate xxvi. fig. 2 is at the Mahant's monastery, built into

[7] This again is quite misrepresented in the plate.

[8] It is almost always so represented in the images in Nepal.

[9] He says "fig. 1,"—but mistakes of this kind are numerous; on p. 139 he refers to fig. 4 on "plate xxx," when he must mean pl. xxxi. On p. 125 he has Śaka 1230 = 1153 A.D.

[10] So an old man informed the writer.

[11] The front or proper pair of hands are in the *dharma-chakra mudrâ*; the right hands from below are,—2nd broken; 3rd in the *vara mudrâ* (blessing with prosperity); 4th, holds the *khaḍga* or sword; 5th, in the *tarjanî* attitude, or bidding begone; 6th, holds the *bîjapura* or citron; 7th, the *ankuśa*; 8th, the *vajra*; and 9th, the *paraśu*. Of the left, the 2nd is broken, the 3rd holds the *daṇḍa*; 4th, the lotus stalk; 5th, the *kalaśa*; 6th, the *pâśa*; 7th, the *chakra*; 8th, the *dhvaja* (?); and the 9th is broken.

the south-east corner of the surrounding wall, outside: below is an inscription in characters of the 8th or 9th century:—*Paindapâtikadhiyendrabhadrasya*—"(*Gift*) of Paindapâtika Dhiyendrabhadra." The two figures on which the third stands are—Bhûtî under the left foot, and under the right Bhûto: it is a Tantric or secret image of a Bodhisattwa,[12] but Dr. Râjendralâla passes it off (p. 139), simply as a figure of Bhairava.

On plate xxxiv. fig. 2 he has a long story (pp. 155-56) to tell, which seems to have little to do with the sculpture except that it relates to a Kinnarî: but the Buddhist Kinnaras had human busts and birds' wings and feet. We may refer for examples to the Barahât tope, early Mathurâ, and Mâvallipuram sculptures, or the wall-paintings at Ajaṇṭâ. But the figure here has not a *horse's* head even (as the Brahmanica legends represent the Kinnaras), it has the short mane and long ears of an *ass*.[13] How would it wear the "jewelled coronet" he speaks of? On the inner side of a pillar of the rail of the second stûpa at Sânchi is a similar sculpture where the second figure is a child with three mangoes in his hand, and carried on her side over the rocks by this asinine mother. So here, we suspect, it is her son she holds by the hand. A third example was found recently by Mr. Burgess at Bhâjâ where it occurs in the midst of a crowd of other figures. It most probably relates to some story of a Gardabhî dêvî, as yet unknown.

Plate xxxv. fig. 5 represents a man sitting in front of a cave on a rocky hill,—not a stone house as the Bâbu has it (p. 157). In all sculptures and paintings of the Buddhist period, hills are represented as in this figure.

The "acrobatic performance" (p. 158) in fig. 1 plate xxxvii. is familiar to us in Buddhist sculptures as a *Gandhârvayugma*, or a Gandharva and Apsara; and fig. 6 is well known as a *kîrttimukha* (also plate xliv. fig. 5).

Plate xliii—the *Dharmadhâtumaṇḍala* perplexes the learned doctor (p. 143)—he does not even give its name. But in the area of almost every Buddhist temple two or more of these are to be seen of stone or brass or other metal.[14] They vary in details but are all of the same type. The outer band is not "of leaves" as he describes it, but flames, and the circle is called *jvâlâvali*; the 2nd, *vajrâvali*; and the 3rd, *padmâvali*. Inside this is the *jagati* (or surrounding wall) with its four doors, and in the centre is the *âsana* or seat, upon which is sometimes laid a large *vajra*. At the Svayambhunâth tope in Nepâl is a large gilt copper *Dharmadhâtumaṇḍala* and on it lies a huge *vajra* with an inscription of the time of Pratâpamalla. The Mahâyâna sectaries say that Indra made such a throne for Śâkya Muni when he was about to become a Buddha.: it closely resembles the *samavasarṇa* of the Jainas.

More than two pages (160-63) are devoted to prove that General Cunningham was quite wrong in supposing that the figure in plate l. represents Apollo or Sûrya. Now General Cunningham's account is quite correct—he speaks of the "two attendants" however without stating that they are females. What the Bâbu thinks the sculpture does represent he does not make very clear. We hold that it is Sûrya in his chariot; and similar figures may be seen at Elurâ and Sânchi, and always with his two wives Chhâyâ and Prabhâ, shooting at the Râkshasas. Mortal women do not usually shoot or fight for their husbands in Hindu poetry; the goddesses only do so: and this alone is fatal to the idea of its being any râja or human being who is driven in the chariot.

We have now indicated sufficient mistakes, we think, to show how unscientific Dr. Râjendralâla is in his treatment of these parts of his subject, in which he ought to be most at home, and the reader will be surprised to learn from these specimens that the great native savant of Calcutta should have been guilty of so uncritical a spirit. If those he criticises are liable to occasional errors, he himself is quite as much so. We reserve the examination of the inscriptions for another occasion.

(*To be continued.*)

Die Râvaṇavaha, Von. S. Goldschmidt, (1st part,) Strassburg; K. J. Trübner, 194 pp. 4to.

The first instalment of Professor S. Goldschmidt's long-promised edition of the *Râvaṇavaha* (more generally known as the *Setubandha* or *Setuprabandha*) has recently appeared at Strassburg. It gives the Prâkrit text with various readings and critical notes, a complete Index (Prâkrit and Sanskṛit,) and an introductory essay on the materials from which the editor has constituted his text, and the principles of criticism by which he has been guided. A full account of this important publication will be rendered in the *Indian Antiquary* when the second instalment shall have appeared, which will give a German translation, explanatory notes, and a general introduction on the author and his work. Suffice it here to say, that this edition, the outcome of many years of patient labour and research, will be sure to secure for Professor Goldschmidt the thanks of Sanskṛit scholars for having so successfully accomplished what may fairly be considered as one of the most difficult tasks in Indian philology. R. R.

[12] A counterpart of this figure may be seen in a plate in Raffles's *Java* (vol. II. p. 56), from a metal cast found near the mountain Dieng or Prahu.

[13] We always refer to the originals: the plates, as already noted, not being quite trustworthy.

[14] They can be bought in Nepal for Rs. 10 to 12.

THE GANGAI-KONDAPURAM ŚAIVA TEMPLE.

BY COLONEL B. R. BRANFILL.

THE great Saiva temple at Gaṅgai-koṇḍapuram, in the extreme north-east part of the Trichinopoly district, twenty miles south-west of Chidambaram, and five miles north of the Kollidam (Coleroon), is the finest and grandest Indian temple I have seen, but is simple in design and chaste in ornament. This style of temple, built on anything like this scale, is very rare. The great temple at Tanjore and one other near Kumbakônam are the only comparable examples I can recall. That it is no common specimen may be gathered from Mr. Moore's *Trichinopoly District Manual*, p. 343, whence the following extracts are taken :—

"In a letter published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dr. Caldwell has remarked that he has reason to hope that future enquiry will firmly establish a supposition formed by him, that this temple is one of the great, if not the greatest of, parent Hindu temples. He believes that the old and splendid temple of Tanjore is probably merely a model of it."

Mr. Moore's description is erroneous in several particulars. The size of the outer court, 584 by 372 feet, is an interior measure for the length, which is actually 610 from wall to wall, and the breadth apparently includes the additional court of the Amman Kôvil (Lady-chapel) attached, only that would bring up the width to 400 ft. There is only one Gopura (or "*gate pyramid*") instead of six as stated, and a wrong impression is given of the ruinous state of the buildings, which is true only of the accessories and minor parts. The principal is in very fair order, but the stone of the inscribed portions is beginning to decay and peel off.

The first object of interest here is the great stone *vimâna* dedicated to Śiva, conspicuous from its situation and size, for many miles around. Roughly speaking, it is a fac-simile, possibly the prototype, of the Great Śaiva temple at Tanjore, which it closely resembles, but it is larger in plan, built of better stone, and less spoilt by stucco and white-wash.

A strict comparison however cannot be made without studying the two temples together by means of comparable photographs, or by visiting them in succession.

The G a ṅ g a i - k o ṇ ḍ a - p u r a m temple, as it is now miscalled, consists of a nine-storeyed *stûbi* (steeple tower) or *vimâna* over the shrine or sanctuary, 99 feet square at the base,[1] and about 165 feet high. This appears to be larger, though not higher, than any Indian temple of which the size is given by Mr. Fergusson in his volume (*The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*). The two lowest storeys are vertical, and composed of five towers or compartments on each face; a large one in the centre, with two narrow ones beside it, and two of medium size outside, next to the angles of the building, all of them ranged in the same line forming a side of the square. It would seem more usual in Hindu temples for the central compartment of each face to project or stand forward most, the intermediate next, and the outer, or corner towers, to stand back, or be withdrawn so as to form the angles of a smaller square than would contain the central and intermediate projections. The base of this temple conforms to a precise square. The central tower or compartment of each face is ornamented simply by 16-sided pilasters at the angles, and has a deep niche between half-pilasters in the centre, containing a well sculptured figure or group in full relief or free standing. The blank wall-space, of which there is plenty, is covered with bas-relief scenes in which Rishis bear a prominent part in company with country-folk, herdsmen, and others, in great variety. The abundance of these tableaux is a characteristic of the temple. The intermediate narrow partitions are ornamented in the same manner except that the pilasters are octagonal, whilst the outer compartments or towers at the four corners of the temple have plain square pillars and pilasters. Each storey is marked by a bold projecting cornice of single (convex) flexure, an older form than that of double flexure. Above the second storey, the tower rises in seven steps or terraces pyramidally, each terrace having five small domed cells, which cap the five tower-like compartments before mentioned, diminishing in size to the top of the pyramid. According to Fergusson, these small domed cells may be supposed

[1] On a basement terrace 106 feet by 104.

to simulate the monks' dormitories that surrounded the many-storeyed halls of the Buddhist vihâras or monasteries, of which the monolithic temples of 'Seven Pagodas' are early imitations. These ornamental cells form a more conspicuous characteristic of this temple than is common elsewhere; at Tanjore for instance, where there are thirteen storeys of cell terraces, the cells being only about half the size, are consequently far less noticeable individually. Above the seventh or highest row of cells, there is a roomy terrace occupied by four large bulls *couchant* at the corners, and from the centre rises a comparatively slender neck surmounted by an umbrella or semi-dome crowned by the usual *kalaśa* or finial. The entire temple from base to summit is of hard stone, brought from a distance, for there is none in the neighbourhood. On the east side of this great *Stûbi* or *Vimâna* stands the *Velimandapam* or 'outer hall,' a plain rectangular building 160 feet long by 83 feet wide, with a flat roof supported by four rows of plain stone pillars and without any windows. This grand hall or covered court was evidently designed to be of two storeys in height, and was begun on that scale at the west end, but never completed, being only one storey, eighteen feet high, throughout.

Between the *Velimaṇḍapam*, or outer court, and the great *Vimâna*, there is a three-storeyed building joining them together, called *Mêlemaṇḍapam*, covering the transverse aisle between the north and south entrances by which the shrine is approached.[2] This portico or transept is designed and completed in keeping with the grand scale and style of the *Vimâna*. The interior is too dark for its arrangements and details to be seen, nor are strangers permitted to enter the doors. A third entrance is provided at the east end of the *Velimaṇḍapam* by a plain rectangular door in the centre, which is approached from without by a double flight of stone steps from the north and south sides, similar to the two other pairs of stairs by which the transverse aisle doors are approached. Gigantic stone warders (*dwârapâlas*) guard each entrance. This triple building (*Vimâna*, portico, and outer hall) stands upon a grandly moulded plinth 5 or 6 feet high, no part of which is flat, and the whole is supported by a basement or terrace 5 feet above ground level, which projects $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet beyond the plinth and forms a procession-path completely round the building. It is termed in Tamiḻ *âḷôḍai* = "man-way" or "service-course." The mouldings below the procession-path are very bold and good, the ornament of the vertical or flat portion simulating a range of pillars or palings, alternately plain and sculptured to represent *Yâli*, (conventional lions) and various scroll-enveloped animals.

There is no trace of horizontal rails or of any wooden form of structure below the top of the plinth-moulding which is the floor level of the temple and 10 or 12 feet above the ground. Above that, wooden forms are frequent, as for instance in the projecting beam heads at all the angles, which are only slightly ornamented. The string-course of griffon heads between them, probably, also represents the ends of the intermediate timbers. The whole structure points to a style of architecture in which the basement was of masonry and the superstructure of timber.

The brackets underneath the lower projecting cornice represent rampant animals with attenuated bodies like greyhounds, of a rather wooden pattern.

The panel or flat part of the back wall of each recess, between the projecting tower-like compartments, is ornamented by a vase or some very florid object called *pûraṇakumbam*. This is a common feature at Tanjore and elsewhere, and seems to correspond to our *cornucopia*.

The rounded plinth-moulding just above the procession-path is covered with inscriptions, mostly in old Tamiḻ. Many of the letters correspond with those on the base of the Tanjore temple as shewn in plate xviii. of Burnell's *S. Indian Palæography*, but others seem more modern, approximating to those on his plate xix., of the fifteenth century A. D. To the uninstructed, the architecture seems uncommonly good, chaste and archaic compared with the common great Hindu temples of Southern India. The sculptured figures and groups that occupy the niches in the middle of each compartment are very good indeed, both in design and execution. They are carved in very hard, fine grained, light coloured stone, occasionally approaching a cream colour. The figures are representations of Śiva,[3] Vishṇu and Bramhâ, all

[2] It measures 50 feet by 30.

[3] Among some sketches by the writer, is one from a niche representing Śiva appearing out of the side of the Liṅga, four armed, with *paraśu* and *mṛiga*, and a figure

of them less conventional and more natural than is common elsewhere.

The good state of preservation in which the temple generally now is, may be due to the hardness and durability of the stone, and to the fact that the site is very secluded and out of the busy paths of men, the highways of commerce, and tracks of armies. It has also escaped the fanatic zeal of the bigoted Moslem.

The temple stands in a courtyard 610 feet long E. and W. by 350ft. wide N. and S., which contains several good subsidiary temples,[4] and the remains of a double-storeyed arcade or cloister which once surrounded it entirely. The *gopuram* proper or gateway tower in the centre of the east wall, is very fine, but quite subordinate to the temple (*vimânam*) itself. It is of good stone throughout, but has begun to fall down, and will shortly be a complete ruin.[5] In style it assimilates more to that of the Vimânam than the Tanjore temple *gopurams* do, they being florid and highly ornate, whereas this is more severe and chaste than its principal. The chief adornment of the temple at Gangai-konda-puram is the repetition everywhere on the cells and cornices of the fan-like window ornament resembling a spread peacock's tail.

The name G a n g a i-k o ṇ ḍ a-c h o l a p u r a m occurs frequently on the inscriptions, and would seem to indicate 'the city of Gangai-koṇḍa-chôḷa.' There is a place called G a n g a i-k o ṇ ḍ â n some 24 miles farther north, and the name is believed to occur elsewhere in Southern India. The local legend, perhaps invented to account for the name, states that a pious pilgrim, whose life and strength were spent in fetching water from Banâras for the worship at Râmêśvaram, had a vision in which it was revealed to him that he should find a spring of Ganges-water at this spot, a result which his great faith enabled him to effect, doubtless to his great material comfort; and a fine well of good water countenances the tradition. 'Gangai-kaṇḍa' might signify something like "*a vision of Gaṅgâ*," or "*water*;" *gaṅgâ* is not uncommon in Southern India with the meaning of *water*, especially for running water, and very many river names in India and Ceylon have the word Gaṅgâ affixed to them. Gaṅgai-koṇḍa or Gaṅgai-koṇḍân may mean "he who obtained (or brought) water," a title that might well have been given to, or assumed by, the prince who constructed the Ponnêri-karai, a great embankment in this neighbourhood designed for the storage and distribution of water, no less than 16 miles in length. A supply channel 60 miles long was designed to keep this great reservoir supplied with water from the Kolliḍam river, and it seems likely that the prince who designed this great water project, should have been also the founder of the great temple at the city which was to be benefited by it. The city has disappeared entirely, and the rural population is now scanty and poor, but the great temple and the skeleton of the great irrigation scheme remain to testify to the grand works that could be conceived by the minds and executed by the hands of the former rulers and people of this country. The high road from Madras to Kumbakônam passes within a mile or so of the spot, but there is a cross road from Chidambaram railway station *viâ* Mannârguḍi, that leads directly to the place, the distance being about 20 miles.

For the age of this temple consult the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XIII. (1844), the following quotations from which are taken from Captain Carr's Collection of *Descriptive and Historical Papers relating to the Seven Pagodas* (Mâvalivaram), where Sir Walter Elliot attributes this temple to Vîra Râjendra Chôḷa surnamed Koppara-Keśarivarma, and cites "inscriptions of this same prince on the magnificent temple at Gangondaram on the north bank of the Cavery, of which he appears to have been the founder," "one of these, in the 5th year of his reign (Ś. 991, A.D. 1069) runs thus; Ko-virâja-kesarivarma named Râjendra Deva, wielding the sceptre, &c. &c.". . "Son of Râjarâja (Narendra) Chôḷa whom he succeeded in Ś. 986" (= A.D. 1064) . . . From the remoteness of the quarries, the hardness of the stone, the great size of the building, and the vast amount of carving displayed in the basement alone, below the rounded moulding on which the

grovelling in front. This is similar to a figure in the Dâśa Âvatâra temple at Elura, only the subordinate figures of Vishṇu and Brahmâ are awanting in the southern example.—ED.

[4] Among these are,—on the north side those of (1) Bhadrakâti Amman, (2) nearly opposite the *Mele-* or *Sandhya-mandapa* Sandikeśvara's, and (3) opposite the shrine, that of Bragal Nâyiki or Vada Kailâsa. In the south-west corner is (4) that of Gaṅgâ Vinâyaka; (5) south of the shrine is Viśvanâtha's, or Bakshira Kailâsa; and (6) south of the great mandapa is 'Nâriyar Kovil;' while at the east front is the bull Nandi.—ED.

[5] It measures 75 feet by 40.

inscriptions mostly occur, I do not think it probable that so much of the work could have been done in five years. The whole design was never completed, perhaps because it took longer than the reign of the prince who founded it, and I should think that the Great Vimâna alone must have been nearer 50 years than five in building.

The epoch of Vîra Râjendra Chôḷa A.D. 1064 (to 1079 and later) seems well established, and his identity with the "Koppara-Kesarivarma, also called Uḍaiyâr Srî Râjendra Devar" of the Vaishṇava (Tamiḷ) inscriptions at the Seven Pagodas, so that the year 1000 A.D. seems hardly too early for the foundation of this temple.

NOTES ON THE TAṆḌU PULAYANS OF TRAVANKORE.

BY REV. W. J. RICHARDS, C. M. S. MISSIONARY, COTTAYAM.

The men of the Taṇḍu Pulayans (or Pulayans who wear Taṇḍa grass) wear the ordinary lower cloth of the kind worn in this country, but the distinctive name of the tribe comes from the women's dress, which is a very primitive article indeed. The leaves of a certain water-plant are cut into lengths of a foot long, and tied round the waist in such a fashion that the strings unwoven hang in a bushy tail behind, and present the same appearance in front, reaching nearly to the knees. This is accounted for by a tradition that in former days a certain high caste man of that region had been sowing grains and planting vegetables in his fields, but found that his daily work was in some unknown way frustrated; for whatever he planted or sowed in the day was carefully picked up and taken "when men slept." So he set a watch, and one night he saw, coming out of a hole hitherto unknown to him, certain beings like men but quite naked, who set to work destroying his hopes of a crop. Pursuing them, he succeeded in catching a man and woman, and he was so impressed with shame at their condition, that he gave the man his own upper cloth which was hanging on his shoulder, and made him put it on, but not having one to spare for the woman, she (following Mother Eve's example) made herself an apron of grass as above described. These were the progenitors of the numerous slaves who are found there at this day. They are also called *Kuri*, or Pit Pulayans, from having originated as abovesaid.

Their language is Malayâḷam. They worship the sun and heavenly bodies, and I have seen among them a little temple about the size of a large rabbit hutch in which was a plank for the spirits of their deceased ancestors to come and rest upon.

The spirits are also supposed to fish in the backwaters, and the phosphorescent appearance, seen sometimes on the surface of the water, is taken as an indication of their presence.

The food of the Pulayans is fish often cooked with arrak and with the liliaceous roots of certain waterplants.

When visited about 11—1 o'clock they are found intoxicated, especially the men.

They live in the Malayâḷam country, Travankore, south of Cochin, between the backwater and the sea, and another division of them is found more south near Aleppey, who are called *Kanna Pulayans*. These wear rather better and more artistically made 'aprons.' When a girl of the Taṇḍa Pulayans puts on this garment—a sign of maturity—for the first time, there is a ceremony called the Taṇḍa marriage. The state of these poor people is virtually that of slavery, though some of them possess property. I should be glad to see in the *Antiquary* any notes of similarly dressed natives of India.

NOTE ON A ROCK-CUT INSCRIPTION FROM RIWÂ.

BY DR. A. T. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

The inscription under notice was not long ago sent by Mr. M. A. Markham, Collector of Allahabad, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1] It had been discovered by him in a cave near the falls of Keoti Kuṇḍa on a tributary of the Taṇwas in the Riwâ State. Of the locality in which it was found, Mr. Markham gave the following charming description in a subsequent communication: "As the name of the place (Keoti Kuṇḍa) implies, there is a pool. into

[1] See the *Proceedings* of March 1880.

which falls a most lovely waterfall. The river Mahânâ, which rises in the Kaimûr hills, and is a tributary of the Tanwas (Tons), here precipitates itself over a perpendicular drop of 336 feet, unbroken even by a crag. The pool or kuṇḍa below is almost quite circular, and is hemmed in by the perfectly perpendicular rock of the above height for about two-thirds of its circumference; the stream escaping through the opening and flowing for over two miles through a canon of perpendicular rocks, keeping the above height almost the whole way. On one side of the 'beetling crag' is a fine old native fort, and on projecting crags on the edge of the fall are picturesque Hindu temples. Altogether it is a most lovely place."

The copy of the inscription which Mr. Markham sent, and which the accompanying woodcut represents, is apparently a mere copy made by eye on the occasion of Mr. Markham's visit to the cave. The relative size of copy and original is not known. A squeeze or rubbing would have been more satisfactory; still the copy is evidently drawn very carefully. All the letters, with the exception of the 6th, can be easily recognized. The 6th looks, at first sight, like *no*, but there can hardly be a doubt that it is *ṇa*, the upper horizontal stroke having become slightly displaced. The 4th and 14th are a little differently drawn, but they are clearly meant for the same letter; and the only letter that will fit both words in which they occur is *pu*.[2] On the whole, the letters are very fairly preserved. The inscription apparently consists of two parts; there being an interval after the tenth letter. But the whole forms one connected sentence:

Haritîputeṇaṁ Sonakena kâritâ pukharinî,

i. e. "the pool (cave) caused to be made by Saunaka the son of Haritî." The language, as in most cave-inscriptions of this kind, is Pâli. The addition of the final anusvâra in *puteṇaṁ*, if it be genuine, follows a well-known Prâkrit rule (see Hema Chandra, I, 27, and compare Kachchayana. I, 4, 8). The diphthong *au* of Saunaka changes, as usual in Pâli, to *o*.

Pukharinî,[3] or pool, is the name of the cave, which is most appropriately so called, after the pool at the foot of the rock which contains the cave. Such caves were not uncommonly named after conspicuous objects in their neighbourhood. Thus General Cunningham in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (p. 135) mentions a cave called *Vâpiyaka* after a fine large well immediately in front of it.

As the form of the letters shows, the inscription belongs to the period soon after Aśoka. The absence of the *mâtras* or heads, and the round form of some of them (as the *p* and *s*) prove that the inscriptions may be assigned to as early a date as B.C. 200.[4]

In the communication already referred to, Mr. Markham thus speaks of another cave in the neighbourhood, containing painted figures, and hunting and battle scenes. "In another cave, near a somewhat similar fall and pool on the Tanwas itself, about 8 miles west of Keoti Kuṇḍa, I found several square yards of very well drawn, or rather painted, figures, and hunting and battle scenes, in a rather bright red. They were certainly not recent, but I could make no guess as to their age. The 'oldest inhabitant' says they were just the same as now when he was born. I wonder if they are of any value. I have no doubt that a close examination of the numerous caves would be rewarded with many inscriptions."

I believe these particular caves have not been noticed hitherto by the Archaeological Survey. Perhaps this notice may serve to direct attention to them. From Mr. Markham's statements they would appear to well deserve careful examination.

[2] It may be noticed that in the first inscription of the Bharahut Stûpa (see General Cunningham's *Report*, p. 128) the letter *pu* is always written like the 14th; and that *puteṇa* is twice spelt with *ṇa*, as here, but once with *na*.

[3] The Sanskrit *Pushkariṇî*; conf. the many 'Pokharnas' or pools.

[4] See Gen. A. Cunningham, the *Stûpa of Bharhut*, p. 15. [From the length of the strokes for the vowels, I incline to think it somewhat later than the author.—ED.]

REMARKS ON THE WORD ŚRAMAṆA.

BY REV. SAMUEL BEAL.

General Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes* p. xii.) seems to conclude finally that Śramaṇa is a Buddhist title. But Colebrooke (*Essays*, vol. II. pp. 203, 204) arrives at another conclusion, that the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from Brachmanes and Sarmanes (arguing from Justin, whose opinion, however, is not final as the passage is ambiguous). Colebrooke as a general definition extends the term Samanaans to ascetics of various tribes (p. 204).

But to examine Cunningham's argument. He mentions first that Buddha was called Mahâ Śramaṇa, but this proves no more than that this term was employed by Buddhists, adopted by them as it was by the Jainas (Colebr. *u.s.* p. 196) and ascetics generally, as is evident from the inscription placed over the remains of the Indian who committed himself to the flames at Athens (Strabo, lib. xv. p. 720 Casaub.).

He then concludes that the Śramaṇas or Germanæ of Megasthenes must be the Buddhists, because it is said that women were allowed to join them (*συμφιλόσοφεῖν*) on taking vows of chastity (*ἀπεχομένας ἀφροδισιῶν*), adding that the Buddhists alone had nuns; but here we observe the words in the original do not bear out the assertion that the women were under vows, or became nuns; and we also find the same words used by Nearkhos (Strabo, xv., § 66 ed. Siebenkees) in reference to the Brahmans (*συμφιλοσοφεῖν δ' αὐτοις καὶ γυναῖκας*), so that this is no corroboration of the theory.

The division of Klitarkhos of the Pramnæ into *ὀρεινοι, γυμνηται, πολιτικοι, προσχωριοι* deserves consideration. The identification of the first with the Arhans will not, I think, prove satisfactory—first as they used the skins of stags for their clothing studying the art of healing, &c., which does not apply to the condition of the Rahat; and secondly, as we know that at the time when Buddha became an ascetic, there were in the mountains a class of men clothed as these mountaineers are described, in skins of stags, &c. As to the *γυμνῆται*, it is distinctly said "*γύμνους διαζῆν*," which will apply to no portion of the Buddhist community. The *πολίτικοι* are described as wearing skins, and having their hair bound up, which is equally foreign to Buddhist custom.

With respect to the division of the Germanæ, described by Megasthenes, into *Ὑλόβιοι, ἰατρίκοι, ἐπάιται*—if the *Ὑλόβιοι*[1] be Alobhiya[2] in Sanskrit, it does not seem to refer exclusively to the Buddhists, for there were other ascetics who lived in woods and fed on berries; nor is it so applicable to the Buddhist as to others, for the Aranyaka or Buddhist ascetic was allowed to receive food from the householders (*vid.* Pratimoksha). With respect to the *ἰατρικοι*, even if this were a corruption of *πρατίκοι*, how do we account for the description that they were physicians and concerned themselves with women? a thing strictly forbidden to the Buddhist.

On the whole we see no reason to argue the antiquity of the Buddhist community from any of these suggestions.

But observe, on the other hand, that the word Śramaṇa (*i.e.*, Germanæ) is distinguished by Buddha himself from the Brahman, and yet does not refer to his followers. (*Lalita Vist.*, pp. 248, 246). "Bhikshus! there are Brahmaṇs and Śramaṇas who believe that there is a purity resulting from abstinence," &c., and so on, in all which passages the same division between Brahmaṇs and Śramaṇs is observed, which is noticed by the Greek writers above quoted. We argue therefore that this division was one generally accepted, and was equivalent to Brahmaṇs and non-Brahmaṇs.

Observe again that Buddha, when on his tour of inspection from the four gates, is described as meeting a Shaman with a joyful face, &c. So that even before he entered on a religious life we read of this sect of Śramaṇas as existing commonly in India, proving (unless we allow a great solecism) that this appellation was applied to others besides Buddhists. If this were once granted, the argument falls to the ground.

[1] *Ἀλλόβιοι* of Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* lib. I. c 15.—ED.

[2] From *alubdha*—content, free from covetousness.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p. 103.*)

No. LXXVI.

The present copper-plate grant was published originally, with a rough facsimile, by the late Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II, pp. 4 and 12; and it has been repeated by Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar at *idem*, Vol. XIV, p. 16. The lithograph now appears for the first time.

My transcription is from the original plates, which belong to 'Nansa Walad Kansu,' of Nirpaṇ in the Vigatpurî Tâlukâ of the Nâsik District.[1] The plates are two in number, each about 8⅝″ long by 5¾″ broad; the edges of them are raised into rims, and the inscription has been very well preserved. They are connected by two rings. The right-hand ring is a plain copper wire about ¼″ thick, bent into the form of a ring of about 1½″ in diameter; but the two ends of the wire do not appear to have been ever soldered together. The left-hand ring, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands, is about ¼″ thick and 1⅝″ in diameter; the seal on it is circular, about 1⅞″ in diameter, and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, the moon, – in the centre, the motto *Śrî-Jayâśraya*,—and at the bottom, a lotus.

It is a Western Chalukya grant of Nâgavardhana, also called Tribhuvanâśraya, the son of Jayasiṁhavarmâ[2], also called Dharâśraya, who was one of the younger brothers of Pulikêśî II. From the motto on the seal, it is probable that Jayasiṁhavarmâ had also the title of Jayâśraya.

The grant is not dated. It records the gift of the village of Balegrâma, in the Gôparâshṭra district, to the establishment of the god Kapâlêśvara, or Śiva as the wearer of a garland of skulls. This village has been identified for me by Mr. J. A. Baines, C. S., with the modern Belgaum-Taràḷhâ about twelve miles to the north-east from Vigatpurî.

The doubtful points about this grant are,—1, that it is in the Gûrjara characters; 2, that it gives the title of Satyâśraya to Kîrttivarmâ I; 3, that it allots the horse of the breed called Chitrakaṇṭha' to Pulikêśî II; and 4, that it speaks of Pulikêśî II as a *parama-mâhêśvara*. But, on the whole, I am not inclined to question its genuineness. Considering the locality from which the grant comes, – so far to the north from Vâtâpi, which was then the capital of the Western Chalukyas; and comparatively so near to the Gûrjara capital, it is probable enough that the Gûrjara characters would be used, instead of the Western Chalukya. Another result of this branch of the Western Chalukyas being located in so far an outlying part of their dominions may easily have been a want of knowledge as to the exact nature of the genealogical and historical statements recorded in the Western Chalukya grants. Or even a mere act of carelessness on the part of the engraver may have given the title of Satyâśraya to Kîrttivarmâ I, instead of to Pulikêśî II., to whom, by the way, no second title at all is allotted in this grant. And though it is not at all likely that the worship of Mahêśvara, or Śiva, by Pulikêśî II. was ever so exclusive as to justify his being called a *parama-mâhêśvara*; yet the Western Chalukyas undoubtedly encouraged the worship of Śiva quite as liberally as the worship of Brahmâ and Vishṇu and Jinêndra.

The Nâgavardhana who is mentioned in line 13 must have been the preceptor of Pulikêśî II. Such at least is the strictly correct interpretation of the epithet *Śrî-Nâgavardhana-pâdânudhyâta*, which is applied here to Pulikêśî II. In some other inscriptions,—*e. g.*, Nos. 3 to 10 of Dr. Bühler's Chaulukya grants at Vol. VI, p. 180; and the 'Sihvar' grant of Jayachandra in *The Paṇḍit*, Vol. IV, p. 94,—*pâdânudhyâta* is used, by itself, to denote the relationship of son to father; and in the two Valabhî grants published by Dr. Bühler at Vol. VI, pp. 13 and 17, it is used, in addition to *tasya sutaḥ* and *tasyânujaḥ*, to express the bond of filial and fraternal affection and respect uniting a son to his father and a younger to his elder brother. But, to interpret it otherwise than in its literal sense here, would necessitate our taking Nâgavardhana to be another name of Kîrttivarmâ I; and there is nowhere any corroborative evidence to justify

[1] When Bâl Gangâdhar Śâstrî published the grant, the plates belonged "to Narsu Bhala Thakûr, formerly of Kavanâi in the valley of Trimbakêśwar, and now of Nândgaum in the Northern Koṅkaṇ."

[2] For brevity, and convenience of distinction, I shall call him in future notices Jayasiṁha II.

this. It is plainly used here in the sense in which it occurs in *Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâdânudhyâta* in, *e.g.*, line 1 of No. XL, at Vol. VII, p. 161, and in *Bhagavat-pâdânudhyâta* in line 13-14 of No. XII, at Vol. V, p. 51, and in line 12-13 of No. XV, at *id.*, p. 155; and it has the same purport as *pâdabhakta*, which occurs in line 14 of No. XII, and in line 13 of No. XV.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti |(||) Jayaty=âvishkritaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇnavaṁ | dakshiṇ-ônnata-
[2] daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ || Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mâ-
[3] navya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîtî-putrâṇâṁ sapta-lôkamâtribhiḥ sapta-mâtṛibhi-
[4] r=abhivardhi[3]tânâṁ Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇ-âvâpta-kalyâṇa-paraṁparâṇâṁ
[5] bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lâṇchh[4](ñchha)n-êkshaṇa[5]-
[6] kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâṁ Chalukyânâṁ[6] kulam=alaṁkarishṇôr=a-
[7] śvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-gâtrasya satyâśraya-Śrî-Kîrttivarmma-
[8] râjasy=âtmajô=nêka-narapati-śata-makuṭa-taṭa-kôṭi-ghṛishṭa-charaṇ-âravi-
[9] ndô Mêru-Malaya-Mandara-samâna-dhairyyô har-ahar=abhivardhamâna-vara-kari-ra-
[10] tha-turaga-padâti-balô manôjav-aika-Kaṁṭhachitr[7]-âkhyaḥ(khya)-pravara-turaṁga-
[11] môṇ(ṇ)=ôpârjita-svarâjya-vijita-Chêra-Chôla-Pâṇḍya-kramâgata-râjya-tra-
[12] yaḥ śrîmad-uttarâpath-âdhipati-Śrî-Harsha-

Second plate.

[13] parâjay-ôpalabdh-âpara-nâmadhêyaḥ Śrî-Nâgavardhana-pâd-ânu-
[14] dhyâta[ḥ*] parama-mâhêśvaraḥ Śrî-Pulakêsivallabhaḥ tasy=ânujô bhrâtâ vijit-â-
[15] ri-sakala-pakshô dharâśrayaḥ Śrî-Jayasiṅgha(*sc.* siṁha)varma-râjas=tasya sûnus=tri(tri)-bhuvanâ-
[16] śraya[ḥ*] Śrî-Nâgavardhana-râjaḥ sarvvân=êv=âgâmi-varttamâna-bhavishyâ[ṁ*]ś[8]=cha narapa-
[17] tîn=samanudarśayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yath=âsmâbhir=Gôparâshṭra-vishay-âṁta[ḥ*]-
[18] pâti-Balegrâma[ḥ*] sôdraṅgaḥ sa(sô)parikara a-châṭa-bhaṭa-pravêśya â-chaṁdr-ârkk-[9]ârṇṇava-
[19] kshiti-sthiti-samakâlîna[ṁ*] mâta-pitrôr=uddiśy=âtmanaś=cha vipula-puṇya-yaśô-bhi-
[20] vṛidhy(ddhy)-arttham Balâmma-Ṭhakkura-vijñaptikayâ Kâpâlêśvarasya Guggula-pûjâ-nimitta[ṁ*]
[21] tan-[n*]ivâsi-mahâvratibhya upabhôgâya salila-pûrvvakaṁ pratipâditas=tad=asmad-vaṁśyai-
[22] r=anyair=vv=âgâmi-nṛipatibhi[h*] śarad-abhra-chaṁchalaṁ jîvitam=âkaly(layy)=âyam=asmad-dâyô=numantavya[ḥ*]
[23] pratipâlayitavyaś=ch=êty=uktaṁ bhagavatâ Vyâsêna | Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râja-
[24] bhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam=iti |(||)
[25] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ shashṭiṁ varisha(*sc.* varsha)-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimi[ḥ*] ||

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (*the god*) Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The son of the king Śri-Kîrttivarmâ, the asylum of truth[10],—whose body

[3] The rule of doubling consonants after the letter *r* is sometimes attended to, and sometimes not, in this grant.

[4] Conf. *pancha* for *pañcha* in l. 14 of the Ilâô Gûrjara grant at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X, p. 19.

[5] This form of the *ṇ* occurs only here, and in *sahasrâṇi*, l. 25, and, doubled, in *ârṇṇavaṁ*, l. 1. The second, and more usual, form of *ṇ* used in this inscription, occurs in the doubled form in *ârṇṇava*, l. 18.

[6] Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar reads, and translates, *Châlukyânâṁ*, with the vowel of the first syllable long; but he is wrong.

[7] This, of course, is a mistake for *Chitrakanth-*.

[8] As we have already had *âgâmin*, this use of *bhavishya* is a tautology.

[9] It is not usual to express the double *kka* by an almost complete repetition of the letter, as is done here and in l. 20. We have an analogous instance to the present one in the word *Karkkâdhyâpaka* in line 88 of Prof. Dowson's first Gûrjara grant at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. I, p. 247.

[10] *Satyâśraya.*

was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices; and who adorned the family of the **Chalukyas**, who are glorious, and who are of the kindred of Mânavya which is praised throughout the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hârîtî, and who are nourished by seven mothers who are the mothers of mankind, and who have an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity acquired by the protection of (*the god*) Kârttikêya, and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy (*god*) Nârâyaṇa, —was **Śrî-Pulakêśivallabha**, the water-lilies of whose feet were scratched by the edges of the diadems of many hundreds of kings; who was equal in steadfastness to (*the mountains*) Mêru and Malaya and Mandara; the army of whose excellent elephants and chariots and horses and footsoldiers was always increasing day by day; who acquired his own kingdom, and conquered the three hereditary kingdoms of the Chêras and the Chôlas and the Pâṇḍyas, by means of one horse, as swift as thought, of the breed called Chitrakaṇṭha[11]; who possessed a second name[12] which he had acquired by defeating the glorious Śrî-Harsha, the supreme lord of the region of the north; who meditated on the feet of Śrî-Nâgavardhana; and who was a devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahêśvara.

(L. 14.)—His younger brother was the king **Śrî-Jayasiṁhavarmâ**, the asylum of the earth[13], who conquered all the ranks of his enemies.

(L. 15.)—His son, the king **Śrî-Nâgavardhana**, the asylum of the three worlds[14], issues his commands to all future and present and future[15] kings:—

(L. 17.)—"Be it known to you that, for the sake of (*Our*) parents and in order that We Ourselves may acquire great religious merit and fame, the village of **Balegrâma**, which lies in the district of **Gôparâshṭra**, has been given by us, at the request of Balâmma-Ṭhakkura, with libations of water, and together with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, and not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, and to endure as long as the moon and the sun and the ocean and the earth may last, for the purpose of the (*rite called*) *Guggula-pûjâ*[16] of the temple of (*the god*) Kapâlêśvara[17], and, for their usufruct, to the great ascetics who reside at that (*temple*). Therefore this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future kings, whether of our lineage or others, having borne in mind that life is as transient as an autumn-cloud."

(L. 23.)—And so it has been said by the holy Vyâsa:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

No. LXXVII.

This is another of the Nerûr plates, of which I have spoken at Vol. VII, p. 161. General LeGrand Jacob gave a notice of this grant, but did not publish it in detail. He treated it, in fact, as two separate inscriptions; the first and second plates being given as No. V in his paper, and the third plate as No. VII. It is plain, however, from the measurement of the plates, and from the uniformity of the writing, and from the context of lines 31 and 32 in my transcription, that we have one entire grant, and not parts of two separate grants.

My transcription is from the original plates, which are three in number. The first measures about $8\frac{1}{8}''$ long, the ends of the lines being broken off, by $4''$ broad. The second is entire, and measures $9\frac{7}{16}''$ long by $4\frac{1}{8}''$ broad. The third plate, again, is only a fragment, the last two or three lines being broken off; it measures $9\frac{1}{4}''$ long by $3''$ broad. Measuring from the top and the left side of each plate, the ring-hole occupies exactly the same position in plate III as in plates I and II. The edges of the plates are raised into rims to protect the writings. In addition to the parts broken away, plates I, II *b*, and III are a good deal damaged by rust.

[11] See note 7 above. See also para. 4 of the introductory remarks to No. LXXVII.

[12] The second name, however,—that of *Paramêśvara*, or 'Supreme Lord,'—is omitted.

[13] *Dharâśraya*.

[14] *Tribhuvanâśraya*.

[15] See note 8 above.

[16] *Guggula*, *guggulu*, *guggala*, *guggila*, is bdellium, a fragrant gum or resin, which is burnt and waved before idols in procession. I am told that the rite is confined now to the worship of the god Vîrabhadra.

[17] Śiva. The word in the original is *Kâpâlêśvara*, which must be rendered by 'the temple or establishment of Kapâlêśvara.' In Old-Canarese inscriptions the name of a god is analogously used in the neuter to signify the temple, instead of only the god itself.

Plate II *a* is better preserved; but here, as elsewhere, many passages would have been very doubtful but for the style followed in this grant being so well known. On the outside of plate III there are the remains of six lines of writing,—probably a later addition to, or variation of, the original grant; detached letters are legible enough here and there, but no connected passage can be deciphered. The ring and seal of this grant have been lost. The characters are those of the usual Western Chalukya alphabet,—very similar to those of No. XXIX, at Vol. VI, p. 85, but not quite so well formed, and with the same slope to the right.

It is a Western Chalukya grant of Vijayâditya, dated Śaka 622 (A.D. 700-1), in the fourth year of his reign. It is issued from his victorious camp at the city of Râsênanagara, and it records the grant of the village of Nerûr itself, bounded on each side by the villages of Baḷḷâvaḷḷigrâma and Sahamyapura. The former of these is evidently the modern 'Wullawul' of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, about three miles to the west of Nerûr; but the map does not give any name corresponding to Sahamyapura. I am not able at present to identify Râsênanagara, unless it is Râśin in the Ahmadnagar District, about twenty-two miles W. by N. from Korṭi.

I have translated ll. 10 to 15 in such a way as to make the 'horse of the breed called Chitrakaṇṭha' belong to Vikramâditya I. In this I differ from Mr. Rice, who translates the same passage in the Vokkalêri grant (Vol. VIII, p. 23)) in such a way as to make this horse belong to Satyâśraya or Pulikêśi II. The whole passage from line 8 to line 19, including three generations, is a genitive construction; and it is possible to apply the epithet ending with *vijigîshôḥ*, l. 11, to *sva-gurôḥ*, l. 12, and thus to make the horse belong to Pulikêśi II,—instead of applying it, as I do, to *Vikramâditya. bhaṭṭârakasya*, ll. 14-15. The only direct statements that we have on this point are,—1, ll. 12-13 of No. XXVIII (Vol. VI, p. 76), where the nominative construction is used, and the horse is specifically stated to belong to Vikramâditya I;—2, l. 9 of the spurious grant of Vikramâditya I, No. XLV (Vol. VII, p. 219), which follows the construction and language of the preceding;—3, ll. 11-12 of the spurious grant of Pulikêśi I, No. XLIV (Vol. VII, p. 211), where the horse is allotted, neither to Vikramâditya I., nor to Pulikêśi II, but to Pulikêśi I;—and 4, ll. 10-12 of No. LXXVI above, where the horse, under the mistaken name of Kaṇṭhachitra, is made to belong to Pulikêśi II. This last grant may, or may not, be genuine; but it is at any rate one of no particular authority. And the only authoritative statement that remains is that contained in the first of the four grants that I have just spoken of. Looking now to the wording of the present grant,—if the epithet ending with *vijigîshôḥ* were intended to be construed with *sva-gurôḥ*, then the natural arrangement would have been to place *avanipati-tritay-ântaritâm*, 'which (regal splendour) had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings[18],' *after*, instead of *before*, *sva-gurôḥ*. These words can only have been placed before *sva-gurôḥ* expressly for the sake of emphasis, and to indicate that the epithet ending with *vijigîshôḥ* is not to be construed with *sva-gurôḥ*. I do not know of any extraneous evidence, apart from these inscriptions, bearing on this point; and,—in the absence of such,—on the authority of No. XXVIII, and on the arrangement of the words in the present grant, we cannot but allot the horse to Vikramâditya I.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti [||*] Jayaty=âvishkritaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârahaṁ kshô[bhit-â]rṇṇavaṁ dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrâ[nta-bhuvanaṁ va]-

[2] puḥ [||*] Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagô[trâṇâṁ] Hâritî-putrâ[ṇâṁ sapta-lô]-

[3] ka-mâtribhis=sapta-mâtribhir=abhivarddhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parira[kshaṇa]-prâpta-kalyâ[ṇa-paraṁparâ]-

[4] ṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdi[ta-varâ]ha-lâñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-va[śîkrit-âśêsha]-

[18] Mr. Rice has altogether missed the meaning of these words, which he renders by 'together with that (wealth) inherited for three generations.'

[5] mahîbhritâṁ Chalikyânâṁ kulam=alaṅka[ri]shṇôr=aśvamêdh-âvabhritha-[snâna-pavitrîkrita]-

[6] gâtrasya Śrî-Pula[kê]śi[va]llabha-mahârâ[jasya sû]nuḥ parâkra[m-âkrânta-Vanavâsy-â]-

[7] di-para-nripati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kîrttiḥ [Śrî-Kî]rttivarmma-[prithivîvallabha-mahârâja]-

[8] s=tasy=âtmajas=samara(âtmajasya samara)-saṁsakta-sakal-ôttarâpath-ê[śva]ra-Śrî-Harshavarddhana-parâjay-ôpâ]-

[9] tta-paramêśvara-śabdasya[19] Satyâśraya-śrî prithivî[va]lla[bha]-ma[hârâj-âdhirâja-paramê]-

[10] śvarasya priya-tanayasya prajñâta-nayasya [kha]ḍ[g]a-mâ[tra-sahâyasya Chitraka]-

Second plate ; first side.

[11] ṇṭh-âbhidhâna-pravara-turaṅgamêṇ=aikên=aiv=ôtsârit[20]-âśêsha-vijigîshôr=avanipati-tri-

[12] tay-ântaritâṁ sva-gurôḥ śriyam=âtmasât-kritya prabhâva-kuliśa-dalita-Pâṇḍya-Chôḷa-

[13] Kêraḷa-Kaḷabhra[21]-prabhriti-[bhû]bhrid-adabhra[22]-vibhramasy=ân-any-âvanata - Kâñchîpati-maku-

[14] ṭa-chumbita-pâd-âmbujasya Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-prithivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhi-

[15] râja-paramêśvara-[bhaṭṭâ]rakasya priya-sûnôḥ pitur=âjñayâ Balênduśêkhara[sya]

[16] Târakâratir=iva daitya-balam=ati-samuddhataṁ trairâjya-Kâñchîpati-balam avashṭabhya ka-

[17] ka[23]radîkrita-Kamêra[24]-Pârasîka-Siṁhaḷ-âdi-dvi(dvî)p-âdhipasya sakal-ôttarâpatha-nâtha-mathan-ô-

[18] pârjjit-ôrjjita-pâḷidhvaj-âdi-samasta-pâramaiśvaryya-chihnasya Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-

[19] prithivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priy-âtmajaś=śaiśa[va êv=â]-

[20] dhi[gat-â]śêsh-âstra-[śâ]strô dakshiṇ-âśâ-[vijayi]ni pitâmahê samunmû[lita-ni]khi-

Second plate ; second side.

[21] la-kaṇṭaka-saṁhatir=uttarâpatha-vijigîshôr=ggurô[r=agrata ê]v=âhava-vyâpâram=â-

[22] charann=arâti-gaja-ghaṭ-âpâṭana-visîryyamâṇa-kripâṇa-dhâras=samagra-vigrah-âgrê-

[23] saras=sat-sâhasa-rasikaḥ parâṁ(râ)mu(ṅmu)khîkrita-śatru-maṇḍalô Gaṅgâ-Yamuna(nâ)-pâḷidhvaja-pa-

[24] ḍa(?ḍa)-ḍa(ḍha)kkâ-mahâśabda-chihna-mâṇikya-mataṅgaj-âdîn=pitrisât-kurvvan=paraiḥ=palâyamânai-

[25] r=âsâdya katham=api vidhi-[va]śâd apanîtô=pi pratâpâd=êva vishaya-prakôpam=a-râjakam=u-

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[19] The reading here, which is followed also in l. 9 of No. LXXVIII, and in l. 12 of No. LXXIX, is better than the reading in l. 10 of the Vokkaleri grant at Vol. VIII, p. 23.

[20] This is the reading also in No. LXXVIII, l. 10-11, and in No. LXXIX, l. 15. The Vokkalêri grant, l. 12-13, reads *aiv=ôtsâdit-âśêsha*; but, though the rest of the passage is different, *utsârita* is the word used in l. 11-12 of the spurious grant of Pulikêśi I. (No. XLIV, Vol. VII, p. 211). In l. 12-13 of No. XXVIII (Vol. VI, p. 76), the reading is *aivôtpratit-ânêka-samara-mukhê...hu*. In l. 9-10 of the spurious grant of Vikramâditya I. (No. XLV, Vol. VII, p. 219), the reading is *aivôtpratît-ânêka-samara-mukhê*. In No. XXXIX (Vol. VII, p. 111), Second Part, l. 34, and Fourth Part l. 74-5, the tracing reads *aivôtpratît-ânêka-saṁ (?) śri (?) ... (?)-trairâjya-Kâñchîpati-balam=avashṭabhya karadîkrita*, &c. as in l. 17 of the present grant, omitting the intervening matter; the *MS. Collection* copy omits the passage altogether.

[21] There are several marks over the *ḷa*, one of which may be an *Anusvâra*, or all of which may be caused by rust; but I do not think that there is any *Anusvâra*. Nos. LXXVIII and LXXIX do not throw any light on this point, as, in the former, l. 12, the whole word is omitted, and in the latter, l. 17, the first two syllables, *kaḷa*, are omitted. In l. 14 of the Vokkalêri grant, the lithograph does not show any *Anusvâra*. In No. XXXVIII, l. 66 (Vol. VII, p. 66), the tracing reads very distinctly *dalita-Pâṇḍya-Chôḷa-Kêraḷa-Kadamba-prabhriti*, but it is just possible that *Kadamba* is a mistake for *Kaḷabhra* or *Kaḷaṁbhra* on the part of the man who made the tracing; this passage in No. XXXVIII is omitted in the *MS. Collection* copy, and it does not occur at all in No. XXXIX. In No. XXIX, l. 16-17 (Vol. VI., p. 86), and No. XXX, l. 16-17 (*id.*, p. 89), and No. XLVIII, l. 15-16 (Vol. VII, p. 301), and in *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, No. 16, l. 11-12, the text is different, and only the Chôḷas, Pâṇḍyas, and Kêraḷas are mentioned. In l. 21 of No. XLVIII, where the word occurs in a different context, the lithograph does not show any *Anusvâra*, and though Col. Dixon's photograph does show a mark which appears to be meant for *Anusvâra*, yet its position is more over the *bhra* than the *ḷa*. Having regard to the fact that the early inscriptions generally follow the correct practice of using, in the middle of a word, the nasal of the class of the following consonant, in preference to the *Anusvâra*, the probability is that *Kaḷabhra* is the real word.

[22] In No. XXXVIII, l. 66, I have read, and translated *udagra*. This should be corrected, as the tracing, on reexamination, clearly shows *adabhra*.

[23] This repetition of the syllable *ka* is a mistake.

[24] The reading is quite certain here, and in No. LXXVIII, l. 16. It is equally certain in l. 19 of the Vokkalêri grant, and is there *Kavêra*. In No. XXXIX, Second Part, l. 34-35, and Fourth Part, l. 75, the tracing very distinctly shows *karadîkrita-Kêraḷa-Pârasi(sî)ka-Siṁhaḷ-âdi*; but curiously enough, in the Second Part the *MS. Collection* copy reads *Kamvêri*, instead of *Kêraḷa*. The river Kâvêrî undoubtedly takes its name from Kavêra, as the name of a country or of a people. It is probable therefore that the *Kavêra* of the Vokkalêri grant is more correct than the *Kamêra* of this grant and of No. LXXVIII.

[26] tsârayan=Vatsarâja i[v=ân-apê]kshit-âpara-sâhâyakas=tad-avagrahân=nirggatya sva-bhuj-âvashṭa-

[27] mbha-prasâdhi(di)t-âśêsha-viśvambharaḥ prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvâch=chhatru-mada-bhañjanatvâd=udâra-

[28] tvân=niravadyatvâd=yas=samasta-bhuvan-âśrayas=sakala-pâramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hêtu-pâli(ḷi)-dhvaj-âdy-ujva(jjva)-

[29] la-prâjya-râjyô Vija[yâditya-Sa]tyâśraya-śrî-prithivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bha-

[30] ṭṭârakas=sarvvân=êva[m=âjñâpaya]ti [|*] Viditam=astu vô=smâbhir=dvâ-viṁśaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshê-

[31] shv=atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê chaturtthê varta(rtta)mânê Râsêna[25]-nagara-

Third plate; first side.

[32] m=adhivasati vijaya-skandhâvârê Âshâḍa(ḍha)-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Nandô[26] . . . ya-vijñâpanayâ Va(?)tsa(?)-

[33] sagôtra(trâ)sya(ya) Rêvasvâmi-dîkshita-pautrâya Jannasvâminaḥ putrâya Dâsasvâminê Iridi(?ḍi)ge(?pe)-

[34] vishayê Viḷi(?bi)ge(?bbe)-nadî-taṭa-sthaḥ Baḷḷâvaḷḷigrâma-Sahamyapura-grâmayôr=mmadhya-sthaḥ Nerâ-

[35] r-nnâmâ grâmas=sa-bhôgas=sarvva-bâdha(dhâ)-parihârô dattaḥ [||*] Tad=âgâmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=cha râja-

[36] bhir=âyur-aiśvaryy-âdînâṁ vilasitam=achirâṁśu-chaṁchalam=avagachchhadbhir=â-chandr-ârka(rkka)-dhar-ârṇṇava-sthiti-

[37] samakâlaṁ yaśaś-chichîshubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśêshaṁ paripâlanîyam=uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâ-

[38] sêna Vyâsêna [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râja[bh]is=Sagar-âdi[bhiḥ yasya] yasya yadâ bhûmis=ta-

[39] [sya tasya ta]dâ phalaṁ [||*] Svan=dâtuṁ su-maha[ch-chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâ]la[naṁ] v=êti dâ[nâ][27]-

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (*the god*) Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The son of the Great King Śrî-Pulakêśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalikyas, who are glorious; who are of the kindred of Mânavya, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hâritî; who have been nourished by seven mothers, who are the mothers of mankind; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of (*the god*) Kârttikêya; and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy (*god*) Nârâyaṇa,—was Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, the favourite of the world, the Great King, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavâsî and other (*cities*), that had been invaded by his prowess.

(L. 8.)—His son was Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' by defeating Śrî-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 10.)—His dear son was Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was

[25] Gen. Jacob's Paṇḍit reads *Râsava*. But the second syllable is certainly *se*, with the vowel long or short; and though the third syllable might be *va* with the lower part corroded away, I consider it to be *na*.

[26] One consonant and vowel are quite uncertain here. There seems to be visible the letter *r* subjoined to them.

[27] This letter, *nâ*, is broken away at the end of the line; and the rest of the plate, containing two or three lines more, has been broken off and lost.

conversant with the art of government; whose only aid was his sword; who was desirous of conquering all people, whom he drove before him by means of only one horse of the breed called Chitrakaṇṭha[28]; who, having acquired for himself the regal splendour of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings, subdued (*like Indra*), with the thunderbolt which was his prowess, the mighty tumult of the mountains which were the Pâṇḍya and the Chôḷa and the Kêraḷa and the Kaḷabhra[29] and other kings; and who had the waterlilies which were his feet kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kâñchî, who had bowed down before no other.

(L. 15.)—His dear son was **Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya**, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kâñchî whose kingdom consisted of three (*component*) dominions, just as Târakârati[30] (*at the command*) of (*his father*) Bâlênduśêkhara[31] did arrest the power of the demons, caused the rulers of Kamêra[32] and Pârasika and Siṁhaḷa and other islands to pay tribute to him; and who was possessed of the *pâḷidhvaja*[33] and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the region of the north.

(L. 19.)—His dear son, **Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya**, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; who, his grandfather having been victorious in the region of the south, uprooted the thicket of the thornbushes which was the assemblage of his foes (*in that direction*); who, following the avocation of war even in front of his father who was desirous of conquering the region of the north, had the edge of his sword worn away by splitting open the foreheads of the elephants of his foes; who was in the foremost rank in all battles; who was flavoured with the quality of excellent impetuosity; who drove back the bands of his enemies; who,—while acquiring for his father the tokens[34] of the (*river*) Gaṅgâ and the (*river*) Yamunâ and the *pâḷidhvaja*, and the insignia of the *ḍhakkâ*-drum and the *mahâśabda*, and rubies and elephants, &c.,—having been attacked by his enemies, (*who turned upon him*) while they were fleeing, and having been somehow or other, through the force of destiny, led away (*into great danger*),—by his prowess quelled the anarchical disturbance in his country, and, resembling Vatsarâja in not depending on any other for assistance, came safely through his obstacles and tranquillised the whole world by the support of his own arm; who, being then the lord, became the asylum of the whole world[35] by reason of possessing in all their integrity the three constituents of power, and by reason of having broken the pride of his enemies, and by reason of his high-mindedness, and by reason of his blamelessness; and who possesses the *pâḷidhvaja*, which indicates entire supreme dominion, and the other brilliant (*insignia of*) mighty sovereignty,—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 30.)—"Be it known to you! Six hundred and twenty-two of the Śaka years having expired, and the fourth year of (*Our*) increasing and victorious reign being current, and (*Our*) victorious camp being located at the city of **Râsênanagara**[36],—on the day of the full-moon of the month Âshâḍha, the village named **Nerûr**, situated between the villages of Baḷḷâvaḷḷi and Sahanyapura on the bank of the river (?) Viḷige in the (?) Iridige district, has been given by Us, at the request of Nandô...... ya, with the enjoyment of it and with the relinquishment of all opposing claims, to Dêvasvâmî of the (?) Vatsa *gôtra*, the son's son of Rêvasvâmidîkshita and the son of Jannasvâmî. This (*grant*) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to our lineage or to other families,

[28] See para. 4 of the introductory remarks to this grant.

[29] See note 21 above. No. XLVIII, compared with No. 16 of *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese, Inscriptions*, shows that Vinayâditya's campaign against the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras, &c., took place in Śaka 615-6.

[30] Kârttikêya.

[31] Śiva.

[32] See note 24 above.

[33] I have suggested two possible explanations of *pâḷidhvaja* or *pâḷi-kêtana*, at Vol. VII., pp. 111 and 245, but the meaning is still doubtful. The explanation suggested by Mr. Rice in his introductory remarks to the Vokkalêri grant will certainly not hold water.

[34] *Pada*.

[35] *Samastabhuvanâśraya*. This is, I think, the earliest instance of the use of this title, which became, under the Western Chalukyas, one of the perpetual titles of the family.

[36] See note 25 above.

as long as the moon and the sun and the earth and the ocean last, just as if it were a grant made by themselves, bearing in mind that the charms of life and riches, &c., are as evanescent as the lightning."

(L. 37.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas* :—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! It is a very easy thing to give one's own property, but the preservation of (*the grant of*) another is difficult; (*if the question is*) whether giving or preserving (*is the more meritorious act*),—preservation is better than giving![37]

No. LXXVIII.

This is another of the Nerûr plates, transcribed and translated in full by General Le-Grand Jacob as No. II. in his paper.

My transcription is from the original plates. They are three in number, about 9¼" long by 4⅝" broad; the edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The third plate is eaten through by rust in a few places. The other two plates have not suffered in this way. But the whole inscription was evidently very much injured by whatever process was adopted to clean it for General Jacob's Paṇḍit: for the hand-copy attached to his paper, rough as it is, shews that at that time the whole inscription was very legible indeed; whereas now, though it is sufficiently legible to any one who knows the text from other similar grants, to any one else it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to decipher the greater part of it. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant came into my hands, is about $\frac{5}{16}$" thick and 4¼" in diameter. The seal is circular, about 1¼" in diameter, and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a standing boar, facing to the proper right; a facsimile of it is given on the same plate with the Western Chalukya grant of Nâgavardhana. The characters are of the same type as those of the preceding grant.

It is another Western Chalukya grant of Vijayâditya, and is dated Śaka 627 (A.D. 705-6), in tenth year of his reign. It records the grant of the village of Hikuḷamba or Hikuḷambha. I cannot find any name approaching this on the map; but the inscription tells us that it was in the same *vishaya* or district with Nerûr itself, the name of which seems to have been Iridige, and which, as it is called a *mahâsaptama*, appears to have been one of the districts constituting the Seven Koṅkaṇas.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti [||*] Jayaty=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôḥ vârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇa(rṇṇa)vaṁ dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bhuvanaṁ

[2] vapuḥ [||*] Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritî-putrâṇâṁ sapta-

[3] lôkamâtṛibhis=sapta-mâtṛibhir=abhivarddhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-pa-

[4] raṁparâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lâñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśî-

[5] kṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitaṁ Chalikyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarshṇô(rishṇô)r=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-gâ-

[6] trasya Śrî-Pulakêśivallabha-mahârâjasya sûnuḥ parâkram-âkrânta-Vanavâsy-âdi-pa-

[7] ra-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kîrttiḥ Śrî-Kîrttivarmma-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjas=ta-

[8] sy=âtmajas=samara(âtmajasya samara)-saṁsakta-sakal-ôttarâpath-êśvara-Śrî-Harshavard-dhana-parâjay-ôpâtta-pa-

[9] ramêśvara-śabdasya Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvarasya [priya-tanayasya*]

[10] prajñâta-nayasya khaḍga-mâtra-sahâyasya Chitrakaṇṭh-âbhidhâna-pravara-turaṁgamêṇ=aikêṇ=aiv=ô-

[11] [tsâ]rit-âśêsha-vijigîshôr=avanipati-tritay-ântaritâṁ sva-gurô[ḥ*] śriyam=âtmasâ[t-kṛi]-

[37] The rest of the grant, including the certificate of the minister in whose office it was written, has been broken off and lost.

Second plate; first side.

[12] tya prabhâva-kuliśa-dalita-Pâṇḍya-Chôḷa-Kêraḷa-prabhṛiti[38]-bhûbhṛid-adabhra-vibhramasy=ân-any-âva-

[13] nata-Kâñchîpati-makuṭa-chumbita-pâd-âmbujasya Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivîva-

[14] llabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priya-sûnôḥ pitur=â[jñ]ayâ Bâlê[ndu-

[15] śêkharasya Târakârâtir=iva daitya-[ba]la[m=ati-sa]muddhataṁ trairâjya-Kâñchîpati-balam=ava-

[16] shṭabhya karadîkṛita-Kamêra[39]-Pârasika-Siṁhaḷ-âdi-dvîp-âdhipasya sakal-ôttarâpatha-nâ-

[17] tha-mathan-ôparjjit-ôrjjita-pâḷidhvaj-âdi-samasta-pâramaiśvaryya-chihnasya Vinayâdi-

[18] tya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priy-âtmajaś=śai-

[19] śava êv=âdhigat-âśêsh-âstra-śâstrô dakshiṇ-âśâ-vijayini pitâmahô samunmûlita-nikhi-

[20] la-kaṇṭaka-saṁhatir=uttarâpatha-vijigîshôr=gu(ggu)rôr=agrata êv=âhava-vyâpâram=âcharann=a-

[21] râti-gaja-ghaṭ-âpâṭana-viśîryyamâṇa-kṛipâṇa-dhâras=samagra-vigrah-âgrêsaras=sa-

[22] t-sâhasa-rasikaḥ parâṁmukhîkṛita-śatru-maṇḍalô Gaṅgâ-Yamunâ-pâḷidhvaja-pada(?ḍa)-ḍa(ḍha)-

Second plate; second side.

[23] kkâ-mâṇikya[40]-mataṁgaj-âdîn=pitṛisât-kurvvan=paraiḥ palâyamânair=âsâdya kathamapi vi-

[24] dhi-vaśâd=apanîtô pi pratâpâd=êva vishaya-prakôpam=a-râjakam=utsârayan=Vatsarâja

[25] iv=ân-apêkshit-âpara-sâhâyakas=tad=aiv=âvagrahân[41]=nirggatya sva-bhuj-âvashṭambha-prasa(sâ)dhi(di)-

[26] t-âśêsha-viśvambharaḥ prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvâch=chhatru-mada-bhañjanatvâd=udâratvân=nirava-

[27] dyatvâd=yaḥ samasta-bhuvan-âśrayas=sakala-pâramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hêtu-pâḷidhvaj-âdy-u-

[28] jva(jjva)la-prâjya-râjyô Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-

[29] paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakas=sarvvân=êvam=âjñâpayati [|*] Viditam=astu vô=smâbhi[ḥ*] sapta-viṁśaty-uttara-sha-

[30] ṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê daśamê varttamânê

[31] [śrî]mad-Upêndra-vijñâpanayâ mahâ-saptamê Iridi(?ḍi)ge(?pe)-vishayê Kumâra(?)[42] ...... pu(?)ra-grâma-

[32] yôr=madhyê Hikuḷambu(?mbha)-nâma grâma(mô) vêda-vêdâṅga-pâragêbhya ashṭa-brâhmaṇêbhyô [da]ttaḥ [|*]

[33] Êtêshân=nâma-gôtrâṇy=uchchya(chya)ntê [|*] Bhâradvâja-sagôtra-Dêvasvâmi Kauśika-sagô-

Third plate.

[34] tra-Karkkasvâmi Bhâradvâja-sagôtra-Yajñasvâmi Kauṇḍinya-sagôtra-Nâgammasvâmi Maudgalya-

[35] sagôtra-Dêvasvâmi Âtrêya-sagôtra-Ga(?)rgga(?)svâmi[43] [Kâśyapa]-[44]sagôtra-Rudrasvâmi Vatsa-sasa-[45]

[36] gôtra-Dâsavarmmaṇê dattaḥ [||*] [Ta]d=âgâmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=cha râjabhir=âyur=ai[śva*[46]]ryy-âdînâṁ

[37] [vi]lasi(si)taṁ=achirâṁśu-[chaṁcha]lam=avagachchhadbhir=â-[cha]ndr-ârka(rkka)-dhar-ârṇa(ṇṇa)va-sthiti-samakâlaṁ

[38] yaśaś=chichîshubhi[ḥ*] sva-datti nirvviśêsha[m paripâlanîya*]m=uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [|*] Bahubhi-

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[38] In No. LXXVIII, l. 13, the reading is *Kêraḷa-Kaḷabhra-prabhṛiti*. The Kaḷabhras are omitted here.

[39] See note 24 above.

[40] In No. LXXVIII, l. 24, and No. LXXIX, l. 30-1, the reading is *ḍa(ḍha)kkâ-mahâśabda-chihna-mâṇikya*.

[41] In No. LXXVIII, l. 26, and No. LXXIX, l. 34, the reading is *tad-avagrahân*, sc. *tasmâd=avagrahâd*, instead of *tadâ êva avagrahâd*.

[42] Three letters are altogether uncertain here. They were not read by Gen. Jacob's Pandit also.

[43] *Gaggasvâmi* is the reading of Gen. Jacob's Paṇḍit; but the letters are now very doubtful.

[44] This is the reading of Gen. Jacob's Paṇḍit; but these three letters are now quite illegible.

[45] This repetition of the letter, *sa*, is a mistake.

[46] The hand-copy by Gen. Jacob's Paṇḍit shows part of this letter, *śva*, in dotted lines; but it is really omitted altogether.

[39] r=v[v]asudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhir=ya(yya)sya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
[40] tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Svan=dâtuṁ su-mahach-chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ v=êti dânâ-
[41] ch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi
[42] vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ [||*] Mahâ-sândhi-vigrahika-Nira[va*]dyapuṇyavallabhêna likhitam=i-
[43] daṁ śâsanaṁ ||*

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (*the god*) Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The son of the great king Śrî-Pulakêśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalikyas, who are glorious; (&c., as in No. LXXVII),—was Śrî-Kîrtivarmâ, the favourite of the world, the Great King, (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 7.)—His son was Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 9.)—[*His dear son*] was Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was conversant with the art of government; &c., as in No. LXXVII.[47]

(L. 14.)—His dear son was Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. LXXVII.)

(L. 18.)—His dear son, Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; (&c., as in No. LXXVII[48]),—thus issues his commands to all people:—

(L. 29.)—"Be it known to you! Six hundred and twenty-seven of the Śaka years having expired, and the tenth year of (*Our*) increasing and victorious reign being current,—the village named (?) Hikuḷamba, between the villages of Kumâra . . . . and . . . . pura, in the *mahâsaptama*[49] district of (?) Iridige, has been given by us, at the request of the glorious Upêndra, to eight Brâhmaṇs who are thoroughly acquainted with the *Vêdas* and the *Vêdâṅgas*. Their names and *gôtras* are declared:—It has been given to Dêvasvâmî of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and Karkasvâmî of the Kauśika *gôtra*, and Yajñasvâmî of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and Nâgammasvâmî of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*, and Dêvâsvâmî of the Maudgalya *gôtra*, and (?) Gargaśvâmî of the Âtrêya *gôtra*, and Rudrasvâmî of the (?) Kâśyapa *gôtra*, and Dâsavarmâ of the Vatsa *gôtra*. This (*grant*) [*should be preserved*] by future kings, (&c., as in No. LXXVII)."

(L. 38.)—And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; (&c.)! It is a very easy thing to give one's own property, (&c.)! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself, or by another!

(L. 42.)—This charter has been written by Niravadyapuṇyavallabha, the high minister entrusted with the arrangement of peace and war.

No. LXXIX.

This is the last of the Nerûr plates, noticed by General LeGrand Jacob as No. IV in his paper, but not published in detail by him.

My transcription is from the original plates. They are three in number, about 7½″ long by 4¾″ broad; but a good deal of the first plate, including the whole of the first line, has been broken off and lost. The edges are slightly raised into rims to protect the writing; the inscription, however, is here and there so much worn away as to be very difficult to read. The ring, which had not been cut when the grant

[47] But omitting any mention of the Kaḷabhras.
[48] But omitting the words *mahâśabda-chihna*.
[49] *lit.*, 'the great seventh.'

came into my hands, is about ¼" thick and 3¾" in diameter. The seal is slightly oval, about 1" by ¾", and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper right; a facsimile of it is given on the same plate with the Western Chalukya grant of Nâgavardhana. The characters are of the same type as those of No. XXVIII, at Vol. VI, p. 75. The orthography is very bad; so much so that, coupling this with the peculiarity of style in ll. 38 to 44 and with the omissions in the following lines, I am somewhat inclined to doubt whether this is altogether a genuine grant.

It is an undated Western Chalukya grant, of the time of Vijayâditya, and records the grant of the village of Maḷavûr by his son Vikramâditya II. This village must probably be looked for somewhere in the Koṅkaṇ; but I cannot find any name suggestive of it in the Map.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] [Svasti || Jayaty=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇṇavaṁ dakshiṇ-ônnata]-
[2] [daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bh]uvanaṁ vapu[ḥ] [||*] Śr[îmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstû]-
[3] [yamâna-Mânavya]-sagôtra(trâ)ṇa(ṇâṁ) Ha(hâ)riti(tî)-putra(trâ)ṇâṁ sapta-[lôkamâ]-
[4] [tṛibhis=sap]t[a-mâtṛi]bhir=abhivaddhi(rddhi)ta(tâ)nâ[ṁ*] Kâtti(rtti)kêya-parira-
ksh[aṇa-prâpta]-
[5] kalya(lyâ)ṇa-para[ṁ*]para(râ)ṇa(ṇâṁ) bhagavan-Na(nâ)ra(râ)yaṇa-prasa(sâ)da-
sam[âsâdita]-
[6] vara(râ)ha-la(lâ)ñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśi(śî)kṛit-a(â)śêsha-mahi(hî)[bhṛi]-
[7] tâṁ Chalukyâna(nâṁ) kulam=ala[ṁ*]karishṇôr=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-sna(snâ)na-
[8] pavitri(trî)kṛita-gâtrasya Śrî-Pole[50]kêśivallabha-mahâra(râ))ja[sya*] sûnû(nuḥ) para(râ)-
[9] kram-a(â)kra(krâ)nta-Vanava(vâ)sy-âdi-para-nra(nṛi)pati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśud[dh]a-
kî-
[10] [rttiḥ Śrî-K]îrt[t]ivarmma-pri(pṛi)thivivallabha-mahâra(râ)jas=tasy=âtma[jasya samara]-
[11] [saṁsakta-sa]kal-ôttara(râ)path-êśvara-Śrî-Hâ(ha)rshavarddhana-pa[râjay-ôpâ]-
[12] [tta-pa]ramêśvara-śabdasya Satya(tyâ)ś[r]aya-ś[r]î-[pṛithivi]-

Second plate; first side.

[13] [va]llabha-mahârâ[j-âdhirâ]ja-paramêśvarasya priya-tanayasya pra[jñâta]-
[14] nayasya [khaḍga-mâ]tra-sa[hâ]yasya Chitrakaṇṭh-âbhidhâna-pravara-tu[raṁga]-
[15] [mêṇ=aikô]n=aiv=ôtsa(tsâ)rit-âśêsha-vijigîshôr=avanipati-tritay-a(â)ntari[tâṁ sva-gu]-
[16] [rôḥ] śri[ya]m=âtmasa(sâ)t-kri(kṛi)tya prabha(bhâ)va-kulô(li)śa-dalô(li)ta-Pa(pâ)ṇḍya-
Chôḷa-Kêra-
[17] la-[Kaḷa*]bhra[51]-prabhṛiti-bhûbhṛid-adâ(da)bhra-vibhramasy=a(â)n-any-a(â)vanata-
Ka(kâ)ñchî-pati-ma-
[18] kuṭa-chumbita-pâd-âmbujasya Vikramâditya-Satya(tyâ)śraya-śrî-pṛi-
[19] thivivallabha-mahâra(râ)j-âdhira(râ)ja-parama(mê)śvara-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭâ)rakasya
[20] priya-sû[nôḥ] pitur=a(â)jñaya(yâ) Ba(bâ)lô(lê)nduśêkharasya Ta(tâ)raka(â)râtir=iva [dai]-
[21] [tya-balam=ati-samu]d[dh]ataṁ trê(trai)ra(râ)jya-Ka(kâ)ñchîpati-balam=avashṭabhya ka-
[22] radîkṛita-Kamêra-Pârasîka-Siṁ]haḷ-âdi-dvi(dvî)p-a(â)dhipasya sakal-ôttara(râ)pa[tha]-
[23] [nâtha-mathan-ôpârjjit-ôrjjita-pâḷidhvaj-âdi]-samasta-pa(pâ)[ramaiśvaryya]-
[24] [chihnasya Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivivallabha-ma]hâra(râ)j-a(â)[dhirâja]-

Second plate; second side.

[25] paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priy-âtmajaś=śaiśava ô[v=âdhigat-âśêsh-â]-
[26] stra śâstrô dakshiṇ-âśâ-vijayini pitâmahô samunmûlita-nikh[ila-ka]-
[27] ṇṭaka-saṁhat[i]r=uttarâpatha-vi[ji][gî*]shôr=gu(ggu)rôr=agrata êv=âhava-vyâ[param=â]-
[28] cha[r]ann=ara(râ)ti-gaja-[ghaṭ-âpâṭa]na-viśîryyama(mâ)ṇa-kra(kṛi)pâṇa-dha(dhâ)ra[s=sama]-

[50] The form of *le* here is the same form that is used in the same word in l. 8 of No. LII (Vol. VIII, p. 44), and in *kavileyan*, for *kavileyumân*, in l. 5 of No. LVII (*id.*, p. 285), and in *kavileyum* in l. 6 of No. LVIII (*id.*, p. 286). See the remarks at Vol. VIII, p. 237, para. 6.

[51] See note 21 above.

[29] graha[52]-vigrah-a(â)[grô*]saras=sat-sa(sâ)ha[sa-ra]sikaḥ pa[râṁm]ukhîkṛita-śatru-maṇḍa[lô]
[30] Gaṁgâ-Yamuṇâ-pâḷidhvaja-pada(?ḍa)-ḍa(ḍha)kkâ-mahâśabda-chihna-[mâ]-
[31] ṇikya-mataṁgaj-â[dîn=pitṛisâ]t-kurvvan=paraiḥ=paḷa(lâ)yama(mâ)n[air=â]-
[32] sa(sâ)dya kathamapi vidhi-va[śâ]d=apa[nîtô]=pi prata(tâ)pa(pâ)d=êva vishaya-[pra]-
[33] kôpam=a-ra(râ)jakam=utsa(tsâ)rayan=Vatsara(râ)ja iv=a(â)n-apêkshit-a(â)para-sa(sâ)[hâ]-
[34] [ya]kas=ta[d-ava]grahân=nirggatya sva-bhuj-a(â)vashṭaṁbha-ḥpra(pra)sa(sâ)dhi(di)t-âśê[sha-vi]śvambhara[ḥ]
[35] [pra]bhur=aka(kha)ṇḍita-śakti-trayatva(tvâ)ch=chhatru-mada-bhaṁjanatva(tvâ)d=uda(dâ)-ratva(tvâ)n=niravadya[tvâd=yaḥ]
[36] samasta-bhuvan-a(â)śraya-śrî[53]-s=sakala-pa(pâ)ramê(mai)śvaryya-vyakti-hêtu-pa(pâ)ḷidva-(dhva)j-[âdy-ujjva]-
[37] la-pra(prâ)jya-ra(râ)jyô Vijayâditya-Satya(tyâ)śraya-śrî-pri(pṛi)thivivalla-

Third plate.

[38] [bha]-maha(hâ)ra(râ)j-âdhira(râ)ja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭâ)rakas=sarvvân=êvam=âjña(jñâ)-payati [|*]
[39] [Vi]ditam=astu vô=sma(smâ)bhaḥ(bhiḥ) su(sû)nu[ḥ*] Vikra[mâ]ditya-Satya(tyâ)śra[ya*]-śrî-pri(pṛi)thị-
[40] vivallabha-maha(hâ)ra(râ)j-a(â)dhira(râ)ja-paramêśvara[ḥ*] sarvva(rvvâ)[n=êvam=â*]jña-(jñâ)payati [|*]
[41] Śâkânti datta Maḷavu(vû)ra-nâ[ma-grâmaḥ*] sa-bhôgaṁ(ḥ) sarvva-ba(bâ)dha-pari[hârô] da[ttaḥ]
[42] Kâvu(*sc.* kau)ṇḍinya-sagôtra(trâ)ya Bammaṇḍasa(svâ)mina[ḥ*] putra(*sc.* putrâya)

[43] dîkshita-Sarvva-Âditya(tyâ)[ya*] bha(cha)tu(tur)-vidya-sama[55].
[44] ṇiya [||*] [Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ*] ra(râ)jabhiḥ [Sagar-âdibhiḥ*] yasya yasya ta(ya)da(dâ) bu(bhû)mi[ḥ*] tas[y]a [tasya*] [tadâ pha]-
[45] laṁ [||*] Satta(*sc.* sva-dattâṁ) para-datta(ttâ)[ṁ*] vâ yô harê[ta*] va[su*]ndharâṁ [shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ*] jâya- [56]. . . . .
[46] ma(tê) krimi[ḥ*] [||*]

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of (*the god*) Vishṇu,—which troubled the ocean, and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

(L. 2.)—The son of the Great King Śrî-Polekêśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious; (&c. as in No. LXXVII),—was Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, the favourite of the world, the Great King, (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 10.)—His son was Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who had acquired the title of 'Supreme Lord' (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 13.)—His dear son was Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who was conversant with the art of government; (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 20.)—His dear son was Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. LXXVII).

(L. 25.)—His dear son, Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who even in his childhood acquired a knowledge of all the writings on the use of weapons; (&c., as in No. LXXVII) —thus issues his commands to all people :—

(L. 39.)—" Be it known to you! By Us, (*Our*)

[52] This syllable, *ha*, is superfluous.

[53] This syllable, *śrî*, is superfluous.

[54] Four or five letters are quite uncertain here.

[55] Three or four letters are quite uncertain here.

[56] Two or three letters seem to have been engraved here but they are quite illegible. If engraved, they were superfluous.

son Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, thus issues his commands to all people:—The village named Maḷavûra has been given . . . .[57], with the enjoyment of it and with the relinquishment of all opposing claims, to Sarvâdityadîkshita, of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*, who is . . . . the four *Vêdas*, and who is the son of Bammaṇḍasvâmî[58], ..."

(L. 44.)—[*Land has been enjoyed*] by [*many*] kings, [*commencing with Sagara*]; (&c.)! He is born as a worm [*in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years*], (&c.)!

BUDDHIST SYMBOLS, &c.

BY E. THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

(*Continued from p. 66.*)

I have lately availed myself of the opportunity of studying the collection of the Amarâvati Marbles, at present in the India Museum at South Kensington, with a view to determine the nature and bearing of the more popular symbols and devices appearing on these sculptures, so closely associated with the old homes of the Ândhras—in the hope of illustrating and explaining the parallel emblems on the series of coins, pertaining to proximate localities, recently under consideration.

My first impression, derived from a very cursory examination of these sculptures, led me to conclude, that whatever extraneous elements might have been introduced from time to time, that the Tope itself had been primarily devoted to the cause of solar worship. The dominant circular pattern indeed was obviously suggestive of such a purpose.

It need not be reiterated that the sun constituted one of the earliest objects of worship among primitive nations, as in the ordinary course it would present itself to the untutored mind, as *the* "natural selection." How many races of men intuitively adored the sun, or how many classes of the priesthood have taken "the light of the world" as the basis of their religion, it would be hard to say.

As the Greeks and Romans created many personifications of the sun-god, so the Indian Âryans recognised its leading representative deities by the various names of Sûrya, Savitṛi, Aditya and Vishṇu, besides assigning many of the attributes of the god of light in reduced gradations to several of the minor members of the Indian Olympus.

In India at large the prevalence, if not universality, in primeval times, of the worship of the sun is attested by the survival of generic names, the concurrent testimony of home tradition and inscriptions, the evidence of travellers, and the more material endorsement of sculpture.

We can roughly complete a goodly circle of geographical proof from the earliest Sauras of Saurâshṭra, by way of the Temple of the Sun at Multân, to Gayâ and Orissa on the east coast, and back again to the written testimony of the Western copper-plates, and the caste-marks on the foreheads of the women in the oldest painting at Ajaṇṭâ.[1]

To revert to the symbols on the Amarâvati Tope.

THE WHEEL.

The leading and most important device among the objects of worship is what it has hitherto been the custom in modern parlance, to designate as the "Buddhist wheel." To my apprehension these carvings were not designed to represent the "Wheel of the Law," or any such fanciful machine, but represent the conventional symbol of the sun, in the form of a wheel, as indicating his onward revolution. At times it is difficult to discriminate the sculptor's intention, as to whether he designed to make the wheel like the sun, or the sun like a wheel,[2] but one of the most striking examples of *the* presiding motive is

[57] *Sikânti*, l. 41, meaning not apparent, unless the word is a chronogram containing the date of 615. Śaka 615, however, was not in Vijayâditya's reign; and I know of no other instance in which a Chalukya date is expressed by this method.

[58] *sc.*, 'Brahmâṇḍasvâmî.'

[1] Burgess, *Arch. Survey: Notes on Ajaṇṭa*, 1879, pls. viii, ix, x.

[2] The earliest Chaldæan type of the sun was formed of a simple ring or circle, like the Indian *Sûrya-maṇḍala*, but it was speedily improved upon by the addition of cross-lines within its circumference, and these again were superseded by ornamental double lines with a circular centre-boss. (Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. I. p. 141.) In this latter form it is figured at Bavian, in association with the half-moon and 7 planets (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, p. 211). In Lajard's *Culte de Mithra* (Paris, 1847), endless varieties of the symbolic forms of the sun are collected, chiefly of more or less ornamental patterns, but in one instance (pl. xxxix. fig. 6), the sun is represented by a simple six-spoke wheel, with the worshipper in front and the half moon to the left on a similar pedestal.

afforded by the parallel figures at Bhilsa. In pl. xliii. Fig. 5, of Mr. Fergusson's work,[3] the wheel is ornamented on the outer edge of the felly with a succession of arrow points, reminding one at once of the "arrows of Apollo," or the blaze of the sun's rays,[4] an addition which, in the solid form, would have sadly impeded the roll of a mundane wheel. At Amarâvati these arrow-heads are replaced by a succession of tridents (pl. xcviii. fig. 7), and the multiplicity of the sub-divisions of the wheel itself are far more suggestive of the rays of the sun, than of useful wooden spokes. Again, in one instance of the examples of the various designs of wheels at Sanchi, we find the spokes converted into something very like flames of fire.[5]

The arrow points are still more marked and directly indicative of their purport in the numerous instances of the representations of suns on the coins, especially in the Ujjain series, whose mintage locality is determined by the insertion of the word *Ujenini*, in Lât characters. A large number of specimens of these pieces have been collected and figured in *Journal Asiatic Society, of Bengal*, vol. VII. plate lxi. These examples abound in the various symbols and enigmatical emblems of the sun, such as the local imagination delighted to associate with his various powers. The barbed arrow points, in these instances, start from the central wheel and project considerably beyond the felly.[6] In one case (No. 1) we have confirmatory evidence of the local reverence for the four-fold sun in the repetition of that number of smaller rings, within each of the four circles connected by the cross-lines of the standard *swastika* pattern.

We must now examine, on the other hand, what title the Buddhists can show to establish their claim to the worship of the wheel, as an essential part of their own system, except in so far as it was borrowed, in the way of an appropriation, from the earlier devisers and legitimate employers of the symbol.

A certain amount of confusion has been introduced into this enquiry by the fact that the *chakra* or 'wheel' was not only supposed to represent the sun or the wheel of the sun's chariot, but it had also a worldly significance of '*universal*' sovereignty, or the kingdom of the entire circle of the known world.[7] It is in this latter sense that Buddha himself is reported to have used the word, when he says "Bury me like a *Chakravartti Râja*,"[8] that is as a "king," not as a saint: and, as he contemplated at the time, no worship of his mortal remains, so we may fairly infer that he did not anticipate the imaginary *wheel*, he merely claimed in virtue of his royal extraction, would be elevated into one of the symbols of the faith he taught.

Burnouf,[9] Foucaux,[10] and other early investigators were not very clear in their discrimination of the contrasted import of the term *chakra*, but later authorities altogether discard the claims of the legitimate Buddhists to any such piece of machinery as a sacred wheel.[11] Spence Hardy, while recognising the *Chakravartti* as a universal emperor, has no such word as a "wheel" in his index.[12]

Mr. Beal, who has consistently rejected any idea of the virtue of a wheel, as an aid to Buddhist faith, sums up the relative bearings of the question in the following emphatic terms:—"I

[3] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pls. xxxi. 1, xxxii. 1.

[4] The arrow heads are of two kinds, and are made to alternate from the rounded *cutting* point, depicted in Mr. Fergusson's Sanchi plate xxxvi, to the simple unbarbed point represented in the combats in plate xxxviii. See also arrows in the *Rig Veda*, v. i. xvi. Wilson. vol. IV. p. 26.

[5] Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pl. xliii. fig. 5. See also Genl. Cunningham, *Arch. Report*, vol. III. pl. xxx. n., and Col. J. Low, *Transactions Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. III. plate 3.

[6] Nos. 2, 11, 16, 26, 30, &c.

[7] *Dhammacahkkam*, Dominion of the Law. The well known phrase *dhammachakkam pavatteti* is usually rendered "to turn the wheel of the law," but that this was its original meaning I consider extremely improbable. *Pavatteti* does not mean "to turn" so much as "to set going," "to establish," &c. and *chakka* is probably used in its sense of "domain" or "dominion." It is most important to bear in mind that this famous phrase is used not of the whole period of Buddha's ministry, but *only of his first sermon* in which he "began" or "set on foot" his religion. Ajâtasattu is reported to have said in reply to the priests about the contemplated general council: "It is well, venerable men, you may rely upon me, let mine be the domain of temporal authority, yours the domain of religion."—Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, 1875; *sub voce*.

[8] *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VIII. p. 1005. Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. I. p. 167.

[9] Burnouf, tom. II. pp. 308, 387-8, 416.

[10] *Histoire de Bouddha Sakya Muni* (Paris, 1848) pp. lxii, 14 *n*, 103, &c. Le trésor de la roue divine apparaît dans la région orientale, avec mille rais, une circonférence et un moyeu, toute d'or, non fabriquée par un charron, et de la hauteur de sept tâlas (cap. iii. p. 15). Bábu Râjendralála, in his translation of *Lalita-Vistara*, is decided in the opinion that "The Legend of the *Chakra ratna*" is no doubt an after-contrivance intended to adapt the title for a Banddha prince," p. 28.

[11] I conclude that no one has hitherto ventured to suggest the similitude of *Wheels of the Law*, to the hand-revolving Buddhist praying-cylinders, or to the larger water-power mills which call nature to aid in the performance of the religious rites of entire village communities, in making the prayer-inscribed drum, attached to the water wheel, speed their devotions to heaven. See General Cunningham's *Ladâk*, 1854, p. 375.

[12] *Manual of Budhism*, London, 1853, pp. 30, 126. See also *Eastern Monarchism* (1850), pp. 37, 82.

proceed to make some reference to the scenes of the sculptures on the gates and beams at Sánchi. But before doing so, I would start the query, whether there is any proof to be gathered from the character of these sculptures, that the followers of Buddha *worshipped* either the Tree or Nâga? If they did, nothing in the world would more effectually destroy the theory of their religion. The Buddhist convert, theoretically at least, acknowledged no superior to himself in heaven or earth."[13]

M. E. Senart, who has more recently gone over the whole ground of Indian symbolical devices, in his *La Légende du Buddha*, expresses his conclusions and convictions in an equally positive way: "Quoiqu'il en puisse être, l'expression *chakraṁ pravartayituṁ* forme la partie fondamentale et vraiment significative dans notre formule. Tout nous interdit de séparer son emploi dans la légende du Buddha de son application, précédemment examinée, au Chakravartin. Dans la roue du Chakravartin nous avons sans peine reconnu le disque de Vishṇu et les images empruntées à la roue solaire; la roue du Buddha n'a point à l'origine d'autre sens; c'est en sa qualité de véritable Chakravartin que le Buddha la met en mouvement (*Ṛig Ved.* viii. 5, 8)."[14]

I quote M. Senart, in this instance, on account of his more comprehensive knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist literature. I have ordinarily sought to form my own independent opinion from the Indian point of view, of questions before us.

Undue importance, I think, has been attributed in later arguments on the subject to the illustrative *label* attached to one of the scenes at Bàrahâṭ; comprising the words *Bhagavato dharma chakam*. This definition of the purport of the sculpture would, undoubtedly, be of the highest importance, if we could only fix the period of its incision, or if we could pretend to determine how soon after the death of Śâkya Muni, the first adaptation and appropriation of "wheel worship" was received into the Buddhist formula.[15]

If the Amarâvati Tope took anything like the three centuries to finish, which is claimed for its fellow mound at Sanchi,[16] there was room enough, in all conscience, for the growth and interchange of religious and their authorized symbols. Such an inference would, in a measure, account for the apparent variety of creeds depicted in the several groups of sculpture, and explain, in the plenitude of pilgrim's gifts of "rails and pillars," the reason for the slow progress of, what England irreverently calls, the preaching-up of a church steeple.

The 123 nominal rolls, mostly proclaiming small *danams* or donations collected as a preliminary list in Genl. Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*,[17] sufficiently indicates the law of progress in this instance. But we have more direct and material evidence to this end, in the appropriation of a sculptured stone of ancient date by the Buddhists themselves, where they are seen to have taken advantage of the unadorned *back* of a slab of a much earlier period of art, with an original design of a tree and Vishṇu padas—to

[13] *J. R. A. S.*, (*N.S.*) vol. V. (1871) page 168. See also *The Travels of Fah Hian*, (London, 1869) pp. 108, 127. Gen. Cunningham, in somewhat the same sense, remarks: "With respect to the title of this last work of Mr. Fergusson, '*Tree and Serpent Worship*,' I submit that it is not borne out by the illustrations: and further, that as serpent worship was antagonistic to Buddhism, such a title is not applicable to a description of the religious scenes sculptured on a Buddhist Stûpa."—*Archæological Reports*, (Simla, 1871), vol. I. page xxiv.

[14] *Journal Asiatique*, 1875, vol. VI. p. 116.

[15] Since this was written, my suspicions of the authenticity and good faith of these labels has been signally confirmed. The more important ones are, in many cases, obviously after-insertions, cut in at hazard in any vacant space available. Furnishing, indeed, a new proof of the cuckoo propensities of the Buddhists.

[16] The author of the *Tabakât-i-Nâsiri*, in adverting to the partial destruction of the Bhilsa Tope by Altamsh in A. H. 631, A.D. 1233, adds the information that it originally took 300 years to build, and stood at a height of 105 *gaj*.

The passage in the Persian text runs as follows (Calcutta Text, 1864, p. 176):—

وحصن وشهر بهیلسارا بگرفت وبتخانه که سیصد سال بود تا آنرا عمارت می کردند و رفعت او بقدر صد وپنج گز بود خراب کرد

Major Raverty is inclined to consider that it was *the Temple* at Ujjain, that took 300 years to finish; but the text, under his own interpretation, does not sanction such an inference, even if the great elevation of the structure alluded to by the Muhammadan author, was not altogether opposed to the conclusion. *Translation of the Tabakât-i Nâsiri* (1875), p. 621; see also Elliot's *Historians*, vol. II. p. 328.

While adverting to the Bhilsa Tope, I desire to advert to an opinion expressed by Mr. Hall of the solar indications associated with the name and the place:

"I have discovered that, in the middle ages, the sun was worshipped in Central India, under the designation of Bhâilla,—from *bha*, 'light,' and the Prakrit termination *illa*, denoting possession. There was a temple to Bhâilla at or near Bhilsa, which I take to be a corruption of bhâilla + isa, or bhâillesa."—Mr. Hall, *Vishṇu Purâna*, vol. II, p. 150. See also *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, (1862), p. 112. The transcription of the name as *Bhaylesan*, *Mahâbhalesvar*, &c. by Reinaud, quoting Albîrûnî, seems to support Mr. Hall's pronunciation. See Elliot's *Historians*, vol. I. p. 59.

[17] *Bhilsa Topes*, London. 1854,—plates xvi, xvii, xviii, pp. 235, &c.

figure on the reverse in finer lines and more elaborate treatment, their conventional representation of the standing form of Śâkya Muni.[18]

VISHNU PADAS.

The hollowness of the Buddhist pretensions to the origination of this popular symbolic combination, was exposed some fifty years ago by a very competent judge, who examined the consistency of the faith from the point of view presented in extra-Gangetic or Siamese localities. Captain J. Low concludes his observations on the subject in these terms :—"To whatever country or people we may choose to assign the original invention of the *Phrabát*, (foot of Buddha,) it exhibits too many undoubted Hindu symbols to admit of our fixing its fabrication upon the worshippers of the latter Buddha ; of whose positive dogmas it is rather subversive than otherwise, by encouraging polytheism."[19]

In somewhat the same sense, our latest commentator on these matters, Dr. Râjendralâla Mitra, freely admits that, "on the whole, the marks on the *Buddha-pad* bear a closer resemblance to Hindu than to Buddhist religion," and I am disposed to accept the authority of the inscription,[20] and to believe that the stone, though popularly called the foot of Buddha, was put up by the Hindus."[21]

In this instance, in short, the Buddhists merely acted, as other people, before and since, have had a tendency to do, *i.e.* to follow the sensible, if not inevitable, course of conciliating the local races by incorporating or assimilating the outward signs and symbols of a pre-existing faith.

We learn from the collection of Ujjain coins, arranged by Prinsep, above adverted to (*J. A. S. Beng.* vol. VII. pl. lxi.), that in covering their dies with figures and forms, *dharanas* and *yantras*, the indigenous races admitted in combination many and various devices having reference to the manifest power of the *sun*, and that its emblems predominated in the general selection, if not to the exclusion, of conflicting symbols. We know what importance has been attached to caste marks in India, from time immemorial, we have seen that the *chinha* of the Jain Tîrthaṅkaras was of more consequence than the outline of the special statue itself;[22] and the question then arises, as to whether these various devices are not merely the discriminating sectarian emblems adopted from time to time, by sub-divisions of worshippers of a common object ? This leads on to the consideration of the further query, as to whether all the four or five devices engraved on the soles of "the two feet" may not eminate from one and the same idea, and carry a like significance ? The central wheel is many-rayed and sun-like, the closeness of the spokes or rays seeming to indicate quick rotation. The *swastika*—here repeated over and over again, even unto its appearance on the toes—has already been noticed in its connection with the sun, the circle surmounted by the *triśûla* is found to be a near counterpart of the figure of *the* crude god, in the temple of Jagannâth.[23]

It forms a prominent object of devotion placed at the head of a cone, in very many of the sculptures at Amarâvati,[24] and it will be remembered that it proves to be identical in form with the ornaments which constitute the outside rays of the wheel of the sun in the same series, taking, in effect, the place of the more pronounced arrow-rays at Sânchi, but a strange confirmation of its import and direct connexion with the sun is afforded by the so-called "Asoka railing," at Buddha Gayâ,[25] where the lower compartment is devoted to the chariot and four horses of Sûrya himself, with his attendant archers ;[26] while the upper storey of the edifice represents a covered niche or shrine in which the ball or circle with the superimposed *triśûla* object stands alone and

[18] Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pl. lxviii, figs. 2, 3, page 201 ; India Museum Slab, No. 50.

[19] Captain J. Low, "On Buddha and the Phrabát," *Transactions R. A. S.* vol. III. p. 64, (March 20th, 1830). See also *J. R. A. S.* (*N. S.*) vol. IX. pp. 65 and 163.

[20] Sanskrit Inscription, dated 1230 Śaka.

[21] *Buddha Gayâ* (1878), p. 127.

[22] "The Babylonians are remarkable for the extent to which they affected symbolism in religion. In the first place, they attached to each god a special mystic number, which was used as his emblem, and may even stand for his name in an inscription.

"Further, each god seems to have had one or more emblematic signs by which he could be pictorially symbolized. The cylinders are full of such forms, which are often crowded into every vacant space where room could be found for them."—Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. III. p. 467.

[23] Gen. Cunningham *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 358; *J. R. A. S.* vol. VI. p. 150.

[24] Fergusson, *T. and S. W.*, plates lxvii. to lxxii. page 192 ; *Bhilsa Topes*, pl. xxxii. figs. 4, 5, 10.

[25] Râjendralâla Mitra, *Buddha Gayâ*, (Calcutta, 1878,) pl. l., p. 160. I am bound to add to my interpretation of these sculptures, that the Bâbû does not see anything "solar" in the leading figure in the chariot, p. 162. He does not seem to have taken any notice of the upper compartment. *J. R. A. S.* (*N. S.*) vol. III. p. 161.

[26] The archers appear to be females. The bows are of the same form as those on our coins.

undivided in its glory,[27] and seems to declare itself as the direct crypto-emblem of the more definite embodiment of the god in the associate sculpture.

The fourth prominent symbol in the order of the general combination, of which there are two examples on each foot, consists of a diagram, which may be reduced into the simple alphabetical elements of वै (*rva*) or a possible crypto वृ (*vṛi*). I fear that it would be useless at present to speculate on the meaning of the compound.

It may be the counterpart of a more Chinese-looking device, of a square pedestal or box, surmounted by a T, which figures on the leading class of Behat coins, and which General Cunningham pronounces—he does not say on what authority—to be "an emblem of the sun,"[28] a conclusion which is, to a certain extent, supported by the new evidence now adduced of the real import of the combination of the central sun and four surrounding tridents, which symbol is found occasionally to supply its place above the back of the deer.[29]

In the Assyrian system a nearly similar device constituted the ideograph of "le nom du dieu de l'onction royale," and at other times stood for the royal sign of Nebo,"[30] but it would be difficult to establish any direct connexion between the two. My own later impressions were that it was an early conventional type of the Sacred Tree, for which conclusion the appearance, in some instances, of a railing on the lower box seemed to give authority.[31]

Of the minor and subordinate devices which contribute to the filling-in of the general pattern, we may notice the insertion of four dots at the corners of the front *Swastika* near the toes, and the repetition of four flowers similar to those in the centre of the wheel towards the heels of the feet.

There are two examples of these full size ornamented patterns in the Amarâvati collection in the India Museum. The purely archaic *padas* seem to have been more simple in outline, and the ornamentation is confined to the central figure of a wheel.[32] Whereas in after times, we find the *Vaishṇavi* Brahmans expanding the number of symbolic signs into nineteen, commencing with the half-moon, but ignoring the more potent sun, except under his typical device of the *Swastika*. The *Skanda Purâṇa* even omits the wheel[33] substituting, perhaps, the discus, but the former leading symbol is invariable in the majority of examples. The multiplication of figures on the sacred foot finally reached the extreme Siamese limit of "108, or more" objects of devotion. It is important to observe how these later adaptations of the normal outline invariably recognised the central wheel as denoting the sun, inasmuch as effect is given to the external flames in the revolving manner already noticed, so that we find Captain Low observing "according to some authorities the Hindû *chakara* was a circular mass of fire, instinct with life, darting forth flames on every side."[34]

THE HORSE.

The coursers of Apollo find equine representatives in the mythology of the *Vedas*, but their number is, at times, increased to seven, and, at others reduced to a single steed, who is endued with many of the attributes of Sûrya himself.

"The bright red horse" avowedly symbolizes "the Sun,"[35] as in the Persian system "le soleil, souverain, coursier rapide, œil d'Ahura-Mazda; Mithra, chef des provinces," &c. embodied the same idea.[36] Professor Wilson remarks that "the hymns addressed to Dadhikrâ or Dadhikrâvan, contemplate the sun under the type of a horse,[37] and Dr. Muir concurs in such an interpretation where Ushas (the Dawn) is said to bring the eye of the gods, and lead on the bright "and beautiful horse, by which the

[27] Genl. Cunningham in Vol. III. of his *Archæological Reports* (1871-2) pl. xxvii, has given an engraving of the lower portion of this column. He does not however seem to have noticed the important bearing of the details of the upper portion of the pillar, p. 97. See also Kittoe, *J. A. S. Bengal*, vol. XVI. (1847), p. 337.

[28] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 354.

[29] *Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. VII. pl. xxxii. fig. 6; and *Bhilsa Topes*, pl. xxxi. fig. 10.

[30] Ménant *Noms propres Assyriens*, p. 22.

[31] *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) vol. I. p. 481.

[32] Fergusson, *T. and S. W.*, pl. lxxviii. fig. 2, India Museum, No. 56.

[33] Râjendralâla Mitra, *Buddha Gayâ*, p. 126.

[34] *Transactions R. A. S.* vol. III. p. 72. The quotation is from Wilkins's *Bhagavat*. A Dallastype photograph of a very elaborate copy of the foot-print of Buddha, near Nopphbury in Siam, was published by Messrs. Trübner some time ago in their *Record*. This drawing shows the Central Sun with great distinctness. The external flames are made to curve, as in Col. Low's example, as if to indicate the rotatory motion of the luminary.

[35] Max Müller's "*The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans*," London, 1869, p. 9, *R-V.* i. 6, 1.

[36] Burnouf *Yaçna*, p. 351. The Massagetæ "worship the sun only of all the gods, and sacrifice horses to him; and this is the reason of this custom; they think it right to offer the swiftest of all animals to the swiftest of all gods." Herodotus I. 216. Compare Wilson, *Rig Veda* vol. II. pp. 112, 121, and preface pp. xii. et seq.; Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. IV. pp. ii. 353; and Burgess' *Arch. Reports*, vol. II. (1874-5,) p. 37.

[37] *Rig Veda*, vol. III. pp. x. 119.

sun seems to be intended."[38] The late Prof. Goldstucker also, in commenting on the faculties of the Aświns, observed: "Their very name, it would seem, settles this point, since *aśva*, the horse, literally 'the pervader,' is always the symbol of the luminous deities, especially of the sun."[39] In the *Purâṇas* "the sun in the form of a horse," is said to have appeared to Y â j n a v a l k y a, and the version of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* goes on to state, "accordingly the sun imparted to him the texts of the *Yajus* called *Ayâtayâma*, and because these were revealed by the sun, in the form of a horse, the Brâhmaṇs who study this portion of the *Yajus* are called V â j i n s (horses)."[40] The sacred horse is represented in the Amarâvati sculptures in various attitudes, but always guarded or overshadowed by the conventional imperial *chhatra*, and ordinarily depicted as reverenced or worshipped by the bows and *salâms* of the surrounding attendants. In his free form, as issuing from gateways, in associate processions,[41] his mission might be taken to indicate the mere arrogance of an Aśwamedha sovereign. But when he is found to have special medallions or circular frames in the sculptures exclusively devoted to his representation, and those bosses are made to occupy the apparent place of honour, *above* the fellow-circles containing the seated figure of a saint,[42] it would seem that the intention of the artist pointed at higher things than the led-horse of an Indian Râja. It is very possible, as has been suggested by Mr. Fergusson,[43] that the reverence of the horse was derived from the same aboriginal source, as that which has led the Gonds to retain his form in their crude worship to this day.

There is, however, one peculiarity in this reappearance of the horse on southern soil, which has apparently escaped Mr. Fergusson. That is, that we find the animal so closely associated with the rites of the worship of the sun and the moon, as intuitively preserved among many sections of the aboriginal forest tribes.

Mr. Hislop[44] incidentally alludes to "B â d u D e w a (the great god), who, in other districts, is called B u d h â l P e n (the old god) * * * or B u r â P e n," the chief god among the Khonds, who is identified in a note[45] with the sun-god. Some of the outside aboriginal races (the Kurs or Kuls) are described as having for the "chief objects of their adoration," the sun and the moon, "which take the outward form of wooden pillars, with horse, sun and moon set up before the houses of married people."[46]

This association of the two symbols may perhaps serve to explain the juxtaposition of the Wheel and the Horse's head in the Amarâvati sculptures, in plates xciii. and xcv. fig. 3, regarding which Mr. Fergusson remarks,[47] the horse "is introduced in mid air alongside the wheel as an object of equal reverence; and on a piece of sculpture where the wheel just above him is the especial object of worship."[48]

It is worthy of remark that the horse retained his fixed place as the symbol of the 3rd Jaina Tîrthaṅkara, and though recognised incidentally as a power in theology, he is altogether ignored in the different Paurâṇik lists amid the amplified nineteen authorized marks on Vishṇu's feet.[49]

P. S.—Since this note on the Horse symbol was written, General Cunningham's work on the Bârahât Tope has been published in England.

In the new examples of old devices now contributed, it will be seen that the *Horse* takes an unusually prominent position, even to the addition of the Wings of the Pegasus of Western mythology. On the votive table, in front of the shrine of the Sun, in the lower compartment of the sculpture (Pl. xiii. *a*), may be traced the exact representation of the head of the G o n d clay-horse, who was "offered in lieu of the living sacrifice," above adverted to.[50] And further, in the same dedicatory position may be traced votive flowers—pure and simple—together with clay reproductions of the symbols of the Sun under the various forms of lotus-leaves, wheels, and the marked coincidence of *Swastikas* enclosed in the simple orb circle of the aboriginal Sol.

[38] *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V. p. 157. See also *J. R. A. S.* (*N.S.*) vol. II. p. 5.

[39] *Journal R.A.S.* (*N.S.*) vol. II. p. 15. and vol. IX, p. 228.

[40] *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, Hall's edition, vol. III. p. 57.

[41] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. xxxv. p. 135; xcvi. fig. 3; xcviii; and p. 223.

[42] Pls. lxxxi., lxxxii.

[43] Page 203.

[44] *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces.* Edited by Sir R. Temple.

[45] P. 14 note †; *Calcutta Review*, vol. V. p. 55; and *Church Mission Intelligencer.*

[46] P. 26, quoting Mr. Bullock.

[47] *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 215.

[48] Mr. Hislop observes, in a Note at p. 26:—"The Scythian origin of Kûrs and Gonds might perhaps be inferred from Kodo Pen and earthen horses, which are offered instead of living sacrifice."

[49] Rajendralâla Mitra's *Buddha Gayâ*, p. 126.

[50] Note 48 above.

MISCELLANEA.

PROPER NAMES.

Since my note on proper names given to children whose elder brothers have died, was published in the *Indian Antiquary* for November 1879 (Vol. VIII, p. 321), I have been in communication with Dr. Râjendra Lâla Mitra, who has kindly furnished me with some interesting information on the parallel custom in Bangâl. In Bangâl a woman, who has lost several children immediately after their birth, is called *maddinchê podti*, and two common names for the children subsequently born are *Bhuto* "The Ugly One," and *Gobardhan*, "Dung-made."

The corresponding generic word in Maithilî (Terhutî) for a child whose elder brothers have died is *machhai*, which Dr. Mitra has identified with Skr. *mrita vatsa*, and with the Bangâli *marchhai*: a synonym, however, of *machhai* in Maithilî is *marachhvd*, which I am inclined to recognize as Sk. *Mrita Śâvaka*. A Maithilî proverb runs, मछैक माय पुत्र सोग सहै, "The mother of a *machhai* has to bear the pangs of losing her sons."

There is, moreover, a noteworthy custom in Bangâl, which Dr. Mitra first brought to my notice; it is that of giving away the children subsequently born immediately after birth, and then buying them back again from the donee at a small cost. The price varies from one to nine cowrie shells, omitting the even numbers, and the children are named according to the price paid; thus: *Ekkaudî*, one shell; *Tinkaudi*, three shells, *Pânchkaudî*, five shells; *Satkaudi*, seven shells; and *Nakaudi*, nine shells. Such names are very common in Bangâl, and are invariably due to this custom.

In Mithilâ (Tirhut) the custom of sale, as above described, does not obtain, but the above mentioned names are all used. Moreover, in Mithilâ the number of shells is not confined to odd numbers, *e. g.* one of the commonest of these names is *Chhakaudî*, six cowries. I am informed, however, that in south Bihâr, south of the Ganges, the custom of sale does obtain.

The Bangâlî meaning of the word *Gobardhan* "Dung-made" is curious. In Mithilâ it is a name of good repute amongst Vaishṇavas, who use it with reference to the famous hill near Vṛindâvana. Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra writes with reference to this word that, in Bangâl, when used as a proper name it is generally but not invariably explained to mean a dung-hill, but that a good Vaishṇava may use it with reference to the hill near Vṛindâvana. As a common word it means the hill.

Finally, may I ask any one who has any further information to give on this curious custom of nomenclature, to kindly publish it in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.S.,
Madhubanî, Darbhangâ.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY JOHN MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., C.I.E.

KINGS SHOULD NOT BE TOO JOCULAR AND GOOD NATURED.

The following is a free translation of *Mahâbhârata* xii. 2033ff. The picture is, possibly, drawn from the life, from something that the writer had observed at the court of an Indian prince; and the like of which may often have been witnessed since:—

When kings are weak, and love to joke,
They quickly men's contempt provoke.
Their courtiers show them no respect,
And all proprieties neglect,
With jibes to beard the prince presume,
And even against him rage and fume.
They make impertinent requests;
Delay to do the king's behests;
His secrets all contrive to steal,
And then to all the world reveal.
His master's orders none obeys;
They make a jest of all he says.
When he is wroth, they only laugh,
And hold his favours cheap as chaff.
They play with this poor silly king,
As with a bird held by a string.
Even when their master holds a court,
They still pursue their wanton sport;
"In this thou failed'st, king," they say,
"In that thou wentest far astray."
And these presumptuous courtiers boast
That they're the men who rule the roast.
They fain would all the world convince
They've power to influence the prince;
"In all affairs our help you'll need;
"The docile prince obeys our lead."
If charged with public trusts, like knaves,
These men, of gold the greedy slaves,
With selfish views their power abuse,
No proffered bribes will e'er refuse,
Will edicts forge to gain their ends,
And benefit themselves and friends;
Will endless webs of falsehood weave,
And so the simple prince deceive;
And thus with ruin overwhelm,
His hapless, poor, misgoverned realm.

The following is a prose translation: "And thou shouldst not laugh too much with thy servants, O chief of kings. Hear what evil results from this. 2034. From [such familiar] contact, his dependents despise their master and do not keep their proper place, but transgress the limits of propriety (*tattvatah*). 2035. When sent as messengers, they

hesitate (*vikalpante*); they reveal secrets; they ask for things that should not be asked for, and eat [the king's] food. 2036. They grow angry, and incensed against the king their master; and by bribery (or receiving bribes,) and deceit, they cause affairs to miscarry. 2037. By forged edicts they bring ruin on the king's realm. They attach themselves to the guardians of the women[1] and adopt the same attire. 2038. In the prince's presence they spit. Devoid of shame, they repeat the king's words. 2039. When the prince is jovial and good-natured, they mount the horse, or elephant, or car, which he likes. 2040. In the assembly his friends speak thus: 'This, king, was difficult for thee; that was a wicked act of thine.' 2041. And when he is angry they laugh; and are not at all delighted when he shows them honour, and they are jealous of each other. 2042. They betray his secrets, and reveal what (he) does wickedly, and contemptuously make sport of his orders. . . . 2044. They are not satisfied with their income and seize what should be given to the king.[2] 2045. They seek to play with him as with a bird held by a string,[3] and tell people that the prince can be led by them. 2046. These and other evils become manifest when the king is mild and jovial."

A MODEL MAN.

The following lines are selected from a number describing the men who "overpass all evils:"—

Mahabh. xii., 4056 ff.

That man no evil needs to fear
To whom all other men are dear.
Who ne'er abuse in kind requites,
Nor struck, again the smiter smites,
Who neither fears, nor fear inspires.
Who nurses no unblest desires,
Who can himself endure neglect.
But pays to others all respect.
Who, though himself by want opprest,
Ne'er envies those by fortune blest,
Who even in straits, would scorn to lie,
And sooner, far, would dare to die.
And thus from every weakness freed,
Ne'er sins in thought, or word, or deed—
A model man, who nobly lives,
To all a bright example gives.

BOOK NOTICE.

BUDDHA GAYÂ, the Hermitage of Sâkya Muni. By Râjendralâla Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., &c. &c. *Published under orders of the Government of Bengal.* Calcutta, 1878.

Second Notice.

We have in the previous notice dealt with the portions on mythology. and briefly with the architectural and artistic features of this book, and have found them far from satisfactory: we now proceed to the *inscriptions.* Dr. Râjendralâla Mitra has a reputation for reading inscriptions, and it may seem a bold step to question his authority in such a field. His first inscription in this volume, however, must attract attention. It is in the Maurya character, and is found repeated on six different pillars of the old rail—four in the monastery, and two in the enclosure of the great temple, and is read by the author (p. 182)–

Ayaye Kuragiye dânam.

After a long analysis, the Calcutta savant renders this,—"gift to (the person named) Kuragi," or "gift to the eater of boiled rice:"—A very odd inscription indeed! But let us examine it. In the sharpest example, the *ra* of the second word is expressed by a wavy line as at Girnar, and beside it is a distinct *anusvâra*, whence we read—

Âyâye Kuraṁgiye dânam.

Now as *âyâ* is the Prâkrit for *âryâ* (fem.) and *âyâye* is, in Sans. the sixth case, *âryâyâḥ*, while *Kuraṁgî* is a feminine name meaning a Deer (Dorcas), the inscription can only be read as—"The gift of the noble (lady) Kuraṁgî."

If we may trust to the text given in General Cunningham's *Reports* (vol. III. pl. xxvi) the second inscription is surely of later date than the first, which ought to have been pointed out. The third is correctly read by General Cunningham, but not so by Dr. Râjendralâla. It is in the Museum at Calcutta. The word *Tabapanaka* with which he has so much difficulty is no great variation from *Taṁbapanaka* (with the *anusvâra* inserted) = Sans. *Tâmraparṇako*—a native of Ceylon.

No. 4 (p. 191) is given by Cunningham (vol. III. pl. xxviii.) in letters of the fourth or fifth century A.D. at earliest—not of the second as the author would lead the reader to suppose.

Of his transcript of No. 5 (p. 192) we can make no sense: it is evidently misread or misprinted. The first line of the original reads,—*Kârito yatra vajrâsanabrihadgandhakuṭîprâsâde*,—"made where. . . in the Vajrâsanabrihadgandhakuṭi temple," *i.e.* in the great temple; *gandhakuṭî* is a temple in which is

[1] With the view of gaining an entrance into their apartments.—Commentator.

[2] *Râjadeyaṁ*, [illegible].—Commentator.

[3] The commentator explains this thus: *Krîḍituṁ râjñâ saha* [illegible] *krîḍâṁ kartuṁ sasûtrena baddhena pak-* [illegible] *nirodhakâḥ*, *i.e.* "They wish to engage in sport, hunting, &c. with the king. As with a bird fastened by a string, with a hawk, controlling the king." I have taken the sense to be, not that they accompany the king in his sports (if this is how the Commentator understands it), but that they make him the object of their sport, as if he were a bird held by the leg with a string. The words of the original are *Krîḍituṁ tena chechhanti sasûtreṇeva pakshiṇâ.*

an image,—not 'a receptacle for aromatics' as Dr. Râjendralâla supposes. In inscription No. 8 (p. 195), the word again occurs, and also in another at the Mahant's Monastery, in which we read—*yena gandhakuṭî pratimatrayânvita vihita*,—"who made a Gandhakuṭî with three images,"—where this word must mean a temple.[1]

In No. 6 the first śloka must be incorrectly copied, for it gives no sense, and this can hardly be the fault of the original engraver, for it is beautifully cut. His reading is—

इदमतितराचित्रं सर्व्वसत्वानुकम्पिने। भवनवरमदारजितमाराय-पतये सु [शु] द्वात्मा कारयामास बोधिमार्गरतो यतिः। बोधिषे [सें] णो [नों] तिविख्यातो दत्तगल्लनिवासकः भवबन्धविमुक्तय-र्थं पित्रोर्बन्धुजनस्य च। तथोपाध्यायपूर्वोणा माहवाग्रनिवासिनां ॥ लीं ॥

We read it thus, printing the syllables he has misread in heavier type:—

इदमतितरं चित्रं सर्व्वसत्वानुकम्पिने। भवनं वरमुदारं जित-माराय **मुनये**। **शु**द्धात्मा कारयामास बोधिमार्ग्गरतो यतिः। **बोधिषेण इति ख्यातो** दत्तगल्लनिवासिकः भवबन्धविमुक्त्यर्थं पित्त्रो**र्ब्ब**न्धुजनस्य च तथोपाध्यायपूर्व्वाणामाहवाग्रनिवासि**नाम्**

And we translate,—

"This most ornamental, excellent and lofty temple, constructed for the Muni compassionating all sentient creatures, and the vanquisher of Mâra, by him named Bodhisheṇa, a monk, pureminded, delighting in the way of perfect wisdom, an inhabitant of Dattagalla, for the (*purpose of*) unloosing the fetters of the world, of his parents and also of relations and his teachers, &c. inhabitants of Ahavâgra."

Let any one compare this with the author's version on p. 193 and see the difference.

No. 7, now also in the Calcutta Museum, he says, records the consecration of a bull in Sam. 781 'by Śrî Suphandi Bhaṭṭâraka son of Bhimaka-ullâ for the purpose of securing progeny.' His reading is—

E samva 781 Vaiśâkha vadi 9 sharudhya grâmava . . . ttama Bhimaka ullâsutena Śrî Suphandi Bhaṭṭâraka a(?)gra(?)ttama-tayâ . . . a tmanâpatyahetoḥ vrishabhaṭṭâraka-pratishṭhiteti |

We read it—

Oṁ sam̃va. 917 Vaiśâkha vadi 14(12?) Jarudhyagrâmavastavya. . .
ttama himakaull sutena Śrî Supâkshi-bhaṭṭâraka grato mâ-
tâ pitarâtmana(ḥ) puṇya heto vrishabhaṭṭâraka pratishṭhiteti.

'Samvat 917 Vaiśâkha vad 14 (or 12?) an inhabitant of the village Jarudhya. . . . . the son of Himakaulla, consecrated an image of Vṛisha near to Supâkshi[2] (or Sushâkshî) Bhaṭṭâraka (*i.e.* Śiva) for the merit of his mother, father and self.'

The facsimile plate xl. of inscription No. 8 is a very good one, but the transcript (pp. 194-5) is hardly in perfect accordance with it,[3] and the translation is unsatisfactory.

Inscription No. 9 (pp. 197ff) is not grappled with: in the first place the transcript is erroneous, and then in the original the engraver has arranged it on the different facets of the stone in a way that is somewhat perplexing at first, but if we read it as the sense requires, we find that though the language is not quite grammatical, it can be made out with the exception of some portions which are chipped away. Dr. Râjendralâla makes nothing of it. We propose to read it thus:—

Ye dharmahetu &c.

Sindhau chchhindânvayajo vallabharâjaḥ śrîyâ (yu)tastasya putrotha Deśarâjastasyâyichchotha-tatsutaḥ śrîmân || khyâto . .

. . . . payastasyaiva susaṅgataḥ saṅghaḥ |

. . . . siddhoparaḥ śrîmân || tasya sutaḥ

śrî dharmaḥ śrî sâmantastadâtmajastasya | śri pûrṇabhadranâmâ- pûrṇoditachandramaḥ kîrttiḥ || drâksha tasya purandhrî

yadvadana kamalâdvinisratâ . . . . ||

Âchâryo Jayasenaḥ Kumârasenâsanadyotaḥ | śrîmati Uddaṇḍapure yena . . . . .

yaṁjagatî krittikapunjo . . . . pameyatâm yâtâ | tenoyaṁ

gandhakuṭî pratimâtritayânvitâ vihitâ nyastaṁ śubhamatra. . . . . mbodhilâbhakrijjagataḥ | triśaraṇakritâṁ praśastiṁ nandantu samantataḥ sudhiyaḥ . . . .

which may be rendered,—'Born in the Chinda family, of the Sindh country, was the illustrious Vallabharâja; his son was Deśarâja; his son Ayichcha (Âditya); his son, well known in the world, wealthy (*was*) . . . . . his son the beloved Sangha . . . . . . illustrious. . . . . his son the illustrious Dharma; his son the illustrious Sâmanta;—his son was named Śrî Purṇabhadra, whose glory is like the full moon, from whose lotus-like mouth came the grapes of . . . . (*his*) Âchârya Jayasena, brightening the throne of Kumârasena, by whom, in the prosperous Uddaṇḍapura . . . . . whose glory was like a mountain, made this temple (*gandhakuṭî*) with three images: may the merit of it be for the attainment of supreme knowledge to

[1] See *Abhidhânapadîpika* or 'Pâli Synonymes,' where 'Gandhakuṭî' is defined as a 'Jina's abode.'

[2] The second syllable of this word, Supâkshi or Surpâkshi, may be *shâ*, making it, in the local pronunciation, Sukhâshi; both forms may be used, as local names of Siva, beside whom this bull was placed.

[3] Thus in śloka 1, line 1, for श्रीमाश्चन्द इति read श्रीमाञ्चश्च इति; In śl. 4, l. 4 for °दनल्पसदृशात ख्यातो महाभृत्रक ; read °दनन्यसदृशात्ख्यातो महाशूद्रक ; in śl. 7, l. 7 for रर्पितचित्र योनि° read ग्गोर्पितचित्तयोनि—in śl. 7, l. 8 for प्रभामतो read प्रभास्वरो ; in śl. 9, l. 9 for कामिनीवदनपङ्कज° read यश्चार्थिनां वदनपङ्कज° ; in. śl. 9, l. 10 प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् is not the reading of the facsimile; in śl. 9. l. 10 for द्विमूर्त्तानिनवरत° read द्विमूर्त्तिरनुपरत ; in śl. 16, l. 17 for दिवोदिदेश read दिवोभिरामा.

the whole world. . . . This eulogy Triśaraṇa made, may the learned approve of it.'

The next inscription No. 11 (pp. 199 ff.) is from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. VI. p. 657 ff., but the author has not improved on the first version, which can hardly be considered satisfactory, seeing all the proper names in it are misread.

Then passing over the Burmese ones we come to No. 15 (p. 211), of which again we have to find fault with the transcript, as not being at all correct. It is an important one, and worth translating anew.

It is in modern Nâgari character and the carelessness with which it has been transcribed may be seen from the following revised copy[4] :—

[1] नमस्तस्मै भगवते अरहते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय ॥ बोधिमूले जिनाः सर्व्वे **सर्व्वज्ञातो** तथा अयं जय तं **धर्मराजोपि** **बोधिपसादतेजसा** । पथ्यावर्त्तश्लोक । अयं हि महाधर्म्मराजा **अनेकश्वेतेभप्रति**च्छद्दन्तगजराजस्वामि अनेकशतानं आदित्यकुल**प्रनानं** पितुपितामह अय्यकपय्यकादि महाधर्मराजनं सम्यकादि.—

[2] ष्टिकानं । धार्म्मिकानं पवरराजवंशानु**क्रमेन** असम्भिन्न (१) क्षत्रियवंशजो । **सद्धाशीला**यनेक**गुणगणा**धिवासो । **दान-वागेष्टसन्तोषमानसो** । धार्म्मिको धम्मगुरु धम्मकेतु धम्म**ध्वजो** बुद्धादिरतनत्रये सततं समितं निम्नोणपब्भारहदयो । **नानाविधा**नि । शारिरिकपरिभोग उद्दश्यकचेत्यानि नानापका**रेन** नंदति माने —

[3] ति पूजेति संकरोति । मारजयनक्लेशविध्वंसन सर्व्वध**र्म्मविष्वारन** [था] **नभूतं** महाबोधिम्मि । अभिपसादेन पुनप्पुनं **मतिं करोति** । **विमंसाति परिप्रच्छति** ।

कलेरारंभतो शून्यभपञ्चाद्रिके गते ॥
वत्सरेत्र बभूवुर्वे धम्म**विद्धौतमा**भिधः ।
पुरा कपिलवस्तुतः मायादेव्या सुधोदनी.

[4] निक्षमित्वाश्व**त्थ**मूले **अभुंजि अमृतं पदं**
तेन सुदेसि**तो** धम्मो संघो चास्यानुशासितो
दिश्यतेद्यापि लोकाह्नि बोधित्वस्य न दिश्यते ।

इति हि पुराण तन्त्रागतानु**शयं** महाधम्म**राज**मनसि करोन्तो **विमन्सन्तो** परिपच्छन्तो पितामह च्छदन्त गजराजस्वामि महाधम्म राज काले मध्यमदेशगते वाणिजे ब्राह्मणे **योगिहि** च **यथारथ**.

[5] **प्रोन्कं** मगधराष्ट्रे गयाशीर्ष**प्रदेशे** नद्या नीरंजनाय तीरे सुसमे भूमिभागे वनपतिभूत्वा पतिठितभावं अड्ढरकन्धशाखा पमाणेन हत्थशतवित्थाराश्वे**धभावं लंकाद्वीपाभिहारार्थ**गहण**कालि यथाधिष्ठान**दक्षिणमहा**शाखा स्वयमेव** छिन्नाकारदृ**श्यमान**भावं बोधिमण्डसंखातवज्रासन**थाने** सिरि धम्मासोक.

[6] नाम सकलजम्बुद्वीपिश्वरमहाराजा कतचेतियस्स विद्यमानभावं पूर्वं षट्शततसत्तपण्णास सकराजे श्वेतगजेन्द्रमहाराजेन तं चेत्यमभिसंखरित्वा मरम्मभासाय **सेलक्खरपमितभावं च** शुत्वा तदेतद्वचनं अनेकतन्त्रागतवचनेन संसन्दति समेति । यथा तं गङ्गोदकेन यमुनोदकन्ति युत्तायुत्तं वि**चारयि**.

[7] त्वा । अवश्यमेष भगवतो सहजातो महाबोधीति निसंशयं सन्निधानमकासि । यथावत्थानविशेषनियमिते हि **मनुष्यानं** क्षेत्रवत्थ्वादिकम्मे करण **ज्ञानतो** यथानुक्रममुपत्तुपन्नभावेन सहवीपुब्बेधे **अष्टराजकरीषमात्रवित्थारो केष**श्च**प्रमाणा**नम्पि.

तिणानमावि**सल्ले** समन्तातिणलनता—

[8] **गच्छगुच्छवनततीनं** पदक्षिणा**वर्त्ता**भिमुखं परिवारिते रजतवर्णवालुकाविप्पविकीर्णे भेरितलमिवसमे भूमिभागे बोधिम**ण्डसङ्कतस्य** वज्रासनपल्लंकस्य अपस्सयफलकमिव स्वन्धुक्षत्वा संखा **पण्णेहि** मणिछत्रमिव पटिछादेत्वा महाबोधिवृक्षःप्रतिष्ठाति तस्मिन्पुनर्वज्रासनपल्लंके अनम—

[9] **तथेपि** काले सब्बेपि असङ्ख्येया सम्यक्सम्बुद्धा आणा पाणघतुस्त्रज्ञानपादके **छत्तिंशत्कोटि शतसहस्रविमस्सना** ज्ञाणसङ्खातं महावज्रासणं भावेत्वा **अय** मार्गपदष्ठानसर्व्वज्ञताज्ञाणं **प्रतिलभिसु**- **तथाहि सो** सणहन्ते कप्पे प्रथमं सण्वहितो विना**शान्ते** पि[?] —**विपश्यन्तो** अचलपदेषो पृथुविसारो बो—

[10] धिमण्डो नाम होति। एवं अतिश्चरियमन्व**भ्भरियं** महाबोधिवृक्षएकसतो विदित्वा अभिप्पसादमानसो यथा **कालिंगचक्कव**र्त्तिसिरिधम्मासोको **पस्सेनदि** कोसलो मरुथ्यव **तिस्सो** महाबोधिमगिपूजेसुं तथापूजेतुकामो सिरिपवरसुधम्ममहाराजाधिराजामूलभासाय श्रीवरधम्मपवरधार्म्मिक राजारहनाममल—

[11] भूतो अनेकश्वेतिभप्रतिसरदकुमुदकुन्दइन्दुप्रभासमानवर्णछद्दन्तगजराजस्वामिमहाधम्मराजा पुरोहित महाराजिन्द अग्गमहा धम्मराजगुरुभिधानं भूमिनन्दभारिकामात्यंच महाराजाधिरूप **रूप**सागरसुरनामकं अनेकशतपारिजनेहि **द्विसहस्रात्रिशत-पञ्च**षष्टिशासनवर्षं एकसहस्से—

[12] कशत ञ्याशीति सकराजे कार्त्तिकमासशरद**ऋतुयं** । रत्नविजित रत्नाकरेशानुसारजलजस्थलज मार्गेन पेभेत्वा सिरिपवर महाराजेन्दा **रतनादेवी** नामिकाय । अग्गमहेसिया सद्धिं महाबोधिमूले बुद्धरूपाने भगवन्तं मुद्देष्य दाक्षिणोदकं पातेन्तो इमं महापुञ्ञ विसाक्षिं कृत्वा महा**द्ध्ये** -

(13) हिसार्णरौप्यमाणिक्यविचित्रेहि **लाजा** छत्रध्वजपदीपतकलश मालाङ्गुलेहि महाबोधि मभिपूजेति संसारोघ निर्मुग्ग सत्वगणार्त्थेपि बुद्धत्व **पत्थन**मकासि । मातापितुपितामहअय्यकपाय्याकादिनं पिसत्वानं पुन्यभागमदासि । **यावन्मेरु** रविससि यावत्क्षपा तिष्ठति तथापीदं सेलक्षरं तिष्ठतं अनुमोदयन्ति इदमनेकश्वेतीभ प्रतिच्छद्दन्तगजराजस्वामि महाधर्मराज**पत्नी**-पुन्यमेलक्षरं महाजेयसहस्यनामेन पण्डितामात्येन बन्धितं । इदं मेलक्षरं सिरिराजेन्द्र महाराज गुरुनामकेन पुरोहितेन नागरिलेखाय लिखितं ॥

Were it worth while occupying the space, we might add still very largely to the already lengthy catalogue of errors in this volume. Enough has already been adduced to show in how unscholarlike a way the book has been produced. Even in so simple a matter as in quoting (p. 167) from a translation of Strabo, he garbles the passage where it is opposed to his own theory, and mentions the "walls" of Palibothra but omits the emphatic statement that they were "wooden" wal ,—because his theory requires that they should have been of stone.

We cannot understand how the Government of Bengal, in a work published at the public expense, should allow the author to make it to so large an extent the vehicle of unqualified attack on men of the highest eminence in antiquarian research, while on the other hand, all else in the volume is so inaccurate and worthless.

4 The words in heavier type are wrongly transcribed by Dr. Rajendralâla

THE SÛTRA CALLED *NGAN-SHIH-NIU*, *i.e.* "SILVER-WHITE WOMAN."[1]

[*Translated from the Chinese, the second part of the Volume indicated by* [illegible] *(Buddhist Tripitaka). 1st Sutra.*]

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

THUS have I heard. On a certain occasion Bhagava was residing in the country of She-wei (Śrâvasti) in the garden of Jeta, the friend of the orphan, with 1250 great Bhikshus.

At this time the world-honoured one addressed the Bhikshus in these words:—"Oh Bhikshus! if men only knew the merit (*religious merit*) of giving their goods or property in charity, and the reward (*phalaṁ*) of so doing as I know the matter—so that at the time of eating, whether it be the first or the last mouthful taken, this feeling of charity were always uppermost, and if not present so as to make men ready to give all away, then no food were to be taken at all, [—*then there would be great profit*—]. At which time the world-honoured one uttered the following verses:—

"If only men of every kind
Acted in accord with Buddha's words,
And kept back somewhat from their food for charity,
Then the result would be a great reward.
But whether at the first mouthful
Or at the last mouthful
If charity be not uppermost in the mind,
Then a man should not eat at all!"

At this time the world-honoured one having uttered these stanzas, addressed the Bhikshus, and said:—Oh Bhikshus! at a certain time innumerable ages (*kalpas*) ago there was a certain Royal capital: the king of which was called Padma: there was a woman of that city called "Silver-colour," who having all she required at home, went forth to visit other houses to see how the occupants thereof were faring. Now this woman was exceedingly beautiful, with all the distinguishing marks of loveliness, and her body of a most dazzling whiteness [*and hence her name*]. At this time, approaching a certain residence, she entered it, and having done so, she found within it a woman just delivered of her first-born child; this child was very fair to look upon, and of a colour surpassingly beautiful. And now she saw this newly-delivered woman seize the child in her hand with a view to devour it. At this time the woman called "Silver-colour" in haste addressed the mother, and said: "Sister! what are you going to do"? She replied "I am famished! I have no life left in me! I have not what to eat! I must devour my child!" Then Silver-colour asked her, saying, "Sister! stop a while, this thing is impossible! Sister! is there not in all the house a morsel of any food fit for you to eat?" She replied at once: "Sister! I had at one time stores of food which I kept hoarded up with niggard care! and therefore am I now left without a morsel to eat." Then Silver-colour said: "Sister! stop a while, I will run to my house and bring you some food." She replied: "Sister! my ribs are breaking, my back is rending in twain, my heart is palpitating without a moment's rest, the world seems all dark about me, before my sister reaches her home I shall be dead!" Then Silver-colour thought thus with herself: "If I take the child and go, then this poor woman will perish; if I do not take it when I leave, she will devour it—what expedient is there then by which I can save these two lives?" She asked therefore: "Sister! is there a knife in the house I can use?" She answered "There is," and taking a knife she gave it to Silver-colour: whilst she on her part, holding the knife with her own hand, cut off her two breasts for the woman to eat; then addressing her, she said: "Here—eat these two breasts of mine:" and when she had eaten them, Silver-colour again enquired—"Sister! are you now satisfied?" She replied "I am," Then Silver-colour continued: "Sister! now this child redeemed with my own flesh is mine! I will take it, and keep it as my own; and in my own house feed it and nourish it as it requires." Saying these words, the blood flowing down over her person, and leaving its traces along the ground, she departed and came to her house. Then her relations and friends beholding her thus, flocked around, and asked her saying, "Who has done this?" Silver-colour replied "I with my own hand have done it." Then they asked

[1] Silver-White, or Silver-colour, is probably a corruption or supposed derivation from Sivi, and this Sûtra is therefore the Northern form of the *Sivi Jâtaka*. The derivation would be from the last root [श्वि *to shine*, from which comes श्वेत "white."

again, "And why have you acted thus?" Then Silver-colour replied, and said: "I have resolved to cultivate a heart full of compassion, and never to give it up, for thus I seek to arrive at perfection (*anuttara samyak sambodhi*)." Then all her relatives answered, and said: "Though you give your body thus in charity, and afterwards repent of what you have done, all this will not tend to the completion of the *Paramita* you desire to accomplish (viz., of *dâna*)." And they asked her again: "When you thus mutilated yourself, had you inward satisfaction, or did you do it with regret?" Then Silver-colour said: "When I had resolved and vowed to cut off my breasts, there was no feeling of regret in my mind, my mind wavered not for a moment"—and then in proof she said: "and now in virtue of my vow let my breasts be restored as they were at first." Having made this vow, lo! her breasts were restored again as at first.[2] At this time all the Yakshas and so on, in the city of Padma raised a great cry, and said: "The lady Silver-colour has now with her own hands cut off her breasts!" Then the earth-Devas (*gods*) hearing this cry took it up, and repeated it in the air. The Devas hearing the cry repeated it in the higher worlds, till the news spread even to the Brahma lokas. At this time the Divine Śâkra râja reflected thus: "This indeed is an unprecedented event, that this woman Silver-colour from her pity to all flesh should thus with her own hands cut off her breasts. I will go now, and enquire of herself respecting it." So he immediately changed himself into the form of a Brâhman, holding in his left hand a golden pitcher, and bearing a golden begging dish in his right hand, and provided with a golden staff, he went thus to the Royal City of Padma. Having arrived, he gradually approached the house in which Silver-colour dwelt, and taking his stand without the door he sang the wonted words of those who begged for food. Then Silver-colour having heard the chant of one who begged for food outside the gate, immediately took a dish, and filling it up with food she went forth. At this time the Brâhman addressed her, and said: "Sister (lady): stop a while, I need no food;" on which she replied—"Why not?" The Brâhman then said, "I am the Divine Śâkra, and I have some doubt in my mind about your conduct. I have come therefore to enquire further of you, answer me then, I pray you." Silver-colour replied in these words: "Great Brâhman! you need but ask as you think best, and I will answer you truly." Then the Brâhman asked her and said, "Lady! is it true that you cut off your breasts to give as an act of charity to another?" She replied—"It is true, great Brâhman!" The Brâhman then said: "And what led you to do it?" Silver-colour answered—"My great compassion, and my aim to accomplish the condition of perfect wisdom." The Brâhman replied, "This is a very difficult matter, this so-called perfection—for if there be the least vestige of regret mixed up with the deed, then it can never lead to the (completion of the) *Paramita* (*of charity*). Tell me, then, when you performed the act, did your heart feel happy or not, and when you felt the anguish consequent on the infliction of the wounds, had you no desire to change your purpose?" Silver-colour replied: "Kausika! I swear that I have never faltered a moment in my purpose to obtain the condition I have named, in order that I may save the world, nor did I falter either when I cut off my breasts, and in proof that I felt no particle of regret, let me now, if what I say be true, be changed from a woman to a man." Then Silver-colour having made this oath, was changed forthwith into a man, and her heart was filled with joy unutterable and delight without measure.[3]

And now as in this changed form he wandered forth from place to place—he came to a certain tree, and sitting under it he fell asleep. Now at this time the king of Padma died, and as he was childless, there was great distress in the country. Then the great ministers went from tree to tree, from village to village, from town to town, from capital to capital, everywhere seeking one possessed of royal marks whom they might choose as their king. And whilst thus in search they said: "How shall we ever obtain a proper king to reign over us?" At this time there was a certain powerful minister, who, being worn out with the excessive heat, entered a tank covered with flowers to bathe, and whilst thus occupied he saw there beneath a tree a man asleep of surpassing beauty, and distinguished by all the necessary signs of Royalty,

[2] Vide *Sacha Karîya, Eastern Monachism*, p. 273.

[3] *Vide* as before, an explanation of the *Sacha Karîya*, Hardy, *East. Mon.* p. 273.

and he observed that although the sun was declining fast, that the shadow of the tree still remained protecting him. Then the great minister in a moment caused him to wake, and when he woke he took him to the "Royal City" (Râjagriha, *i.e.* the capital), and performing the accustomed tonsure, he clothed him in the kingly vesture, and put on his head the jewelled crown, and accosted him thus :—"Now you are king, act and govern us accordingly!" To whom he answered : "I am indeed unable to act as your king." The minister answered : "But indeed you must;" to which he replied : "If indeed you take me to reign over you, then on your parts you must take on yourselves the ten religious (*virtuous*) vows (*acts*)—to which when they agreed, he undertook to govern them as a king in righteousness (*religion*), and he was called again "Silver-colour." Now at this time the age of the people reached to 70,000 *nahutas* of years, so that the king having reigned thus for hundreds and countless thousands of years, at length came to die—and when about to die he repeated these words :—

"All things that exist are transitory,
They must of necessity perish and disappear,
Though joined together, there must be separation,
Where there is life, there must be death,
All depends on *conduct*,
Whether good, or whether bad,
All things born,
Are unstable and inconstant."

Now, after that king's death he returned again to be born in the same kingdom, the Royal capital of which was Padma. He was born as a nobleman's child, very beautiful and fair. At eight years of age with 500 other youths he entered school; whilst there he enquired of those elder ones who had already finished their school course, why they had gone to school, and on their replying they had gone to learn their letters, he said "What profit is there in learning letters, only one thing is necessary, and that is to aim at the unequalled and unsurpassed condition of heart known as *Anuttara-samyak-sambhodi.*" And what is the meaning of that condition, they said. To which he replied, "you must above all things aim at the accomplishment of the six *Paramitas.*" And what are the six :—"the *paramita* of charity (*dâna*), of moral conduct (*śila*), of patience (*kshanti*), of perseverance (*virya*), of contemplation (*jñâna*), and of wisdom (*prajna*)." Then having heard this they said, we will aim at this. Thus that child having led his companions into this condition he reflected thus, "Now I desire to do some small act of charity, whether it be for man (*biped*) or beast (*quadruped*)." Having so thought he repaired to a public place of burial (*sitavana*), and forthwith taking a pocket knife (*li-lih*, "*a knife for use*") he began to cut his body till the blood gushed out, and then smeared himself all over with the blood and dust, and lying down in the midst of the cemetery, he sang out the following words : "Come now from far and near, ye two-footed and four-footed creatures all, come here and eat, oh come and eat my flesh from my body." Now among the birds that frequented that place there was one whose name was *yeou-shen* ("having a hand"), this one coming to the hermit perched above his forehead and pecked at his right eye, and having pecked at it, he let it go again. Then the hermit said : "Why do you peck at my right eye, and then let it go!" The bird replied "of all parts of a man's body I think the eye most beautiful (*to the taste?*)." Then the hermit addressed the bird, and said : "Though a thousand times over you pecked at my right eye and still let it go, yet should I feel no anger or resentment in my heart." Then that bird pecked out both his eyes, and the rest of the birds, all assembling in the cemetery, came and devoured bit by bit the hermit's flesh, till naught but the bleached bones were left.

Having quitted this body he immediately came back, and was reborn in that Royal city of Padma as the child of a Brâhman, very beautiful to behold, and incomparable for grace. Having completed 20 years of age, his parents addressed him, and said : "My son (*Mânava*), you must now get a home of your own." Then the young man answered his father and mother, and said : "What reason is there for me to have a house of my own, I have no desire for a family residence, my only wish is to be allowed to enter the deep mountains as a recluse." His parents having given their consent, he left his home, and found a home amidst the mountains and the forests ; whilst wandering thus he saw amid the mountain woods two aged Brâhmans, who were Rishis ; coming to them, he asked what they did dwelling there ; to which they

answered—"Mânava! we dwell here in order to benefit living creatures, practising all kinds of austerities." He then enquired further: "I also with the same desire to benefit all living creatures am come here to reside and to suffer all kinds of painful austerities." Then that youth passed on to different places amid the forest glades, making the earth his dwelling place (*living in holes?*) and whilst thus practising himself in religious austerities, he obtained, in virtue of his meritorious conduct, the eyes of a Deva (*heavenly sight*). Then looking round about on the place and its neighbourhood, not far off he saw a tigress who dwelt there, and just about to bring forth her young. Then the youth having observed this, began to think thus with himself: "this tigress not long hence will bring forth her young, and having done so, then perhaps she will die of hunger, or in her famished state desire to eat her young." Having thought thus he then returned and asked the two Brâhmans, and said, "Which of you will divide his body, and give it in food to this tigress?" They answered him: "Neither of us is ready to divide his body for food to give the tigress." Having received this reply, after seven days the tigress was delivered, and having brought forth her young she carried them in her mouth to the den, and again came out. The youth having observed this proceeding forthwith went to the place where the two Ṛishis dwelt, and addressed them thus: "Great Ṛishis, the tigress has brought forth her young: if now ye indeed seek to benefit all that lives, and for this purpose are suffering austerities—now is your opportunity—ye may now cut up your body, and give your flesh to the tiger-mother to eat." On this those two Brâhman Ṛishis immediately went to the place where the tigress was, and having come they began to think thus—"who can patiently endure such pain as this in practising charity? Who can cut off the flesh from his body that he loves to give to a starving tiger?" Having reflected thus, that newly delivered tiger-mother began to follow them at a distance, seeing which they were filled with fear, and mounting into the air, flew away.

At this time the Mânava youth looking around him spoke to those Brâhmans, and said: "Is this your vow and your oath?" Having said this he forthwith vowed, and said: "I now give my body to feed this tiger—oh would that in consequence of this sacrifice I may obtain the unsurpassed and perfect condition of being." Having made this vow, he took a knife, and himself cut flesh from his body, and gave it in charity to the tiger mother! "And now, Oh Bhikshus, entertain no doubt in your minds, it is from compassion to you that I declare this—look no further, but accept my words—it was I who was born in Padma as that Silver-colour who cut off her breasts to rescue and save that child who was no other than Rahula. It was I who gave my body in that *Sitavana* to feed the birds. It was I who cut off my flesh to feed that hungry tiger, whilst you were the Brâhmans, and because of my self-denying charity in bearing sorrow for others, I have now attained Perfection of Being."

The Bhikshus hearing these words were filled with great joy and exulted mightily.[4]

SUCCESSION OF BUDDHIST PATRIARCHS.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

It is well known that there is an assumed succession of Teachers who presided over the Buddhist Church from the death of the Founder, down to Bodhidharma, the last and twenty-eighth in the succession, who flourished in South India about 525 A.D. The list of these Patriarchs is preserved with some degree of accuracy on Chinese and Thibetan works, and it is possible that a complete examination of the subject might result in establishing some useful chronological data. The following account is compiled chiefly from Târânâtha's *History of Buddha*, and some Chinese fragments scattered through various books:—

1. Śâkya Buddha.

2. Kaśyapa, presided over the Church for ten years, Wassilief, *Bouddhisme*, § 42.

3. Ananda, presided for forty years.

4. Sanakavasa, or Sanavasika; he lived at Śravâsti and at Varânasî; at this time the

[4] The *Sivi Jâtaka* is pictured in Cave XVI. at Ajaṇṭâ, and perhaps another version also in Cave IX.; they are much injured in both cases, but appear to agree more closely with the Sinhalese form of the *Jâtaka*, than the Chinese. The latter however may throw light on these and perhaps other wall-paintings at Ajaṇṭâ.—Ed.

number of mendicants became so numerous that there was a dispersion of the community, and Madyantika, with 10,000 Rahats, proceeded to the north and finally settled in Kashmir. There was a great conversion of the followers of King Sudanu, the grandson of Ajâtaśatru, under this patriarch.

5. Upagupta; contemporary with Kâlaśoka, 100 A.B. Under him the first great division of the Church took place, and the second council was held.

6. Daitika, or Dhitika.

7. Kala; according to Târânâtha, this patriarch was principally concerned in the conversion of Ceylon and Orissa.

8. Sudarsana, engaged principally in the conversion of Sindh, and South India.

9. Katyayana.

10. Mahaloma.

11. Pârśvika, or Pârśva, principally instrumental in the conversion of Aśvagosha. (Târânâtha speaks of this patriarch under the name of Nandi.)

12. Mahatyaga (sometimes spoken of as Fu-na-ya-shi, *Wong Puh*, 197).

13. Aśvagosha, a very celebrated patriarch (*vide* his Life, translated by Wassilief, *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 141).

14. Kabimara (Kia-pi-mo-lo).

15. Nâgârjuna, supposed to have been contemporary with Vikramâditya.

16. Âryadeva, or sometimes simply Deva. He was a disciple of Nâgârjuna, and an interesting anecdote of his zeal is recorded by *Wong Puh*, § 188.

17. Ragurata.

18. Sanganandi.

19. Goyasheta (placed 74 B.C. by *Julien*, vol. II. p. 346).

20. Kumarila.

21. Jayata.

22. Vasubhandu, generally placed as contemporary with Vikramâditya.

23. Manura.

24. Haklena.

25. Sitsi, driven out of Kashmir and north India by the cruel persecution of Mahirakula. This king is the Mehrkul of the *Ayin Akbari*, vol. II. p. 145. He is placed by Cunningham about 500 A.D., and made contemporary with Balâditya (*Arch. Rep.* vol. I., p. 12). But Fergusson places him in the second century (*Tr. and Serp. Wor.* p. 165), which is more probable.

26. Bashiasita.

27. Putniamitta.

29. Bodhidharma, who arrived in China A.D. 526.

The succession in China was kept up until A.D. 713, when it was finally lost. The names of the Chinese Patriarchs were these:—

1. Bodhidharma.
2. Hoei-kho-ta-szu ...died 592 A.D.
3. Seng-lin-ta-szu...... „ 606 „
4. Tao-tin-ta-szu ...... „ 651 „
5. Houng-jin-ta-szu ... „ 675 „
6. Hoei-neng-ta-szu ... „ 713 „[1]

THE ŚAIVA PARIKRAMÂ.

BY BHAGVÂNLÂL INDRAJI PANDIT.

Round the old Śivâlayas or great temples of Śiva we often find a number of smaller shrines. Thus round the Vimâna of the great temple of Kailâsa at Elurâ, there are five such shrines on the same platform. They are now empty, and the visitor may be at a loss to know their designations. At the back of the great hall there is a door near each corner leading out upon the platform on which these temples stand, and which forms a *pradakshinâ* or ambulatory passage round the great shrine of the *liṅga*. Passing out by the door at the right or south end of the back wall, the first shrine was dedicated to the M â t r i s, whose seven seats are arranged along the back, with Kârtikswâmi or Śiva at the left side, and Gaṇapati with Bhṛingi at the right. The next, on the south-east corner, was dedicated to C h a ṇ ḍ a, whose image is one of the most disgusting in the Hindu Pantheon; he is represented nude, in lustful excitement, either with two or four hands, holding the *triśula* and a jug or a *damru*, with Śiva's third eye in his forehead, and his hair in the *jaṭâ* or Yogi's style. The refuse of the offerings in a Śaiva temple were thrown to him. Behind the great shrine, or on the east side, the small shrine is for P â r v a t î, whose place is just behind her lord's. The fourth on the north-east is for B h a i r a v a

[1] From *The Oriental*, Sept. 25, 1875.

or **Rudra**; and the fifth, on the north side, properly belongs to **Gaṇeśa**. Through the north wall of the great shrine comes the channel for the water which has been used in washing the great *liṅga*, and falls into a trough: this outlet is called the *Somasûtra*, which it is unlawful for the worshipper to pass in performing his ritual. For the *parikramâ* or *pradakshinâ* of Śiva is not properly performed by going round and round the temple, as in the case of the other gods, but in accordance with the śloka:—

Vrisham Chandam vrisham chaiva
somasûtram punarvrisham
Chandam cha Somasûtram cha
punaschandam punarvrisham.

That is—the worshipper must first go to the Nandî, which is always in front of the *liṅga* shrine, and standing behind it perform his *namaskâra* to Śiva; thence he goes along the *pradakshinâ* passage to the right, to the shrine of Chanda, and pays his worship there; returns to Nandî and again worships the *liṅga*; then round as before, but past the shrine of Chanda to the *Somasûtra*, where he touches his eyes with the water used for washing the god, and worships. Next he returns to Nandî and a third time worships the *liṅga*; he returns a second time to Chanda, and having performed his *namaskâra* to him he advances as far as the *Somasûtra*, and looking up he worships the flag on the spire; then returning to Chanda he again does *pûja* to him, and comes back to Nandî to make another *namaskâra* to Śiva.

This is the full *parikramâ*; but the custom has almost fallen out of use all over the peninsula of India, and no figure of Chanda is to be found in any temple of modern times.[1]

[1] At the temple of Siva-Gangâ Kondai, in Tinnivelí, there is a small shrine of "Shendiswara," which is perhaps the same as Chanda. See p. 119.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 73.*)

No. XXV.—*Rag-bushes in the East.*

One of the most universal of superstitious customs is that of tying bits of rag to bushes or trees at spots held to be sacred or haunted by any supernatural presence. In vol. VIII. of the *Indian Antiquary*, at page 219, the wandering trader or pedlar caste, called Banjâris or Lambâdies, in travelling from Bastar to the Godâvari Tâluqâs are said "to fasten small rags torn from some old garment to a bush in honour of Kampalamma, (*kampa* = a thicket.)" On three or four occasions, when going up from the Koimbatûr plain to the Maisûr frontier by the Gazzalhaṭṭi or Kavêripuram passes, once famous in the wars with Haidar and Tipu, but now for three quarters of a century hardly traceable tracts through wild stony jangal, I have seen a thorn-bush rising out of a heap of stones piled round it, and bearing bits of rag tied to its branches; these deserted passes are frequented by Lambâdies carrying salt-fish, grain, &c. by means of large droves of pack-bullocks and asses; whether of the same race as the Bastar people I do not know. I have more than once encountered their encampments in the Kâvêri jangals, and am now led to connect the rag-bushes I saw there, and of which I could not at the time get any account or explanation, with them. In the southern districts of Madras there is also a prickly shrub, the botanical name of which I do not know, but the prickles have a stinging quality, which induces fever, and its branches are sometimes seen stuck all over with bits of rag by way of propitiation[1]. In Wales the prickly furze is held to fence off evilly-disposed fairies, being there in such matters held protective rather than injurious. Once near Dindigul in the Madura district I saw a solitary mimosa tree by a pool in the middle of a wide barren *mâidân* with a great many bits of rag and cloth tied to its branches, and was told that a traveller unknown had some years before been found dead by the pool, that his spirit had become a malignant demon, which haunted the spot, and that the rags were tied to the tree as offerings to prevent it injuring the herd-boys and cattle pasturing on the plain. Closely analogous must be the custom amongst the Gâros of the deep jangals on the Âsâm border of raising a bambu arch decorated with tufts of cotton over each path leading into a village to propitiate the deities;

[1] Sir Walter Elliot informs me he has repeatedly seen rags tied to bushes in the Dakhan, most frequently on the Bêr tree (Zizyphus).

all who enter or quit the village must pass under these arches; they are also placed over the doors of houses in cases of sickness.

All over India the tombs of Musalman Saints and holy men are surrounded with upright rods and canes to which are attached streamers of many-coloured rags. Mrs. R. Burton, in her entertaining book *Arabia, Egypt, India*, notices that near Bombay "the burial-grounds were full of little flags or pendants like those on a lance" (p. 128)[2]. Cossack graves around Moscow are distinguished in the same way, and so are the Turcoman tombs between the Caspian and Merv. In Persia the prevalence of the custom has long attracted the notice of travellers. Mr. James Morier, in his *Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, in 1810-20, writes (page 239):—"Close to the burial place of a Persian saint grew a small bush, upon the branches of which were tied a variety of rags and remnants of garments. The Persians conceive that those rags from their vicinity to the saint acquire peculiar preservative virtues against sickness, and substituting others, they take bits away, and, tying them about their persons, use them as talismans." This recalls the "handkerchiefs and aprons," brought from the body of St. Paul, which banished diseases and evil spirits (*Acts* xix. 12). Brand in his *Popular Antiquities* refers to a prayer of the Roman Church used for "the blessing of clouts in the way of curing diseases."

In further illustration of Morier's account, Mr. Eugene Schuyler, in his recent work *Turkistan*, observes of the tomb of Zang-ata, the patron saint of Tashkend, that "it looks shabby from the ramshorns and long bits of dirty rags which every pilgrim has felt it necessary to tie there on some stick or tree. These are symbols of sacrifice" (vol. I. 138). Mr. J. Romilly Allen has also informed me that in 1874, he observed by the Khorzam Pass on the Elburz Mountains, at a height of 7000 feet, a great number of thorn-bushes covered with rags of every colour, which had been left by the muleteers. In Afghanistan our troops have noticed that it is the custom to tie rags to bushes by the graves of those who had died violent deaths—no unfrequent objects there. The Missionaries Huc and Gabet describe the *Oboes*, or immense cairns, they encountered in Tartary and Tibet as surmounted with branches hung over with bits of cloth on which verses are inscribed: these are propitiatory offerings to the mountain-spirits. In China Governor Davis speaks of the whole population of towns trooping out to the cemeteries at periodical times of mourning, "leaving behind them long streamers of red and white paper to mark the fulfilment of the rites. Whole ranges of hills sprinkled with tombs may at that season be seen covered with these testimonials of attention to the departed fluttering in the wind and sunshine" (Davis's *Chinese*, vol. I. chap. 8)[3]. The foregoing instances demonstrate the wide prevalence of the custom in Asia, alike amongst Muhammadan, Hindu, and Buddhist populations. Antiquaries know it was equally prevalent over Europe, where it is indeed now far from extinct. It is there chiefly associated with holy wells celebrated for healing qualities. Bushes by such wells are covered with bits of clothing tied there by persons who had derived benefit from bathing or drinking, just as in Persia devotees tie rags to bushes near holy tombs. The custom still exists in Wales and Ireland, and I have seen instances of it near Boulogne in France and in the Black Forest. Widely spread as are the rag-bushes, rag-trees and their variants are more universal still. Over both the Americas from the far north to the extreme south the custom may be traced. In the remote regions of British Columbia fragments of the blankets and clothing of departed Indians wave over their graves by the Fraser River. Sir John Franklin describes the sacred tree of the Cree Indians hung all over with strips of buffalo flesh and pieces of cloth. Mr. Taylor gives an account of the great cypress tree in Mexico, its branches covered with hundreds of locks of coarse hair, bits of coloured cloth, rags, and morsels of ribbon, "probably so decorated long before the discovery of America," and Mr. Darwin notices the remarkable single-standing sacred tree in Patagonia, reverenced by all the Indians with numberless offerings "such as cigars, meat, pieces of cloth," &c. suspended

[2] "On the top of the Giant's Mountain near Constantinople is the tomb of a dervish called Joshua's Tomb. It is held very sacred, and the railings round it are covered with tiny bits of rag, hung there by the superstitious as a sure preventive against fever and ills of every kind."—*Sunshine and Storm in the East*, by Mrs. Brassey, p. 73.

[3] The Rev. A. Williamson in his *Journey in Northern China*, describes near Taiyuanfu an acacia dating from the T'ang dynasty (7th to 10th century) covered with votive tablets.

to its branches. In Africa Mungo Park encountered a great tree called Neema Taba, "decorated with innumerable rags or scraps of cloth, which none presumed to pass without offering something," and the same custom has lately been reported from Madagascar[4]. Similar observances prevailed amongst the Esthonians in Livonia, and are reported by Sir John Lubbock to be not yet extinct[5]. Confining ourselves, however, to Asia, perhaps the earliest notice of the sort is the story of Herodotus, that Xerxes, when marching on Greece, encountered in Lydia a plane tree so beautiful that he caused golden robes and ornaments to be hung over it, and placed a guard to watch it. The historian says this was "on account of its beauty," but it was probably also a sacred tree, such as was familiar to the Persians in their own land. Tabari, the Arabian annalist of the 9th century, relates that the people of Najrân in Yemen every year, on a certain day, assembled round a large date tree outside the city, hung it with rich garments, and offered prayers. In our own times Captain Conder (*Tent Work in Palestine*, vol. II. p. 233) says of the sacred oaks and terebinths named after the Sheikhs their owners, that "they are covered all over with rags tied to the branches, which are considered acceptable offerings"[6]. Sir John Chardin, the traveller in Persia of the 17th century, often mentions the sacred trees met with everywhere in Persia, called dirakht-fâzel = excellent trees,—stuck all over with nails for fastening on bits of garments. One very ancient plane he saw in the king's garden at Shiraz, to which the people used to come to pray under its shade, and hang amulets and shreds of garments on its branches. Mr. Schuyler, at the passage above referred to, also observes:—"Old trees, especially old mulberry trees, seem greatly venerated throughout Central Asia, and the older and deader they are the more bits of rag they have stuck on them." In remoter northern Asia Strahlenberg describes the idols of the Ostiaks on the rivers Irtysch and Obi as "roughly hewn pieces of wood hung over with rags," and the Jakuhti of Eastern Siberia as "hanging all manner of nicknacks on their sacred trees," and Zaleski, in his *Life on the Kirghiz Steppes*, gives an account of a tree that strikingly recalls the solitary Patagonian rag-tree. He says that on the steppes between the Sea of Aral and the confluence of the Tchoni and Yâtch rivers, a distance of 310 miles, there is only one tree, a species of poplar, highly venerated by the Kirghizes, who go several miles out of their way to hang an article of their clothing on its branches, hence it is called *Sinderich-agatch*, *i.e.* rag-tree. In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. p. 35, I have mentioned what seems to me a variant of the custom where the Champaka and other trees round the ancient shrine of the Trimurti at the foot of the Animalei Mountains in Koimbatur, Madras Presidency, are thickly hung with sandals and shoes, many of huge size, evidently made for the purpose, suspended by pilgrims as thank-offerings, or in token of vows accomplished. Another more ghastly variant seems to be the practice of the Nâgâs of Eastern India of hanging the skulls of enemies on the great trees in their villages. In China, pieces of gilt paper are hung upon trees in sacred places, and silken streamers are reported to be tied to trees in Lamasaries in Tibet.

This almost universal custom of tying rags to trees and bushes may be due to the desire of making some offering or recognition to an apprehended supernatural power or presence, and in its homeliest form is probably a survival of the gold robes and such costlier offerings as were made by Xerxes and the ancient Arabians. In many primitive nations it was customary to offer splendid gifts at funerals, and bury them with the dead, but such observances have always a tendency to change and lessen in value, and at last to be continued in imitations and temporary substitutes. Thus inferior pottery, evidently made for the purpose, is frequently found buried in barrows of a period when much better earthenware was made, and the Chinese, who once offered gold ornaments at ancestral tombs, are now content to make them in gilt paper. So rags and shreds may have taken the place of

[4] On the East Coast of Africa most settlements have near them large ancient trees much venerated by the natives, who drive votive nails in them and suspend rags. European residents call them *devil-trees*. It is held highly dangerous to injure them. Capt. R. Burton tells a story of an English merchant who cut down one, and died soon after as well as four others of his family.

[5] I have not met with any form of the custom in Australia or the South Sea Islands, unless there be something analogous in the consecration by *tabu*, "which is generally marked by small white flags stuck about tabued property." —Jarvis's *Sandwich Islands*, p. 56.

[6] "Abraham's Oak," which figures much in middle age romance, was similarly decorated; it grew near Hebron, and was affirmed to be green since the days of Abraham. —*Vide* Lucan's *Pharsalia*, vol. I. p. 136.

worthier gifts. Moreover, spots of reputed sanctity or haunted by supernatural beings, whether wells, tombs, shrines, or trees, often occur in waste and deserted places, and travellers or pilgrims passing by, or journeying from long distances to the spot, might have little that could easily be spared to offer, and yet be unwilling to pass without some recognition, however trifling, and a shred torn from a garment would afford the readiest means of satisfying the impulse. Supernatural beings and ghosts, especially of persons who have died by violence, are amongst many peoples believed to expect food and clothing, and to be malignant if neglected, so once a year the Chinese observe a ceremony called "appeasing the burning mouth," and lay out stale cakes and worn-out clothes with invitations on placards above to the "Honourable Homeless Ghosts," that is, those who have left no relatives, or whose kindred are too poor to provide the usual offerings, but who are apt to cause epidemics and work mischief if quite passed over. So in many instances it is conceivable that the rags tied to a bush may be survivals and substitutes for the garments once left for the shivering angry spirit. On this point the chapter headed 'Presents,' in Herbert Spencer's recent work *Ceremonial Institutions*, may be referred to.

The traces of a form of this custom may perhaps be discovered even in prehistoric times, and still existing. Explorers have often been surprised at the immense amount of broken pottery found mixed with the mould in cairns and barrows. Canon Greenwell, in his exhaustive work *British Barrows*, often refers to this, remarking on the very large quantities of potsherds met with, which certainly could not have found their way into the barrows accidentally, but seem as if they had been scattered about when the mound was being built. Such pottery is always broken, apparently made for the purpose, and, he thinks, must have symbolised some religious ideas. Perhaps some light may be thrown on this by a passage in Mr. Stanley's march *Across the Dark Continent*, where when nearing the western coast, at a spot never before visited by Europeans, he writes (vol. II. p. 453): "Close to our camp was a cemetery of a village of Mbinda. The grave mounds were neat, and by their appearance I should judge them to be not only the repositories of the dead, but the depositories of all the articles that had belonged to the dead. Each grave was dressed out with the various mugs, pitchers, wash-basins, tea-pots, glasses, spirit and beer-bottles. The various articles thus exhibited, especially the useful articles, had all been rendered useless,"—like the broken pottery of the barrows and the shreds of the rag-bushes; some analogy between the customs does not seem too far-fetched. Curiously, too, this possible European and modern African variant of the custom exists in Central and Northern Asia. Mr. Seebohm, speaking of the remote regions of Central Siberia, says that there, after a funeral feast, the drinking vessels are broken and thrown upon the grave; and the correspondent of the *Daily News*, describing the customs of the Turcoman population on the Caspian borders, says that in the cemetery at Hasan Kouli and Tchikislar the graves are marked by poles to which linen bands and morsels of cloth are attached, and water jars and earthen teapots, tributes to the departed, are accumulated at the head of the grave. He does not remark whether they too were always broken, but adds that whilst a man who dies in battle is buried in his clothes, any one who dies of old age or sickness has his clothes hung on the pole surmounting the grave, and his friends or relations come occasionally to brush and clean the garments, and sometimes replace them with new. This institution is named *Loguravskha*. These grave-poles may also be regarded as variants of the rag-bushes.

ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS MADE NEAR MANIKYALA, IN THE PANJAB.

BY W. SANDFORD, SECUNDERABAD.

The excavations, of which a description follows, were made in the vicinity of Manikyala, a spot well known from the published accounts of the explorations of Generals Court and Ventura of the Sikh service, and those of General Cunningham, R.E., Director General of the Archæological Survey of India.

The work was done under the personal direction and at the expense of Mr. Alexander Grant, M.I.C.E., Director of State Railways, Western System, and by the consent of the head of the Archæological Survey.

A general description and map of the vicinity will be found in the second volume of the *Reports of the Archæological Survey of India*.

The village of Manikyala stands about a

mile north of the Trunk Road, near a point, on that road, fifteen miles south-east of Rawalpindi. The village is therefore about midway between the rivers Jhilam and Suhan (the latter an affluent of the Indus). The entire neighbourhood is studded for miles with topes and mounds, several of which have, as is well known, been explored. The only structure, however, which in any degree retains its original appearance is the huge masonry stupa known as Ventura's tope, which General Cunningham considers was originally built during the reign of Huvishka (one of the Scythian princes whose sovereignty succeeded that of the Bactrian Greeks), about the commencement of the Christian era, but to have been repaired, and made as it now stands, about A.D. 720, by a king of Kanoj (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. V, page 78). Not far off are the remains of another large tope, known as Court's, which was built by Kanishka of Kashmir in A.D. 18. Another tope, which was opened by General Cunningham, (that at Sonala Pind), he dates *circa* 70 B.C. (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, p. 168).

The remains generally about Manikyala are therefore of considerable antiquity, ranging, at least, from the first to the eighth centuries, and prove that the neighbourhood was the seat of a large and important religious community of Buddhists.

The Khangah Mound.

The first excavation undertaken by Mr. Grant was at the site known as the Khangah Mound. This mound is General Cunningham's No. 19 (*vide* map in the *Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, p. 153), and is described by that officer as "a large, low, mound, 1,500 feet N.N.E. of the village of Sâgâri, and just half a mile to the south-east of General Court's tope." Its present name is derived from the grave of a Muhammadan Pîr, named Jamal, who is stated, by the fakîr in charge of the place, to have met a violent death, by means not explained, during the reign of Sikandar Ludi of Delhi (A.D. 1488--1517).

A plan of the mound is given in the accompanying plate. It is roughly square, with sides of 120 feet; it does not rise much above the prevailing level, and is nearly covered with trees and shrubs. There is an artificial pond of water, measuring 43 feet by 38 feet, forty-eight feet south of the mound, and another pond, about the same size, (not shown in the plan,) stands about 150 yards to the north-east of the fakîr's hut. A rough track, leading from the village of Sâgari to the katcha road running from Rawat Sarai to Kalar, runs along the south and west sides of the mound.

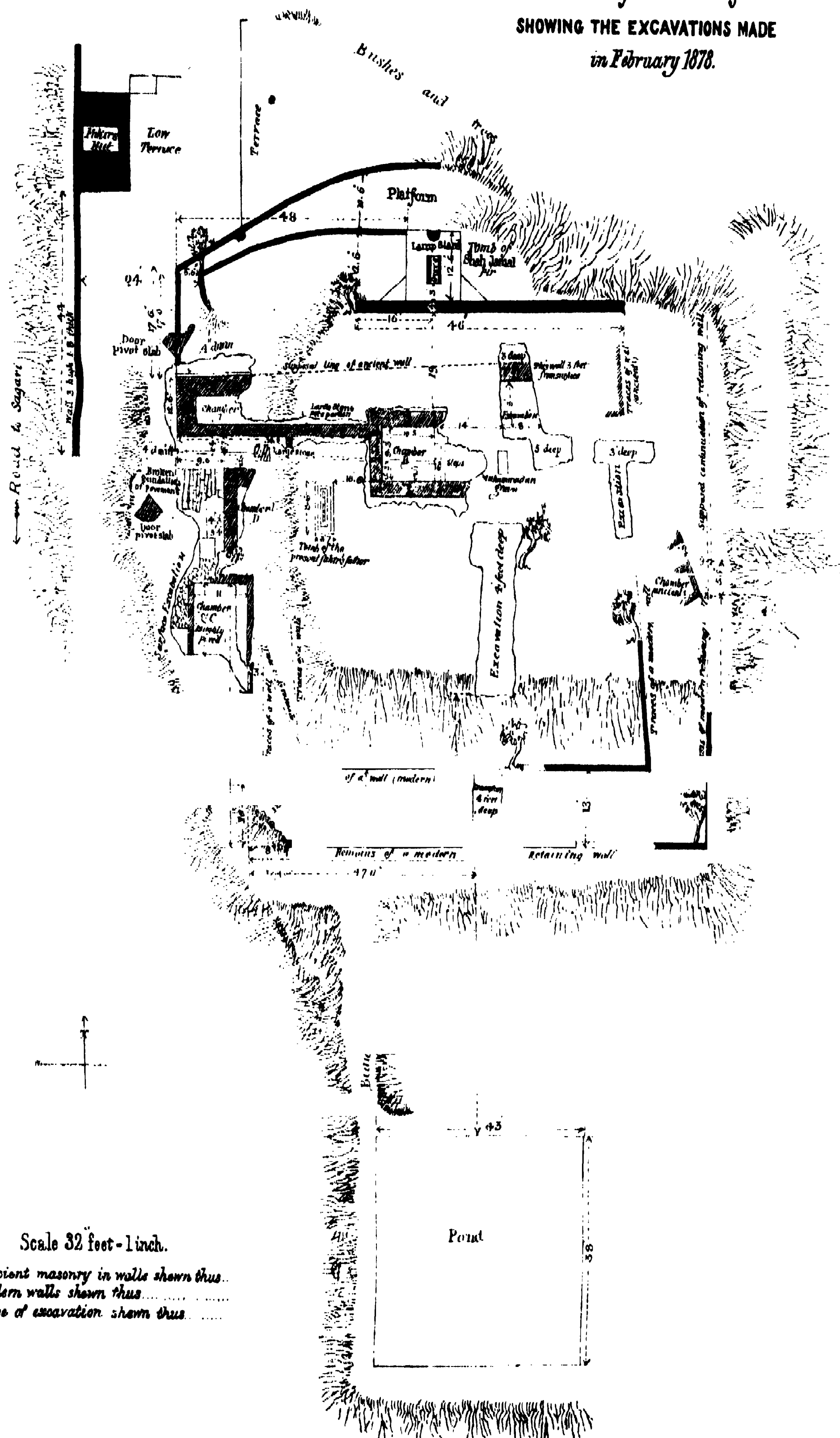
The plan renders unnecessary any very detailed description of the mound, but as an elevation drawing of it, and sections, cannot be given for want of space, it may be mentioned that the steepest side of it is the north, where the ground rises, by two platforms, from the fakîr's hut to the pîr's tomb. This tomb stands on a small square platform of its own, resting against a low stone wall. On the east and west sides the ground falls, with varying graduation, to the prevailing level of the fields; on the south side the descent is stepped (as will be seen from the remains of retaining walls shown on the plan), as is also the case at the south-east and south-west corners.

The surface of the mound is covered with the remains and traces of walls, and with blocks and fragments of stone. There are two Muhammadan graves, besides that of the pîr. The highest part of the mound lies east of, and close to, the pîr's tomb, and is about 12 feet above the level of the pond to the south, but the whole of the mound south of the wall against which that tomb rests, being an area of about 60 feet from north to south and 90 feet from east to west, is not much lower.

The excavations did not disclose anything of interest, but they confirmed General Cunningham's previous supposition that the site is the ruins of a Buddhist monastery. The walls disclosed are not arranged, so far as can be seen, as those of monasteries frequently are, that is, a series of cells around a rectangular open court (*vide* those of Takht-i-Bahi, Sarnath near Banaras, and the rock-cut examples at Ajaṇṭâ and elsewhere), and therefore do not serve to explain the squareness of the mound. As the pîr's grave is on one side, the mound cannot have been raised, dressed, and provided with retaining walls for it, nor are there walls everywhere below which could, in the course of ages, have assisted to raise a mound of such regular form. It is only evident that the mound is of much later date than the walls disclosed by the excavations.

There is no direct evidence of the age of the

PLAN OF THE
KHÂNGAH MOUND
near Mânikyâla in the Panjâb
SHOWING THE EXCAVATIONS MADE
in February 1878.



Scale 32 feet - 1 inch.

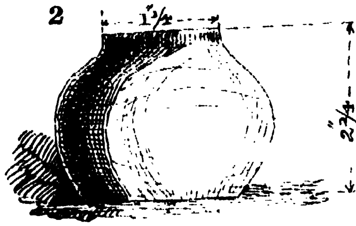
Ancient masonry in walls shown thus..

Modern walls shown thus.........

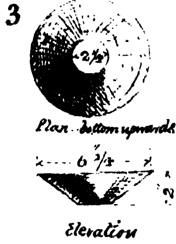
Edge of excavation shown thus.....

MANIKYÂLA EXCAVATIONS.

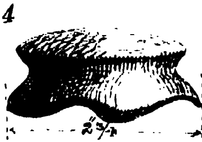
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3



Plan. bottom upwards

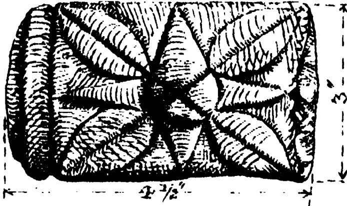


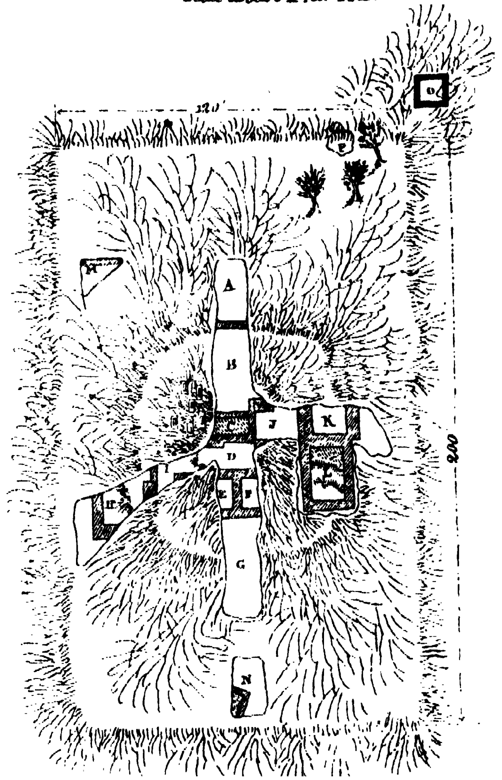
Elevation

10

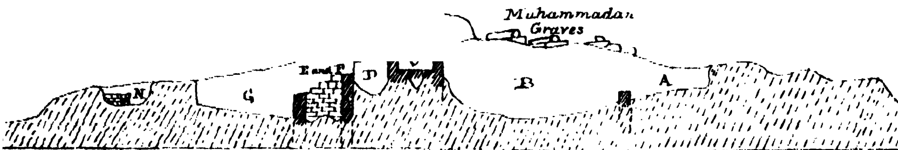


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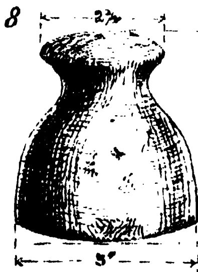




Ancient walls shewn thus
Ancient floors shewn thus
Edge of Excavations
Modern walls shewn thus
Muhammadan graves thus



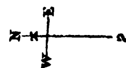
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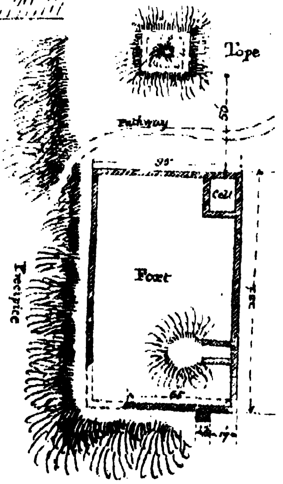


9



12





11



Plan of the top



Section

W. Sandford fecit

deep masonry remains opened out. There is an entire absence of ornament, even of the simplest kind. Two of the three copper coins found were partly legible, and are described further on, but they do not show that the masonry was of that age, though of course it may be so without any stretch of probability.

The excavations consisted of five cuts. One of them is a large and a regular one, commencing in the west side of the mound and running completely into the centre of it. Of the other four, two were merely pits in the body of the north-east quarter of the mound; the remaining two being cuts, in continuation of each other, from the south side of the mound towards the centre.

The first mentioned of these cuts was the only one which repaid the trouble and expense, as it will be seen, from the plan, that it everywhere opened out walls and floors, and disclosed, more or less completely, four chambers (which are marked A, B, C and D on the plan). This cut was commenced 9 or 10 yards from the fakîr's hut, and over the four-inch drain near the south corner of chamber A, and was suggested by an older excavation (made by the present fakîr in search for stones), which had discovered several large blocks of stone (among them being one of two supposed door-pivot slabs shown in the plan). Carrying the excavation along the long south wall of chamber (A), another rectangular chamber (B), 10′ 5″ × 9′ 3″, was found in the centre of the mound, with steps leading out of it, on one side, eastward.

The following are the details of each of these chambers, and the pavements near them—premising that the sandstone masonry is mostly a coursed rubble, which in solidity and regularity is almost like block-in-course, and is laid dry, without mortar.

Chamber A.—The west, or outside end of this chamber, was about four feet below the surface of the mound; the rest about three feet. It is 5 feet wide and (possibly) 36 feet long. [This qualification as to its length is given, because only one end of the interior was cleared out, though the exterior of the southern side wall was disclosed for a length of 40 feet.] The north and west walls are 3′ 10″ thick; the south 2′ 0″ thick. All are stopped at one level, about 2 feet above the base. Outside the north wall, and close to it, is a drain 4 inches deep. This drain was lined with large blocks of stone, and was more than 18 inches deep; (it was not cleared to its full depth). Beyond (north of) this drain a rough stone floor was partly exposed.

On the south side of chamber A another 4 inch drain was found, but this, instead of being close under the wall (as in the foregoing case), runs diagonally up the middle of a paved passage (5 feet wide) leading to chamber B (though chamber B has no door where that passage meets it). This drain was also more than 18 inches deep.

It is impossible to say what chamber A was, but it resembles that opened up by General Cunningham at Sarnath, near Banaras, in 1835 (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. I, p. 120), being similarly without doors. It also resembles the long chamber in the Ionic monastery at Shah-ki-dheri figured by Fergusson (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 176), though the latter is too large to afford so good a parallel as the Sarnath example.

The absence of doors to chamber A points to the remains found being merely the foundation of a superstructure of wood. The walls are cut off, quite smoothly, at an uniform level, and are not of an irregular height and rough top surface, as they would have been had a masonry superstructure been rudely thrown down.

Chamber B.—This is in the centre of the mound, 40 feet from the west outside edge of chamber A, its centre being 64 feet from the southern edge of the mound. It has a door on one side, with two steps leading eastward, and its dimensions are 10′ 5″ × 9′ 3″. The walls are of an uniform thickness of 2′ 6″, cut off level 2′ 6″ from the floor. The second of the two 4 inch drains runs diagonally through it.

Chamber C.—This was probably 12′ × 11′ and is roughly paved inside and outside.

Chamber D.—The walls of this chamber (2′ 6″ thick) are much ruined and are 3 feet high on the north side and 8 inches on the west side. One of the stones in its west wall is 8′ long by 2′ 6″ broad. Outside the chamber is a flagged floor (of which one of the stones is 4′ 3″ × 3′ 4″) which was cleared out for 10 feet westwards.

The floors of all the chambers are nearly at one level, which may be, say, 4 or 5 feet above

the level of the water of the pond on the south side of the mound.

With the exception of the wall (3 feet thick) found in the pit nearest the pîr's grave, the above were all the remains of ancient masonry found. In the other excavations there were merely loose rough stones.

The articles found in the mound were as follows :—

Three copper coins.

A small earthen pot (plate, fig. 2).

Some fragments of earthen saucers (fig. 3).

A fragment of pottery ware (fig. 4).

The coins are ⅞" in diameter and all much oxidized. One resembles figures 19 and 20 Plate xi. of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, and possesses on the obverse an indistinct coated figure facing to the left, with two illegible characters, and on the reverse a mutilated erect figure with the monogram ☸. It may therefore possibly be of the Indo-Scythian Prince Kanerki of Kabul, of whom other coins have been found at Manikyala. The second coin has on the obverse a coated figure, and on the reverse Śiva and the bull Nandî, but both sides are very indistinct, and it would be rash to attempt to identify it. The third coin is indistinguishable.

These articles were found from four to five feet below the surface. The saucers (fig. 3) and fragment of pottery (fig. 4) were found in chamber A. The former resemble the saucers found in the Ṣarnath tope near Banaras, many of which were still lying about there in December 1877.

The Chauntra Mound.

This is 1500 feet north of the Khangah mound, and about the same distance from the important stupa known as Court's tope. It has been briefly described by General Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, Vol. II, pp. 169–70), being figured in the map (p. 153 *ibid.*) as mound No. 20.

The mound is quite bare except for three small trees, and a number of Muhammadan graves. Gold coins are said to have been found in it. A plan of the mound is given in fig. 5.

The mound, which is roughly rectangular, measures 200 feet from north to south, and 120 east to west, while it rises from 12 to 14 feet, if not more, above the prevailing level of the surrounding fields.[1] At first it falls rather suddenly from this height, but towards the edges the descent is gradual.

The more important excavations made were in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, or two lines intersecting each other diagonally in the highest part of the mound. Walls were opened out everywhere, two cells or chambers being excavated completely.

The masonry was much of the same kind as that in the Khangah mound, that is, of kankar and sandstone, in courses, often of square blocks, and laid dry. There was not a fragment of ornament of any kind on the walls, and the work altogether was disappointingly uninteresting in its results.

If the walls discovered are of the same age as the neighbouring topes, General Cunningham's inference (before the excavations were made) that they are the remains of a Buddhist monastery is almost inevitable, as their arrangement is not roomy enough for any known lay purpose, and it is difficult otherwise to explain the existence of these massive isolated groups of cells over so many square miles of country, near well known topes. General Cunningham has shown that there was no town in this neighbourhood (Manikyala itself, two miles off, having apparently never been much more than a large village affording accommodation to devotees), of which this and other isolated ruins might have formed part.

The various chambers and other parts of the excavations are lettered on the sketch-plan fig. 5, A to P, and the following notes follow the order of these letters :—

(A) —A shallow excavation from one to three feet deep, with a wall at one end.

(B) This excavation averaged 7 feet deep. It was [illegible] of small rough stones and human bones (probably Muhammadan) down to the bottom; some of the skeletons were complete, being protected at the sides and top by slabs of stone. Some fragments of a metal vessel (like a lotâ); a corroded piece of bar iron; an ornamental brick (shown in fig. 6); and several shallow saucers (like those found in the Khangah mound), were found.

(C)—This was a brick-paved cell, without door, the floor of which was 7 feet from the original surface of the mound, and, being high above all the other masonry work, may have been

[1] These dimensions differ from General Cunningham's.

much more recent in date. The style of work was however identical with that deeper down. The sketch section given as fig. 7, shows the position of this cell. The dimensions of the cell were 10′ 8″ × 11′ 6″, the floor being of red bricks, each 9″ × 9″ × $2\frac{1}{2}$″. The floor was opened, but nothing was found below it to a depth of two feet. About the floor were found several pieces of corroded rod iron, some fragments of red and black pottery (none sufficiently perfect to enable a sketch to be made), and many human bones (certainly Muhammadan, the centre of the mound being thickly occupied by graves). The floor of the chamber is six feet above the bottom of the excavation J and chamber L.

(D)—This cut was carried down 5 feet through stiff clay, stones, (some large ones,) and human bones (probably Muhammadan).

(E and F)—These are the ends of two chambers, abutting on each other, 9 feet wide from north to south; the base of the massive walls was not reached at 9 feet from the surface; excavated mostly in stiff clay.

(G)—An excavation from 3 to 9 feet deep. Very few stones, and those rough and small.

(H)—This excavation, a shallow one, from 1 to 2 feet deep, disclosed the corner of a chamber. In it were found the articles figured in plate as Nos. 8 and 9. No. 8 is like a potter's moulding tool, and is solid, of red brick. No. 9 is a small earthenware vessel. The wall bounding this chamber on the east side was at a level 2 feet higher than that at the south west corner, the ground rising suddenly from H to D.

(I)—This cut was carried from 7 to 10 feet from the surface, through stiff clay mixed with human bones and large stones. It was a continuation, at a lower level, of excavation D, and with D seems to have been a passage between chambers F, E, and H.

(J)—This excavation, 8′ 3″ wide between the walls east and west, was carried down 9 feet, nearly to the foot of the west wall of chamber K. A copper coin (figured in the plate as No. 10) was found at a depth of 7 or 8 feet. It resembles some of the coins of the Scythian princes of the Panjâb, circa A.D. 400.

(K)—At this spot a shallow excavation disclosed a chamber, in which the human bones, found elsewhere, were deposited, and then covered over.

(L)—This chamber, excepting part of the floor, was completely opened out, and was 9′ 0″ × 18′ 4′. The walls were 2 feet thick and 5 feet high, with a projecting plinth 2 feet high above the floor. The walls were stopped off at an uniform level. The floor, where got at, was 8′ 6′ from the surface, and was hidden beneath two or three feet of hard clay, mixed with human bones. These bones, from their position, can scarcely have been Muhammadan. An illegible copper coin was found at a depth of 7 feet.

(M)—A shallow excavation, which disclosed part of a wall.

(N)—Another shallow excavation, which turned up a rude stone platform with a raised edge.

(O and P)—Shallow excavations not carried on. The gold coins are said to have been found in O.

In this mound were also found two copper coins and the circular stone shown as fig. 11. The coins were apparently Hindu, but have not been identified. They have a lion on one side, and an elephant on the other. The coins are probably Rajput, similar to those figured in plate xi, figs. 11 and 12, of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. The circular stone was 16 inches in diameter, and looked like the lid of a box. A square stone box, in which General Court found a relic casket, is still lying in the village of Gura not far off. The writer was not present when these coins and the circular stone were found, and was unable to discover where they were met with.

Pari-ki-dheri mounds.

These two mounds have been fully described by General Cunningham (*Arch. Rep.* Vol. II, pp. 168-9), and are marked No. 16 on that officer's map. The mound on which the fakir's tomb stands was only partly uncovered. The other, close at hand, said to be a monastery, was completely opened out, but the writer was not present and cannot furnish details. The only article found was a small copper coin, which turned up at a depth of 4 feet. On one side can be traced a long coated figure, in boots, like those on the Indo-Scythian coins so numerously found in the Punjab, but the other side is illegible, and the coin cannot be identified.

These were all the excavations undertaken.

The following notes are added regarding two

localities which are known, but have not, apparently, been described.

The first of these is *Kotera-ki-dheri*, about a quarter of a mile south-east of mound No. 3, and about a mile from the village of Syudon-ka-mora, the intervening space being a series of rugged fissures and denuded ridges of sandstone. The spot is General Cunningham's No. 14, and was examined by General Court, who found some coins in it. The remains consist of a tope and monastery, the latter being a large rectangular walled enclosure, in good preservation, which the people about call a fort. A plan appears in the plate, fig. 12.

The tope is now roughly conical, not allowing for the partial removal of the upper core by General Court, but apparently had a square basement. The mound of the tope rises 15 to 20 feet above the level of the pathway, which runs between the tope and monastery.

The facing of part of the tope still remains, and looks, at a distance, nearly perfect.

The walls of the monastery are nearly perfect except at one corner, and they are about 100 feet above the ravine on the north. The work is constructed of large blocks of sandstone, without mortar, and, so far as it goes, is more perfect than anything about Manikyâla, Ventura's tope only excepted. The masonry is in courses, with the interstices filled in regularly with smaller stones. Some of the blocks of stone are rather large—one being 4′ 10″ long × 1′ 7″ high.

Khanda-ka-dhera, the other place, is about a mile in a south-eastern direction from Kotera-ki-dheri, a nala being crossed between them. It is a plateau 200 feet long by 80 or 90 feet broad, and is the highest point in the entire neighbourhood, being conspicuous, with its survey cairn, from the village of Syudon-ka-mora. It is surrounded, from 150 to 200 feet below, by harsh ridges and ravines, and is covered with fragments of pottery more thickly than the vicinity of Ventura's tope. Numbers of coins are said to have been found without excavation. In a few minutes the writer found a small illegible copper coin, a fragment of another, some beads of coral and lapis lazuli, and several pieces of black and red pottery. The only remains of masonry are those of two rude buttresses. The site is apparently however not ancient, as General Cunningham, who afterwards examined it, considered there had been a modern hamlet there; it is therefore probably not worth examination. There is a fine view of the Pûnch hills from the plateau.

ON MAHÂVÎRA AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

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In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 311, a paper on the *Six Tîrthakas* by James d'Alwis was reproduced with notes by the editor. One of these heretical teachers, N i g a ṇ ṭ h a N â t a p u t t a, has lately become of great interest, as he has been identified with M a h â v î r a, the supposed founder of the Jaina sect. The proof of this identity is conclusive. For the Bauddhas and Jainas agree not only in the name of the sect, viz., Pâli,—Nigaṇṭha, Niggaṇṭha, Nigaṇdha; Sanskṛit,—Nirgrantha, and Prâkṛit,—Nîyaṁṭha Niggaṁtha; Sanskṛit,—Nirgrantha, respectively; and in the name of the founder Pâli,—Nâtaputta, Nâṭaputta, Sanskṛit,—Jñâtiputra, and Prâkrit,—Nâtaputta, Nâyaputta; Sanskṛit, Jñâtaputra, Jñâtiputra respectively, but also on the place of Jñâtaputra's death, the town P â v â; see my edition of the *Kalpasûtra*, pp. 4 sqq. Yet there remain some anomalies in the forms of these names and some obscure points in the doctrines of the Nigaṇṭhas as defined by the Bauddhas. To account for, and clear up, these is my purpose in the first part of this paper.

The word N i g a ṇ ṭ h a in Pâli books, and N i y a ṁ ṭ h a in Jaina *Sûtras* (*e.g.* the *Sûtrakṛitâṅga* and *Bhagavatî*) are neither Pâli nor Jaina Prâkṛit. For its Sanskṛit prototype, N i r g r a n t h a, current with the Jainas and Northern Buddhists, would in both dialects have regularly become N i g g a ṁ t h a, which form, indeed, is the common one in Jaina Prâkṛit, but not so in Pâli. The form N i g a ṇ ṭ h a was almost certainly adopted by both sects from the Mâgadhî dialect; for it occurs in the Aśoka inscription at Dĕlhi, separate edict l. 5 (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 150 note). This hypothesis becomes a certainty for the word N â t a p u t t a. As translated in Sanskṛit it is Jñâta or Jñâtiputra, the regular Pâli derivative would be Ñâtaputta with a palatal *ñ*. The dental in its stead is a Mâga-

dhism. For, in the Mâgadhî inscriptions of Aśoka, we read *nâti*, *amna*, etc. = Sanskrit *jñâti*, *anya*, etc., which words become *ñâti*, *añña*, etc. in Pâli and in the dialects of the Aśoka inscriptions at Girnâr and Kapurdigiri. The palatal *ñ* appears in Pâli in the first part of the name when used as the name of the Kshattriya clan to which Mahâvîra belonged. For I identify the *ñâtika* living near Koṭigâma mentioned in the *Mahâvagga Sutta* (Oldenberg's edition p. 232), with the Jñâtaka Kshattriyas in Kuṇḍagrâma of the Jaina books. As regards the vowel of the second syllable, the different sources are at variance with each other. The Northern Buddhists spell the word with an *i*, Jñâtiputra in Sanskṛit, and *Jo-thi-tseu* in Chinese (*tseu* means 'son'), the Southern ones with an *a* Nâtaputta, as do the Jainas, though Jñâtiputra is not unfrequent in MSS. The form Nâyaputta proves nothing, for the syllables य and ड are interchangeable in Jaina Prâkṛit. M. Eug. Burnouf, commenting on the name in question, says: "J'ignore pourquoi le Pâli supprime l'*i* de *Djñâti*;[1] serait ce que le primitif véritable serait *Djñâti* et que le *Djñâti* en serait un prâkṛitism correspondant à celui du Sud *nâta*, comme *djêta* correspond à *djêtri*?" That M. Burnouf was perfectly right in his conjecture, can now be proved beyond a doubt. For the occasional spelling of the word with a lingual *ṭ* Nâṭaputta shows an unmistakable trace of the original *ṛi*. The Sanskṛit for Nigaṇṭha Nâtaputta was therefore in all probability Nirgrantha Jñâtṛiputra, that of the Kshattriya clan Jñâtṛika (Pâli—*Nâtika*, Prâkṛit—*Nâyaga*). It is perhaps not unworthy of remark that Nigaṇṭha Nâtaputta must have made part of the most ancient tradition of the Bauddhas, and cannot have been added to it in later times as both words conform, not to the phonetic laws of the Pâli language, but to those of the early Mâgadhî.

We shall now treat of the opinions which the Buddhists ascribe to Nâtaputta and to the Nigaṇṭhas in general, in order to show that they are in accordance with Jainism. One of its most characteristic features is the unduly extended idea of the animate world; not only are plants and trees endowed with life, and accordingly are not to be wantonly destroyed, but also particles of earth, water, fire and wind. The same doctrine was, according to James d'Alwis, held by Nigaṇṭha Nâtaputta: "He held that it was sinful to drink cold water: 'cold water,' he said, was imbued with a soul. Little drops of water were small souls, and large drops were large souls." In Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dhammapadam* (Fausböll's edition p. 398), the 'better Nigaṇṭhas' who go about naked, say that they cover their almsbowls lest particles of dust or spray, imbued with life, should fall into them. Compare *Kalpasûtra*, Sâmâchârî § 29, where a similar rule is given. These naked Nigaṇṭhas need not have been of the Digambara sect, for according to the *Achârâṅga Sûtra* it was considered a meritorious, not a necessary, penance for an ascetic to wear no clothes.

In the *Mahâvagga Sutta*, vi. 31, 1, Nigaṇṭha Nâtaputta is said to hold the *kiriyâvâda* opposed to the *akiriyâvâda* of Gotama Buddha. The *kiriyâvâda*, or the belief in the activity of the soul, is one of the cardinal dogmas of the Jainas, and is found in their creed in the first chapter of the *Achârâṅga*.

James d'Alwis proceeds after the above quoted passage: "He [Nâtaputta] also declared that there were three *daṇḍas* or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*kâya*), of the speech (*vâch*), and of the mind (*mana*) were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other." Compare the subjoined passage from the third *uddeśaka* of the *Sthânâṅga*, in which the term *daṇḍa* in its relation to mind, speech and body occurs: *tao daṁḍâ pannattâ, taṁ jahâ: mana-daṁḍe, vaî-daṁḍe kâya-daṁḍe.* "There are declared three *daṇḍas*, namely, the *daṇḍa* of the mind, the *daṇḍa* of the speech, the *daṇḍa* of the body." Thus far all agrees with Jainism. James d'Alwis' account of Nâtaputta's doctrines concludes: "This heretic asserted that crimes and virtues, happiness and misery, were fixed by fate, that as subject to these we cannot avoid them, and that the practice of the doctrine can in no wise assist us. In this notion his heresy consisted." As the Jaina opinions on these points do not materially differ from those of the Hindus in general, and as the doctrines defined above are inconsistent with the *kiriyâvâda* and with ascetic practices I do not doubt that the Bauddhas committed an error, perhaps in order to

[1] Preserved however in *ñâtika*, if my conjecture about the identity of that word with the first part of Nâtaputta be right.

stigmatise the Niganṭhas as heretics, who in their turn have misstated the Bauddha doctrine of the *nirvâṇa*, saying that according to the Saugata's opinion the liberated souls return to the *Saṁsâra* (*punarbhave'vataranti*). This misstatement occurs in Śîlâṅka's commentary on the *Âchârâṅga Sûtra* (867 A.D.), and can have no reference therefore to the Lamas and Chutuktus of the Northern Buddhist church, as I formerly opined, for they were not yet in existence in Śîlâṅka's time.

We pass now to the outline of Nâtaputta's system in the *Sâmaññaphala Sutta*, (Grimblot *Sept Suttas Palis*, p. 126). It may be remarked that, according to Mr. Rhys Davids (*Academy*, September 13th, 1879, p. 197) the passage in question is not commented upon in the Commentary *Sumaṅgala Vilâsinî*. Mr. Gogerly translated it thus: "In this world, great king, the N i g a ṇ ṭ h a s are well defended in four directions, that is, great king, the Niganṭhas in the present world by general abstinence (*from evil*) restrain sinful propensities, weaken evil by controlling it, and are ever under self-government. They are thus well defended on all sides, and this is called—being arrived at perfection, being with subjected passions, being established in virtue" (*ibidem*, p. 173). All this might as easily have been translated from a Jaina *Sûtra*, and it would be difficult to tell the difference, but unfortunately this translation cannot be reconciled with our text. M. Burnouf's translation is more literal, but less intelligible; it runs thus: "En ce monde, grand roi, le mendiant Niganṭha est retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies. Et comment, grand roi, le mendiant Niganṭha est-il retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies? En ce monde, grand roi, le mendiant Niganṭha est entièrement retenu par le lien qui enchaîne; il est enveloppé par tous les liens, enlacé par tous les liens, resserré par tous les liens; voilà de quelle manière, grand roi, le mendiant Niganṭha est retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies. Et parce qu'il est, ainsi retenu, grand roi, il est nommé Niganṭha, c'est-à-dire libre de toute chaîne, pour qui toute chaîne est détruite, qui a secoué toutes les chaînes," (*ibidem*, p. 204). And in a note he adds: "Mais quand la définition dit qu'il est enlacé dans tous les liens, cela signifie qu'il obéit si complètement aux règles d'une rigoureuse abstention, qu'il semble que tous ses mouvements soient enchaînés dans les liens qui le retiennent captif, &c." The general drift of this definition, especially the stress laid on control, savours of Jainism; but luckily we are not confined to such generalities for our deduction. For the phrase *châtuyâma saṁvara-saṁvuto*, translated by Gogerly "well defended in four directions," and by Burnouf "retenu par le frein de quatre abstentions réunies" contains the distinct Jaina term *châturyâma*. It is applied to the doctrine of Mahâvîra's predecessor Pârśva, to distinguish it from the reformed creed of Mahâvîra, which is called *pâñchayâma dharma*. The five *yâmas* are the five great vows, *mahâvratâni*, as they are usually named, viz. *ahiṁsâ* not killing, *sûnṛita* truthful speech, *asteya* not stealing, *brahmacharya* chastity, *aparigraha* renouncing of all illusory objects. In the *châturyâma dharma* of Mahâvîra *brahmacharya* was included in *aparigraha*. The most important passage is one of the *Bhagavatî* (Weber, *Fragment der Bhagavati*, p. 185) where a dispute between Kâlâsa Vesiyaputta, a follower of Pârśva (Pâsâvachchejja, *i. e.* Pârśvapatyeya) and some disciples of Mahâvîra is described. It ends with Kâlâsa's begging permission: *tujjhaṁ aṁtie châtujjâmâto dhammâto pañchamahavvaiyaṁ sapaḍikkamaṇaṁ dhammaṁ uvasaṁpajjitta ṇaṁ viharittae*: "to stay with you after having changed the Law of the four vows for the Law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession." In Śîlâṅka's Commentary on the *Âchârâṅga* the same distinction is made between the *châturyâmadharma* of Parśva's followers and the *pañchayâma dharma* of Vardhamâna's *tîrtha* (Ed. Cal. p. 331). These particulars about the religion of the Jainas previous to the reforms of Mahâvîra are so matter-of-fact like, that it is impossible to deny that they may have been handed down by trustworthy tradition. Hence we must infer that Nirgranthas already existed previous to Mahâvîra,—a result which we shall render more evident in the sequel by collateral proofs. On this supposition we can understand how the Buddhists ascribed to Nâtaputta the *châturyâma dharma*, though he altered just this tenet; for it is probable that the Buddhists ascribed the old Nirgrantha creed to Nâtaputta, who then took the lead of the community, and of whose reforms, being indeed only trifling, his opponents were not aware. And though it looks like a logical trick, the testimony of the Bud-

dhists on this point might be brought forward as an argument for the existence of Nirgranthas previous to, and differing in details from, the *tîrtha* of Mahâvîra. But we have not to rely on so dubious arguments as this for our proposition. The arguments that may be adduced from the Jaina *Sûtras* in favour of the theory that Mahâvîra reformed an already existing religion, and did not found a new one, are briefly these. Mahâvîra plays a part wholly different from that of Buddha in the histories of their churches. His attainment to the highest knowledge cannot be compared to that of Buddha. The latter had to reject wrong beliefs and wrong practices before he found out the right belief and the right conduct. He seems to have carved out his own way,—a fact which required much strength of character, and which is easily recognised in all Buddhist writings. But Mahâvîra went through the usual career of an ascetic; he seems never to have changed his opinions nor to have rejected religious practices, formerly adhered to. Only his knowledge increased, as in the progress of his penance the hindrances to the higher degrees of knowledge were destroyed until it became absolute (*kevala*). His doctrines are not spoken of in the *Sûtras* as his discoveries, but as decreta or old established truths, *pannattas*. All this would be next to impossible if he had been like Buddha the original founder of his religion; but it is just what one would expect to be the record of a reformer's life and preaching. The record of the fourteen *pûrvas* points the same way; for these books, which were lost some generations after Mahâvîra's *Nirvâṇa*, are said to have existed since the time of the first Tîrthakara Ṛishabha or Âdinâtha; they must therefore be considered as the sacred books of the original Nirgranthas previous to Mahâvîra's reforms. But all these arguments are open to one fatal objection, viz., that they are taken from the Jaina literature which was reduced to writing so late as the fifth century A.D. During the preceding ten centuries, an opponent will say, the Jainas modelled everything in their sacred books on the preconceived theory of the uninterrupted existence of their faith since the beginning of the world. On this supposition the whole of the *sûtras* would be a most wonderful fabric of fraud; for everything is in keeping with the theory in question, and no trace of the contrary left. I place much confidence therefore in the Jaina *Sûtras*, being of opinion that they are materially the same as they were in the early centuries after Mahâvîra's *Nirvâṇa*, as may be proved to be the case with the *Âchârâṅga*, the present disposition of which is already followed in Bhadrabâhu's *Niryukti*. Yet we must confirm the above suggested opinions by evidence from another quarter, open to no objection. If the sects of the Bauddhas and Jainas were of equal antiquity, as must be assumed on the supposition that Buddha and Mahâvîra were contemporaries and the founder of their sects, we should expect either sect mentioned in the books of their opponents. But this is not the case. The Nirgranthas are frequently mentioned by the Buddhists, even in the oldest parts of the *Piṭakas*. But I have not yet met with a distinct mention of the Bauddhas in any of the old Jaina *Sûtras*, though they contain lengthy legends about J a m â l i, G o s a l a and other heterodox teachers. It follows that the Nirgranthas were considered by the Bauddhas an important sect, whilst the Nirgranthas could ignore their adversaries. As this is just the reverse position to that which both sects mutually occupy in all after-times, and as it is inconsistent with our assumption of a contemporaneous origin of both creeds, we are driven to the conclusion that the Nirgranthas were not a newly-founded sect in Buddha's time. This seems to have been the opinion of the authors of the *Piṭakas* too; for we find no indication of the contrary in them. In James d'Alwis' paper on the *Six Tîrthakas*, the "Digambaras" appear to have been regarded as an old order of ascetics, and all of those heretical teachers betray the influence of Jainism in their doctrines or religious practices, as we shall now point out.

G o s â l a M a k k h a l i p u t t a was the slave of a nobleman. His master from whom he ran away, "pursued him and seized him by his garments; but they loosening Gosâla effected his escape naked. In this state he entered a city, and passed for Digambara Jaina or Bauddha, and founded the sect which was named after him." According to the Jainas he was originally a disciple of Mahâvîra, but afterwards set himself up for a Tîrthakara. In the *Mahâvîra-charitra* of Hemachandra, he defends the precept of nakedness against the pupils of Pârśva, and "gets beaten, and almost killed by the women

of a village in Magadha, because he is a naked Śramaṇa, or mendicant."—Wilson, *Works*, vol. I. p. 294, note 2.

Purâna Kâśyapa declined accepting clothes "thinking that as a Digambara he would be better respected."

Ajita Keśakambala believed trees and shrubs to have a *jîva*, and that "one who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was guilty as a murderer."

Kakudha Kâtyâyana also "declared that cold water was imbued with a soul."

The preceding four Tîrthakas appear all to have adopted some or other doctrines or practices which make part of the Jaina system, probably from the Jainas themselves. More difficult is the case with Sañjaya Belâṭṭhaputta. For the account of his doctrines in the *Sâmaññaphala Sutta* has been so differently translated by M. Burnouf and by M. Gogerly as to suspend decision. According to the former Sañjaya's doctrine, which is called *anattamanavâchâ*, would coincide with the *syâdvâda* of the Jainas; but according to the latter it denotes no more than perfect indifference to all transcendental problems, not the compatibility of one solution with its contrary. All depends on the interpretation of the two words *me no* in the text, about which it is impossible to form a correct opinion without the help of a commentary.

It appears from the preceding remarks that Jaina ideas and practices must have been current at the time of Mahâvîra and independently of him. This, combined with the other arguments which we have adduced, leads us to the opinion that the Nirgranṭhas were really in existence long before Mahâvîra, who was the reformer of the already existing sect. This granted, it is not difficult to form a tolerably correct idea of the relation between Buddhism and Jainism. The former is not an offshoot of the latter; for Buddha rejected the principal dogmas and practices of the Nirgranthas; it is rather a protest against it. All that has been said to maintain that Buddhism stands in a closer connection with Jainism, is to no effect from lack of proof. The proposed identification of Mahâvîra's disciple, the Gautama Indrabhûti with the Gautama Śâkyamuni, because both belonged to the *gotra* of Gotama, has been refuted by Profs. Wilson, Weber and others. It can only be maintained on the principles of Fluellen's logic: "There is a river in Macedon; and there is also, moreover, a river in Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river. But 'tis all one: it is so like as my fingers to my fingers; and there is salmons in both."

Little better is the second argument, that there were twenty-four Buddhas who immediately preceded Gautama Buddha. These twenty-four Buddhas have been compared with the twenty-four Tîrthakaras of the Jainas, though their names have little in common. As Buddha rejected the last Tîrthakara at least as an heretic, he could only have recognised twenty-three. The only inference which can be made from the twenty-four Tirthakaras and twenty-five Buddhas in texts of recognised authority is that the fiction in question is an old one. Whether there be any foundation for this Buddhistical theory, it is not for me to decide; all authorities on Buddhism have given their verdict to the contrary. But it is different with the Jainas. For, since we know that Jainism was not founded by Mahâvira, it follows that somebody else was the real founder of the sect, and it is possible that many reformers preceded Mahâvîra.

It is the opinion of nearly all scholars who have written on this question that Pârśva was the real founder of Jainism. The Rev. Dr. Stevenson says in his Preface to the *Translation of the Kalpasutra*, p. xii: "From Mahâvîra upwards, indeed, to the preceding Tirthankara Pârśvanâth, we have no list of head teachers, but we have only an interval of 250 years, while the term of Pârśva's sublunary existence is still bounded by the possible number of a hundred years . . . . The moderation of the Jains, up to the time of Pârśvanâtha, is the more remarkable as after that they far outstrip all their compeers in the race of absurdity, making the lives of their Tirthankars extend to thousands of years, and interposing between them countless ages, thus enabling us to trace with some confidence the boundary between the historical and the fabulous." Whatever may be thought of this argument, it is at least favourable to the opinion that Pârśva is an historical person. This is rendered still more credible by the distinct mention of his followers and his doctrines in the Jaina *Sûtras*. That self-same doctrine, the *châturyâma dharma*, is mentioned by the Buddhists, though ascribed to Nâtaputta.

But there is nothing to prove that Parśva was the founder of Jainism. Jaina tradition is unanimous in making Ṛishabha the *first* Tîrthakara. Though he is stated to have lived 840,000 great years, and have died something less than 100,000,000 oceans of years before Mahâvîra's *Nirvâṇa*, yet there may be something historical in the tradition which makes him the first Tîrthakara. For the Brâhmans too have myths in their *Purâṇas* about a Ṛishabha, son of king Nâbhi and Meru, who had a hundred sons, Bharata and the rest, and entrusting Bharata with the government of his kingdom, adopted the life of an anchorite.—Wilson, *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, vol. II., p. 103 sqq. All these particulars are also related by the Jainas of their Ṛishabha; and from the more detailed account in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* it is evident that the fabulous founder of the Jaina sect must indeed be meant (*ibid*, p. 104, note 1). But what value belongs to these myths of the *Purâṇas* about Ṛishabha, whether they are founded on facts, or were merely suggested by the legendary history of the Jâinas, it is wholly impossible to decide.

Of the remaining Tîrthakaras I have little to add. Sumati, the fifth Tîrthakara, is apparently identical with Bharata's son Sumati, of whom it is said in the *Bhâgavata* that he "will be irreligiously worshipped, by some infidels, as a divinity" (Wilson, *ibid*).

Arishṭanemi, the 22nd Tîrthakara, is connected with the Kṛishṇa-myths through his wife Râgîmatî, daughter of Ugrasena.

But we must close our researches here, content to have obtained a few glimpses into the prehistorical development of Jainism. The last point which we can perceive is Pârśva: beyond him all is lost in the mist of fable and fiction.

Münster, Westphalia, 18th March 1880.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM NEPAL.

BY PANDIT BHAGVÂNLÂL INDRAJI, AND DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

No. 1.—An Inscription of Mânadeva, dated Saṁvat 386.

This inscription is incised on the lower part of a broken pillar placed to the left of the door of the temple of Chângu-Nârâyaṇa,[1] about five miles to the north-east of Kâṭmâṇḍu. The pillar is about twenty feet high without the capital. Its lower half is square, half of the upper part is octagonal, higher up it becomes sixteen-cornered, and finally round. Originally it was crowned by a lotus-capital surmounted by a Garuḍa, about four feet high, shaped like a winged man kneeling on one knee. The workmanship is very good, and the figure shews the flowing locks, which occur frequently on the sculptures of the Gupta period. The weight of the Garuḍa seems to have been the cause of the pillar's fall from its old base, which is still to be seen just opposite the door of the temple, where numerous fragments of its capital and of the Garuḍa also are lying about. After its fall, a royal physician, called Chakrapâṇi, about twenty years ago, had a new capital made for it, consisting of a gilt lotus and a *Chakra*, and put it up in its present position. In doing so the Vaid neglected to add a new base. He simply planted the pillar in the ground. Hence a portion of the inscription, which is incised on three sides of the square lower part of the pillar, has been buried in the earth. In spite of my entreaties the priest at Chângu-Nârâyaṇa would not allow me to lay the buried lines bare. I have, therefore, been obliged to present the inscription in a mutilated form.

The form of the letters agrees exactly with that of the Gupta inscriptions. They are clearly and sharply incised. With the exception of the first part the preservation is good. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the two first lines, the whole is in verse. The numbers of the verses are marked by the ancient figures.

Transcript. Part I.

[1] संवत् ३८६ ज्येष्ठमासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १

[2] [रो]हिणीनक्षत्रयुक्ते चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्त्ते प्रशस्तेभिजिति

[1] This temple stands in the centre of a small village on a spur of the hills, at the base of which flows the river Manmatî. Chângu, literally 'he with a bill,' is in the Nepâlî language a name of Garuḍa, and the 'compound' means therefore Garuḍa and Vishṇu. The temple contains an old composite image of Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa. The present building is new, having been erected in Nepâla Saṁvat 814, or 1694 A.D. by Queen Riddhi-Lakshmî, as is shewn by an inscription: see also below.

[3] [श्री]वत्साङ्कितदीप्तचारुविपु[ल]प्रोद्वृत्तव[क्ष]स्थलः
[4] — वक्ष — नपद्मबाहु[रुचिरः] स्म[र्त्तृ]प्रवृद्धोत्सवः [।]
[5] [त्रै]लोक्यभ्रमयन्त्रव — — — — — — — ण्यासङ्गनित्योव्ययः
[6] [दो]लाद्रौ निवसञ्जयत्यनि[मि]षैरभ्यर्च्यमानो हरिः [॥ १ ॥]
[7] — — त्सा — — — — — — यप्रतापविभ[वैर्ण्णा]यामसंक्षेपकृत्
[8] [राजाभू]द्वृषदेव इत्य[नुपमः स]त्यप्रतिज्ञोदयः [।]
[9] — — — सवितेव दीप्तकिर[णैः] सम्यग्धृ[तैः] स्वैः सुतैः
[10] [विद्व]द्भिर्व्वहुगर्व्वितैरच[पलैः ख्याते]र्विनीतात्मभिः [॥] २ [॥]
[11] [त]स्याभूत्तनयः समृद्ध[विष]यः सङ्ख्येष्वजेयोरिभिः
[12] [राजा] .शङ्करदेव इत्यप — — — तिप्रदः सत्यधीः [।]
[13] — — विक्रमदानमानवि[भवै]र्ल्लब्ध्वा यशः पुष्कलम्
[14] — — — — ररक्ष गामभि[मतैर्भृ]त्यै[र्मृगे]न्द्रोपमः [॥] ३ [॥]
[15] [तस्या]प्युत्तमधर्म्मकर्म्मय — — — — — — — — — विद्धार्मिकः
[16] [ध]र्म्मा[त्मा] विनयेप्सुरुत्त[मगुणः श्रीध]र्म्मदेवो नृपः [।]
[17] [ध]र्म्मेणैव कुलक्रमागत — — — — — — राज्यं महत्[2]

Part II.

[1] देवी राज्यवती तु तस्य नृपतेर्भार्य्याभिधाना सती[3]
[2] श्रीरेवानुगता भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी [।]
[3] यस्याञ्जात इहानवद्यचरितः श्रीमानदेवो नृपः
[4] कान्त्या शारदचन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रह्लादयन्सर्व्वदा [॥] ७ [॥]
[5] प्रत्यागत्य सगद्गदाक्षरमिदन्दीर्घं विनिश्वस्य च
[6] प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साश्रुवदना यातः पिता ते दिवं [।]
[7]. हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्वृथा किम्मम
[8] राज्यम्पुत्रक कारयाहमनुयाम्यद्यैव भर्त्तुर्गतिम् [॥ ८ ॥]
[9] किम्मे भोगविधानविस्तरकृतैराशामयैर्व्वन्धनैः
[10] मायास्वप्ननिभे समागमविधौ भर्त्त्रा विना जीवितुम् [।]
[11] यामीत्येवमवस्थिता खलु तदा दीनात्मना सूनुना
[12] पादौ भक्तिवशान्निपीड्य शिरसा विज्ञापिता यत्नतः [॥] ९ [॥]
[13] किम्भोगैर्मम किं हि जीवितसुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति
[14] प्राणान्पूर्व्वमहञ्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्यसीतो दिवम् [।]
[15] इत्येवम्मुखपङ्कजान्तरगतैर्न्नेत्राम्बुमिश्रैर्दृढंम्
[16] वाक्पाशैर्व्विहगीव पाशवशगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुषी [॥] १० [॥]
[17] सत्पुत्रेण सहौर्द्ध्वदेहिकविधिं भर्त्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मनः

Part III.

[1] अस्त्रापास्त्रविधानकौशलगुणैः प्रज्ञातसत्वोरु[भिः][4]
[2] श्रीमच्चारुभुजः प्रमृष्टकनकश्लक्ष्णावदातच्छविः [।]

[2] Nine lines following line 17 are buried in the ground.

[3] L. 1, read अभिधानात्. L. 8, the causative कारय is improperly used for the simple verb. L. 14, read प्राणा°. L. 15, read दृढम्. L. 17, the भ of भर्त्तुः looks like क. After line 17, seven lines have been lost.

[4] L. 1, read °सत्वोरिभिः.

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[3] पीनांसो विकचासितोत्पलदलप्रस्पर्द्धमानेक्षणः
[4] साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवान्नरपतिः कान्ताविलासोत्सवः [।।]१३[।।]
[5] यूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छ्रितैर्व्वसुमती पित्रा ममालङ्कृता
[6] क्षात्त्रेणाजिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितोहं स्थितः [।]
[7] यात्राम्प्रत्यरिसङ्क्षयाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्व्वान्दिशम्
[8] ये चाज्ञावशवर्त्तिनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् [।।१४।।]
[9] इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषां राजा प्रणम्योचिवान्
[10] नाम्बानृण्यमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्नोमि यातुम्पितुः [।]
[11] किन्त्वांस्तेन यथावदस्त्रविधिना तत्पादसंसेवया
[12] यास्यामीति ततोम्बयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुज्ञो नृपः [।।]१५[।।]
[13] प्रायात्पूर्व्वपथेन तत्र च शठा ये पूर्व्वदेशाश्रयाः
[14] सामन्ताः प्रणिपातबन्धुरशिरःप्रभ्रष्टमौलिस्रजः [।]
[15] तानाज्ञावशवर्त्तिनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मात्पुनः
[16] निर्भीः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कटसटः पश्चाद्गुवञ्जग्मिवान् [।।]१६[।।]
[17] सामन्तस्य च तत्र दुष्टचरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्
[18] बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनकैः स्पृष्ट्वाब्रवीद्गर्व्वितम् [।]
[19] आहूतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेश्यत्यसौ मे वशं[5]
[20] किं वाक्यैर्ब्बहुभिर्व्विधातृगदितैः संक्षेपतः कथ्यते [।।]१७[।।]

Translation.

On the first day of the bright half of the month Jyeshṭha of Saṁvat 386, while the moon stood in the constellation Rohiṇî, in the excellent Muhûrta called Abhijit.[6]

1. Hari conquers, whose resplendent, beautiful, broad and high chest is marked by the Śrîvatsa, . . . whose lotus-arms shed radiance, who increases the happiness of his worshippers, who is constantly busy with . . . . . the machine for moving the three worlds, who is eternal, who dwells on Dolâdri,[7] and who is worshipped by the immortals.

2. There was a king called Vṛishadêva, who . . . by his valour and wealth lessened trouble,[8] who was incomparable and prosperous because he kept his word. As . . . . the sun is encircled by brilliant rays, so he was surrounded by his learned, proud, constant, famous and obedient sons.

3. His son was truthful king Śankaradêva, whose country prospered, who was inconquerable in battle by his enemies, and who gave . . . . . Through valour, presents, honours bestowed (on his servants), and riches, he gained great fame; comparable to a lion . . . . he protected the earth through approved ministers . . . .

4. His son also, illustrious king Dharmadêva, who knew the most excellent doctrine, works, ... who was righteous, virtuous, fond of modesty, possessed of excellent qualities . . . . according to the hereditary law . . . . . . a great kingdom.

7. But that king's faithful wife, Queen Râjyavatî by name, was doubtless heavenly Śrî, who had followed (her husband into this world).[9] From her was born illustrious king Mânadêva, whose course of life in this world is unblamable, and who always gladdens the world by his beauty, like the autumnal moon.

8. Approaching and sighing deeply, her eyes filled with tears, she (*Râjyavatî*) affec-

[5] L. 19, read °देयत्यसौ.

[6] The day is divided into fifteen Muhûrtas, the eighth of which is Abhijit.

[7] Dolâdri or Dolaparvata is the name of the hill on which the temple of Châṅgunârâyaṇa is situated.

[8] The meaning of this mutilated pâda probably is that his wealth and valour made his enemies keep quiet, and thus his own and his subjects' troubles were small.

[9] Probably the preceding verse 6 contained an identification of the king with Vishṇu.

tionately spoke to her son, with faultering accents: "Alas, my child, thy father is gone to "heaven. As thy father is now dead, why "preserve my useless life! Reign thou, dear son; "to-day, even, I follow my husband on his "road.

9. "Of what use are the fetters of hope that "are lengthened for enjoyment[10], and that bind me "to a widowed life in a world similar to a lying "dream? I will depart." While thus, forsooth, she was resolved, her sad son reverentially pressed her feet with his head, and anxiously spoke thus to her;

10. "What are joys to me, what the pleasures "of life when I am parted from thee! First I "will give up my life; thereafter thou mayst go "hence to heaven." Thus she stood like a snared bird, firmly bound by the word-bonds, that, mixed with tears, lay in (*his*) mouth.

11. Then together with her virtuous son she performed the last rites for her own husband . . . .

13. The prince (*Mánadéva*), whose strength is known to (*his*) enemies, though they are clever in the use of weapons of offence and defence,—whose arm is beautiful and lovely,[11] whose complexion is pure and bright like burnished gold,—whose shoulder is strong,—whose eyes rival (*in beauty*) full-blown blue lotuses,—who is visibly an incarnation of Cupid, a festival of dalliance for the fair ones, (*spoke thus to his mother*):

14. "My father adorned the earth with "beautiful, high rising (pillars of victory, resem- "bling) sacrificial pillars. Here I stand initiated "in the rites of the battle-sacrifice offered by "Kshatriyas. Quickly I shall depart on an ex- "pedition to the East, to crush my foes. (*There*) "I shall instal those princes who will remain "obedient to me."

15. Thus the king (*spoke and*) bowing to his mother, whose sorrow fled, he continued (*in this wise*): "Mother, I cannot pay the debt "due to my father by pure austerities; but "I shall attain this end, worshipping his "feet by true and rightly performed feats of "arms."

Then the king received the consent of his overjoyed mother;

16. And he set out on the road to the East. Having reduced to obedience those roguish feudal chiefs of the East, from whose heads bent in prostration the diadems fell, the prince, like a fearless lion with thick and bristling mane, (*returned*) thence, and marched to the Western districts.

17. Hearing there of the evil doings of a chieftain, shaking his head and slowly touching his arm that (*in strength*) resembled an elephant's trunk, he proudly spoke (*thus*): "If he does not come at my command, then he will be conquered by my valour. What is the use of saying much? Shortly I tell (*him*) in the words of the Creator . . . .

No. 2.—An inscription of Jayavarman, incised during the reign of Mánadéva Saṁvat 413.

This inscription is incised on a square stone, which originally formed the base of a Linga, and is placed opposite the northern door of the temple of Paśupati.[12] At present the stone supports a composite trident, about twenty feet high, which according to the *Vaṁśavalî* was dedicated by Ś a n k a r a d e v a, the grandfather of M â n a d ê v a.[13] It would seem that Jayavarman's Linga somehow or other was destroyed, and that at one of the restorations of the temple, Śankaradeva's Triśûla was transferred to its place.

The letters of the inscription belong to the G u p t a period. Owing to the daily ablutions of the Triśûla they have suffered very considerably. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit.

[10] Rather 'that are lengthened by enjoyments.'—G. B.

[11] Rather 'whose beautiful arm holds the goddess of Fortune.'—G. B.

[12] The famous temple of Paśupati is situated in Devapâtana, an old town, mostly in ruins, on the river Vâgmatî, three miles north-east from Kâtmându. The present temple has three stories fifty feet high, and is built in the modern Nepalese style. It is of brick and wood. According to tradition Queen Gaṅgâ erected it in Nepâla Saṁvat 705 or 1585 A.D. The temple consists of an adytum, surrounded by cloisters, and has four doors. In the centre of the *garbhagṛiha* stands a Liṅga of hard sandstone, about three feet and a half high, from which four faces and four pairs of hands jut forth. Each right hand holds a *Rudrâksha Mâlâ*, and each left a *Kamaṇḍalu*. Similarly ornamented Liṅgas, dating from the Gupta period, are found in Mathurâ and in Udayagiri near Bhilsa. The base of the Liṅga is about a foot and a half high, and four feet in diameter, and covered with thick silver plates. Ordinarily the Liṅga is concealed under a mass of gold and silver ornaments, which are taken off at the time of worship. In the court of the temple stand many statues of other deities, as well as of kings and private persons, who gave endowments to the temple. The name for these figures is *Sâlika*. There are also many modern inscriptions, which, I regret, I neglected to copy.

[13] Wright, *Nepâl*, p. 123, and below.

No. 2. INSCRIPTION OF JAYAVARMAN, SAMVAT, 413.

1. FACSIMILE OF CLOTH COPY.

2. FACSIMILE OF RUBBING.

Transcript.

[1] संवत् ४१३ श्रीमानदेवनृपतेश्चरणप्रसादात् भक्त्या विशुद्धमतिना जयवर्म्मनाम्ना लिङ्गञ्जयेश्वर-
मिति प्रथितं नृलोके

[2] संस्थापितं सनृपतेर्ज्जगतो हिताय १ भगवतोस्य लिङ्गस्य कारणपूजा[यै] ------ तायस्त्र
--- यनार्त्थन्दत्तमक्षय[नीवी-]

Translation.

Saṁvat 413. By the favour of the feet of the illustrious king M â n a d ê v a, a pure-minded (man) called J a y a v a r m a n has erected a Liṅga, known in the world of men, as J a y e ś v a r a for the welfare of the people and of the king. A permanent endowment[14] has been assigned for (defraying the expenses) of the occasional worship[15] of this worshipful Liṅga.

No. 3.—An inscription of king Vasantasena, dated Saṁvat 435.

This inscription is incised on a narrow oblong slab of sandstone about six feet high with a semi-circular top, adorned by a relievo showing a Chakra and two Śankhas. The stone lies near the sanctuary of Lugal Dêvî, not far from the temple of Jaisî, Lagantol Kâtmâṇḍû.

The inscription originally contained twenty-three lines, the greater part of which has however been destroyed by the influence of rain and weather. The remaining letters are very distinct and well cut, and show the forms of the Gupta period. The language is Sanskṛit.

Transcript.

[1] उँ स्वस्ति मानगृहात्प[रमदै]वतबप्पभ-
[2] ट्टारकमहाराजश्रीपादानुध्यातः श्रुतन-
[3] [यदया]दानदाक्षिण्यपुण्यप्रतापविकसितसि-
[4] तकीर्त्तिर्भट्टारकमहाराजश्रीवसन्त-
[5] सेनः [कुशली] --- ष्यधिकरणेषु धर्म्म-
[6] स्था[न]------------णेकाश्चकुश-
[7] ------------विदितमस्तु वो मया
[8] ------------ लिङ्खल
[9] कूथेर
[10] -------------- रणाय
[11] -------------- ट्टारक-
[12] -------- -- शप्येत्तेषान्त्र-
[13] --------- दिकार्य्येषु सद्धि-
[14] --------- --- मयापि तेषां
[15] --------- -(मो) च्चित --
[16] ----------------
[17] ---त्पादोपजीविभिरि---------
[18] ---यश्चेमामाज्ञामुल्लं[घ्य]------
[19] ---द्वा तस्याहं दृढं मर्या------
[20] इति समाज्ञापना संवत् ४३५ [आश्व]
[21] युजि शुक्ल दिवा १ दूतकः सर्व्वदण्डना-
[22] यकमहाप्रतिहाररविगुप्त इति
[23] ब्राह्मुङि च महीशीले व्यवहरतीति.

Translation.

Om. Hail! From M â n a g ṛ i h a,[16] the lord and great king, the illustrious V a s a n t a s e n a, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious lord and great king B a p p a (*an incarnation of*) the supreme deity,[17]—whose brilliant fame has expanded as a flower through his learning, policy, compassion, liberality, affability, holiness and valour,—being in good health. . . . . . .

. . . .

This is the order; Saṁvat 435, on the first day of the bright half of the month Âśvayuja. The executive officer (*dûtaka*) is the chief prefect of police and great chamberlain R a v i g u p t a. He is transacting business in B r á h m u ñ g M a h î ś i l a.

[14] The expression *akshayanîvî*, a permanent endowment, is very common in the Buddhist inscriptions of the Western Caves, see Bhâṇḍârkar, *Nasik Inscr.*, *Transact. Or. Congress* 1874, *passim.*

[15] *Kâraṇapûjâ*, translated by 'occasional worship,' is probably an equivalent for *naimittikapûjâ*, and refers to the worship on the days of the new and full moon and other festive seasons.

[16] The first five and the last four lines only admit of a translation. The few words readable in the middle permit the inference that the inscription recorded a grant to somebody. Mânagriha, from which all the inscriptions of the kings of this dynasty are dated, appears to have been the capital or the royal residence.

[17] I am unable to say who this Bappa Bhaṭṭâraka was. But I think that it is a general title used by chief priests; for the Valabhi kings and those of Vengî (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* XI. 355) also declare their devotion to the feet of this Bappa Bhaṭṭâraka. Âchâryas or chief priests frequently bear the same titles as crowned kings.

No. 4.—An inscription dated Saṁvat 535.

On a broken slate-slab, lying in a street of Lagantol, Kâṭmâṇḍu, near to some stones smeared with red paint.

Characters,—Gupta, but the curved stroke of the medial *i* is drawn deeper down between the lines, and the left hand stroke of the *va* becomes round. Preservation bad. Greater part defaced, and seven or eight lines at the top are lost.

Transcript.

[1] - - - - - - - - देव - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
[2] - - - - - - - - - - - पुण्यो - - - - - - - - - - - -
[3] - - - - - - - रायावः प्रसादीकृ[तः] - - - - - -
[4] - - - - - - ज्ञः पृथूत्क्षेत्रम् पूर्वे - - - - - -
[5] - - - - लस्य क्षेत्रम् ततो भरतश्च - - - - - -
[6] - - - - तुलाक्षेत्रम् ततस्तेग्वल्प्रा - - - - - - -
[7] - - - - आदित्यगुप्तस्य क्षेत्रम् । पूर्वेद - - - - - - -
[8] - - [क्षे]त्रम् ततस्तेग्वल्नारायण - - - - - - - -
[9] - स्तेग्वल् प्रदीपगोष्टिकानाम् तस्या भूमेर्दक्षिण - - -
[10] - - - [दक्षिण]राजकुलस्य दक्षिणपश्चिमेन - - -
[11] - - - पञ्चालिकानाम् पश्चिमेन पर्वत - - - - - - -
[12] - - - - - - [पश्चि]मोत्तरेण पर्वतभूमि - - - - - - -
[13] - - - - - - [परि]क्षिप्तेयं भूमिरित्यवगम्य न कैश्चि[दप्य]
[14] स्मत्पादोपजीविभिरयं प्रसादोन्यथा करणीयो यः - -
[15] - माज्ञामनादृत्यान्यथाकुर्यात्कारयेद्वा तमहमुत्पथ[गा]
[16] [मि]नं नियतमनुशासितास्मि भविष्यद्भिरपि भूपति[भि]
[17] - - कृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति दूत[को]
[18] त्र राजपुत्रविक्रमसेनः संवत् ५३५ श्रा[व]
[19]. [ण] शुक्ल दिवा सप्तम्याम् ॥ × ॥

A translation of the main part of this inscription is impossible. It appears, however, that it refers to the grant of a piece of land, the boundaries of which were accurately described. In the last lines, which are tolerably well preserved, the king declares his determination to punish persons interfering with the donees. We also learn from lines 17 and 18 that the Dûtaka or executive officer was Prince V i k r a m a s e n a, and the date the seventh day of the bright half of Srâvaṇa Saṁvat 535.

No. 5.—An inscription of Śivadeva.

On a broken slab of hard sandstone fixed in a wall near a bell at Budda Nîlkaṇṭh,[18] near the Śivapurî hill, five miles north of Kâṭmâṇḍu. The characters closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The language is Sanskrit.

Transcript.

[1] स्वस्ति मानगृहाच्छुतनयविनयशौर्यधैर्य्यवीर्य्याद्यशेष·
[2] सद्गुणगणाधारो लिच्छविकुलकेतुर्भट्टारकमहाराजश्रीशि-
[3] वदेवः कुशली - - - - पिता नरसिंहो भय - - - -

[18] Budda Nîlkaṇṭh is a small tank about forty feet square, fed by a spring which passes through three stone *Sankhs* held by three images, which are placed in its north-eastern corner. In the middle of the tank lies an image of Vishnu; 'reclining on the waters,' made of black stone. According to the chronicle of Nepâl this image was dedicated by king Harivarman of the Solar race. But from its appearance and workmanship I conclude that it is not so old. As the name of the place is Budda Nîlkaṇṭh, *i. e.* 'submerged Śiva,' and as the name of the brook which flows from the tank is Rudramatî, it seems probable that the tank originally contained a Linga, and that one of the later Vaishṇava kings placed the image of Vishnu in it. In support of this conjecture I may also adduce the fact that the neighbouring village is called Śivapurî.

No. 4. RUBBING OF INSCRIPTION OF ? SAMVAT 535



No 4. INSCRIPTION OF ? DATED SAMVAT 535.

No 5. INSCRIPTION OF ŚIVADEVA.

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM.

[4] निवासिनो यथाप्रधानङ्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः कुशलमाभाष्य
[5] समाज्ञापयति विदितम्भवतु भवतां यथानेकपृथुस-
[6] मरसम्पातविजयाधिगतशौर्य्यप्रतापापहतसक-
[7] लशत्रुपक्षप्रभावेन सम्यक्प्रजापालनपरिश्रमोपार्जि-
[8] तशुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्तदिग्मण्डलेन श्रीमहासान्तांशुवर्म्म·[19]
[9] णा युष्मद्धितविधानाय विज्ञापितेन मया तद्गौरवा
[10] - न्यधिकृताना समुचित- -

Translation.

Hail! From Mânagṛiha. The illustrious lord and great king Śivadeva—who is the abode of all good qualities such as learning, policy, modesty, bravery, constancy and heroism, who is the banner of the Lichchhavi race, being in good health, addresses greeting to all the cultivators residing in . . . according to their rank, and gives (*these*) orders: Be it known to you that I, being advised for your welfare by the illustrious great feudal chief Aṁśuvarman, who has destroyed the power of all (*my*) enemies by his heroic majesty, obtained by victories in numerous hand-to-hand fights,—whose brilliant fame gained by the trouble of properly protecting (*my*) subjects, pervades the universe . . . [20]

No. 6.—Inscription of Aṁśuvarman, dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat 34.

This inscription is incised on a slab of sandstone in the neighbourhood of a large village, called Bungmati, four miles to the south of Kâṭmâṇḍu between the rivers Nyekhu and Vâgmatî. Its sculptured top shows Bauddha symbols, viz., 'the wheel of the law' between two deer. The stone lies ordinarily buried in a field to the east of the village, and is taken out every twelve years on the occasion of a great festival (*rathayâtrâ*) of Avalôkitêśvara[21] at Bungmatî. The reason of this custom is not known. I found considerable difficulty in obtaining a sight of the stone, though I had an order from the Nepalese Government.

The characters are the same as those of the preceding two inscriptions. Regarding the era in which it is dated, an explanation will be given below.

Transcript.

[1] स्वस्ति कैलासकूटभवनाद्भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादा-
[2] नुगृहीतो बप्पपादानुध्यातः श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्मा कुशली
[3] वुगायूमीग्रा[म]निवासोपगता[न्] कुटुम्बिनो यथाप्रधानङ्कुश-
[4] लमाभाष्य [समा]ज्ञापयति विदितम्भवतु भवताङ्कुकूटसू-
[5] कराणा - - - - - - नां मत्स्यानाञ्चावाधनेन परितुष्टैरस्माभि-
[6] र्भ - - - - - - - - - - - - - प्रसादः [कृ]तो युष्माभिरप्ये-
[7] - - - - - - - - - - - - यदा च पुनर्धर्मसङ्कराणि
[8] - - - - - - - - - - [त]दा राजकुलं स्वयम्प्रविचार-
[9] - प्रसादोस्मत्प्र-
[10] - विलङ्घ्यान्यथा
[11] - - - - - - - - - - - - नो नियतम्पुष्कला मर्यादा ब-
[12] - - - - - - - - - - - - - भिः पूर्वराजकृतप्रसादा-

[19] L. 8 read सामन्तां°.—

[20] From the epithet given to Aṁśuvarman it appears that he occupied the position of a *major domus*, who wielded the real power, while the king was ruler only in name.

[21] The temple of Avalôkiteśvara, called Matsyendranâtha by the common people, is situated in the centre of the village. The image which it contains is made of mud and covered with silver plates. It remains half the year only in this temple: during the other six months it is kept at Lalitapattana.

[13] --------- ---- दूतकश्चात्र महासर्वा-
[14] --यक्रविक्र-- संवत् ३४ ज्येष्ट शुक्ल दशम्याम्[22]

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the palace, (*called*) K a i l â s a k û ṭ a.[23] The illustrious great feudal chief A ṁ ś u v a r m a n, who is favoured by the feet of the lord, the divine P a ś u p a t i, and meditates on the feet of B a p p a, being in good health, addresses greeting to the inhabitants of the village of B u g â y û m î according to their rank and issues (*these orders*): Be it known to you that We rejoicing at the preservation of the cocks, pigs . . . . . and fishes. . . . .

The executive officer is here. . . . . Vikra (*masena*). . . . On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyeshṭha, Saṁvat 34.

No. 7.—An inscription of Aṁśuvarman, dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat 39.

On a slab of slate, standing near a small temple of Gaṇeśa, in the high street of Devapâṭana, not far from the temple of Paśupati. It bears at the top the representation of a reclining bull, facing the proper right.

The characters are like those of the preceding inscriptions.

Execution and preservation good.

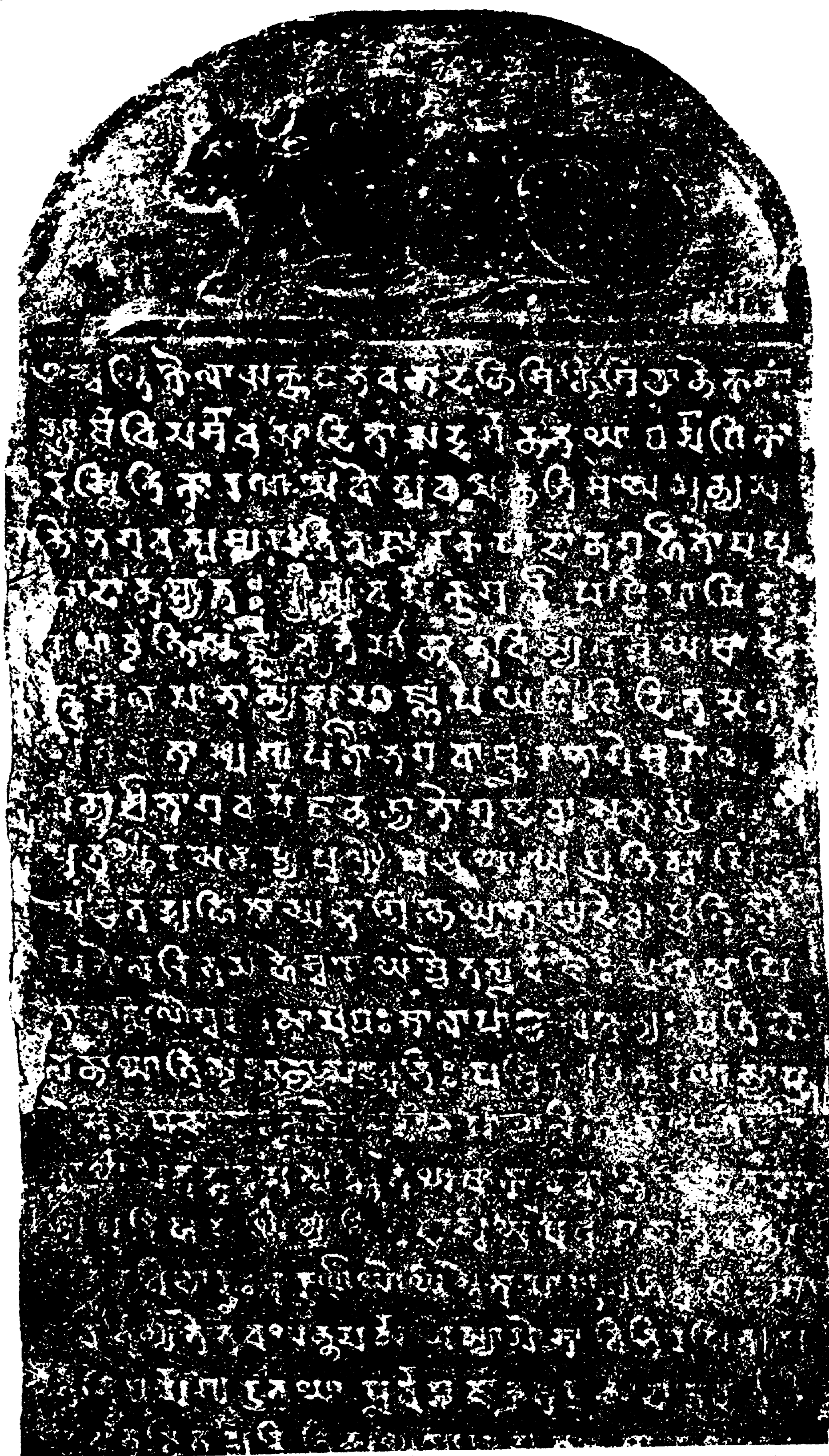
Transcript.

[1] ॐ स्वस्ति कैलासकूटभवनादनिशि निशि चानेकशा-
[2] स्त्रार्थविमर्शावसादितासद्दर्शनतया धर्माधिका-
[3] रस्थितिकारणमेवोत्सवमनातिशयम्मन्यमा-
[4] नो भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो बप्प-
[5] पादानुध्यातः श्र्यंशुवर्मा कुशली पश्चिमाधिक-
[6] रणवृत्तिभुजो वर्तमानान्भविष्यतश्च यथार्ह-
[7] कुशलमाभाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितम्भव-
[8] तु भवताम्पशुपतौ भगवाञ्च्छूरभोगेश्वरोस्मद्भ-
[9] गिन्या श्रीभोगवर्म्मजनन्या भोगदेव्या स्वभर्तू राज-
[10] पुत्रशूरसेनस्य पुण्योपचयाय प्रतिष्ठापितो
[11] यश्च तद्दुहित्रास्मद्भागिनेय्या भाग्यदेव्या प्रतिष्ठा-
[12] पितो लडितमहेश्वरो यश्चैतत्पूर्व्वजैः प्रतिष्ठापि-
[13] तो दक्षिणेश्वरस्तेषामधःशालापाञ्चालिकेभ्यः प्रतिपा-
[14] लनायातिसृष्टानामस्माभिः . पश्चिमाधिकरणस्याप्र-
[15] वेशेन प्रसादः कृतो यदा च पाञ्चालिकानां यत्किञ्चन
[16] कार्यमेतद्गतमुत्पत्स्यते यथाकालं वा नियमितं व-
[17] स्तु परिहापयिष्यन्ति तदा स्वयमेव राजभिरन्तरा-
[18] सनेन विचारः करणीयो यस्त्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्रम्यान्यथा
[19] प्रवर्त्तिष्यते तं वयन्न मर्षयिष्यामो भाविभिरपि भूप-
[20] तिभिर्धर्म्मगुरुतया पूर्व्वराजकृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभि-
[21] रेव भवितव्यमिति स्वयमाज्ञा दूतकश्चात्र युवरा-
[22] जोदयदेवः संवत् ३९ वैशाख शुक्ल दिवा दशम्यां

[22] L. 14 read ज्येष्ठ.

[23] Kailâsakûṭa is at present the name of a large mound about forty feet high situated to the north of Paśupati's temple. It is covered with ruins, and no doubt is the site of the palace mentioned in this inscription and the following ones.

No. 7 RUBBING OF INSCRIPTION OF ANSUVARMAN DATED SAMVAT 39.



No 7. INSCRIPTION OF ANŚUVARMAN DATED SAMVAT 39.

No. 8, INSCRIPTION OF ANSUVARMAN, DATED SAMVAT 45.

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the palace, (*called*) Kailâsakûṭa.

The illustrious A m̃ ś u v a r m a n, who has been favoured by the feet of the divine lord P a ś u p a t i, and meditates on the feet of B a p p a, who, having destroyed his (*former*) false opinions by pondering day and night over the meaning of various *Śâstras*, considers the proper establishment of courts of justice[24] his greatest pleasure, being in good health, addresses greeting to the present and future officials of the Western (*province*) according to their rank, and issues (*these*) orders: "Be it known to you that the (*three Liṅgas*), viz., the divine Ś û r a b h o g e ś v a r a dedicated at (*the sanctuary of*) Paśupati by our sister B h o g a d e v î, the mother of the illustrious B h o g a v a r m a n for the increase of the spiritual merit of her husband prince Ś û r a s e n a, L a d i t a m a h ê ś v a r a[25] dedicated by her daughter B h â g y a d ê v î, our niece, and D a k s h i ṇ ê ś v a r a dedicated by her ancestors, have been made over for protection to the Adhaḥśâlâ-Pâñchâlikas,[26] and that we have favoured them by forbidding the interference of the officials of the Western (*province*); and when any business referring to these (*Liṅgas*) arises for the Pâñchâlikas, or when they neglect to do in time anything appointed (*for them to do*), the king himself shall privately investigate (*the case*). But we shall not suffer it that any one violates this order and acts otherwise. Future kings also, as they are teachers of justice, should continue the favour shown by their predecessors (*to the Pâñchâlikas*). (*This is our*) own order, and the executive officer here is the Yuvarâja U d a y a d e v a. On the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśâkha Saṁvat 39.

No. 8.—Vibhuvarman's inscription, dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat 45 (?).

On the side of the mouth of the spout of a watercourse, on the road from Kâṭmâṇḍu to the Residency near the Râṇîpokhrî tank. The place is called S a t d h â r â, (*i. e. saptadhârâ*,) because the water issues from the spring in seven streams.

Characters as those of preceding inscriptions. Preservation good.

Transcript.

[1] संवत् ४५ (!) ज्येष्ट शुक्ल ---

[2] श्र्यंशुवर्म्मप्रसादेन पितुः पुण्यविवृद्धये

[3] कारिता सत्प्रणालीयं वार्त्तेन विभुवर्मणा

Translation.

On . . . . of the bright half of the month *Jyeshṭha*, Saṁvat 45,[27] by the favour of the illustrious A ṁ ś u v a r m a n, this conduit has been built by V â r t t a V i b h u v a r m a n[28] for the increase of his father's spiritual merit.

No. 9.—Jishṇugupta's inscription, dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat 48.

On a slab of black slate placed upright in the ground near the temple of Mummura or Chhinnamastikâ Devî in the Tavjhâ Mahalla (*ward*) of Lalitapattana.[29] The letters are well cut and the inscription well preserved. The characters if compared with those of Aṁśuvarman's inscriptions, show slight changes. The medial *i* goes down a little deeper, the *pa* shows an ornamental notch in the lower line.

Transcript.

[1] ॐ स्वस्ति ---------------- ----- भट्टारकमहाराज-

[2] श्रीध्रुवदेव[स्य] -------------- प्रजाहितैषी निरवद्यवृत्तः

[3] पुण्यान्वयादागतराज्यसम्पत्समस्तपौ[राश्रि]तशासनो यस्स कैलासकूटभ-

[4] वनाद्भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो बप्पपादानुध्यातः श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तः

[5] [कु]शली थम्बूगाङ्गुल्मूलवाटिकाग्रामेषु निवासमुपगतान्कुटुम्बिनः कुशल-

[24] The translation hardly covers the entire meaning of *dharmâdhikâra*, which includes both the civil and criminal courts, and the authorities dealing with religious and charitable institutions.

[25] Laditamahêśvara is the northern form for Lalitamahêśvara. Neither the Nepalese nor the Kaśmîrians possess or can pronounce the southern *ḷa* ळ; they always substitute *ḍa* for it.

[26] The word *Pâñchâlika* seems to be a technical expression corresponding to the southern Pâñchakulika and the modern "Panch." At present also temples and endowments of temples in Nepâl are administered by committ called *gutthi*.

[27] The second figure is doubtful

[28] *Vârta* I take to be the name of a family, as a count called Vârta is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. It m however, be also derived from *vritti* 'livelihood,' and dicate that *Vibhuvarman* held a *vritti* from the king.

[29] Lalitapattana or Pâṭana is situated one and a h miles east of Kâṭmâṇḍu. Its Nevârî name is Tinyala, on the road (*la*) to Kâṭmâṇḍu (*Tinya*), because in anci times the road from Bhâtgâm to Kâṭmâṇḍu went Lalitapattana.

[6] [मा]भाष्य समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवताम्भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्र्यंशु-
[7] वर्म्मपादैर्युष्मदीयग्रामाणामुपकाराय योसौ तिलमक आनीतोभूत्प्र-
[8] तिसंस्काराभावाद्विनष्टमुद्वीक्ष्य सामन्तचन्द्रवर्मविज्ञप्तैरस्माभिस्तस्यै-
[9] व प्रसादीकृतस्तेन चास्मदनुज्ञातेन युष्मद्ग्रामाणामेवोपकाराय
[10] [प्र]तिसंस्कृतोस्य चोपकारस्य पारम्पर्य्याविच्छेदेन चिरतरकालोद्वहना-
[11] य युष्माकं वाटिका अपि प्रसादीकृतास्तदेताभ्यो यथाकालम्पिण्ड-
[12] कमुपसंहृत्य भवद्भिरेव तिलमकप्रतिसंस्कारः करणीय एतद्ग्राम-
[13] त्रयव्यतिरेकेण चान्यग्रामनिवासिनान्न केषाञ्चिन्नेतुं लभ्यतेस्य च
[14] प्रसादस्य चिरस्थितये शिलापट्टकशासनमिदन्दत्तमेवंवेदिभिर्न
[15] कैश्चिदयम्प्रसादोन्यथा करणीयो यस्त्वेतामाज्ञामतिक्रम्यान्यथा तिलम-
[16] [क]न्न[ये]त्तस्यावश्यन्दण्डः पातयितव्यो भविष्यद्भिरपि भूपतिभिः पूर्वरा-
[17] [ज]कृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति अपि चात्र वाटिकानामुद्देशः
[18] [थंबू]ग्रामस्य दक्षिणोद्देशे पूर्वेण रामविं मा २ तिलमकस्य पश्चिमप्रदेशे मा १
[19] --कुलं पूर्वेण मा ४ मूलवाटिकाग्रामस्योत्तरतः अशिङ्कोप्रदेशे मा ८
[20] ---प्रदेशे मा १ गाङ्गुल्ग्रामं पश्चिमेन कडम्प्रिङ्प्रदेशे मा ४ कङ्कुलंप्रदेशे
[21] मा ४ स्वयमाज्ञा संवत् ४८ कार्त्तिक शुक्ल २ दूतको युवराजश्रीविष्णुगुप्तः

Translation.

Om. Hail . . . . (*of the*) illustrious lord and great king Dhruvadeva. . . . . The illustrious Jishnugupta, who desires the welfare of his subjects, who is of pure conduct, who, sprung from a virtuous family, has obtained a prosperous kingdom, whose orders are obeyed by all citizens, who has been favoured by the feet of the divine lord Paśupati, and who meditates on the feet of Bappa, sends greeting from the palace (*called*) Kailâsakûṭa to the cultivators residing in the villages Thambû, Gângul, and Mûlavâṭikâ, and issues (*these*) orders: Be it known to you that, seeing the water-course,[30] which the illustrious lord and great king Aṁśuvarman led to your villages for your benefit, destroyed through want of repairs, we being addressed by the feudal chief Chandravarman, have presented it to him; that he, with our permission, has repaired it for the benefit of your villages; and that in order to ensure the constant continuance of the benefit we have presented the irrigable fields (*mentioned below*) to you. Wherefore you shall pay an assessment[31] for these (*fields*), and repair the watercourse (*hereafter*). The inhabitants of other villages except of those three (*mentioned above*) shall not lead this watercourse elsewhere; and in order to ensure the long continuance of this grant, this edict, engraved on a stone tablet, has been promulgated. Nobody, who knows this, shall alter the grant. But he who, violating this order, leads the watercourse elsewhere, shall certainly be punished. Future kings also ought to act in accordance with the grant made by their predecessors. Moreover, a brief description of the irrigable fields (*is given*) herewith: south of the village of Thambû, east of the field[32] of Râma two *mâs*,[33] west of the watercourse one *mâ*, east of . . . four *mâs* north of Mûlavâṭikâ on the site called Aśinko eight *mâs*, on the site . . . one *mâ*; west of the village of Gângul, on the site called Kaḍampriṅg, four *mâs*, on the site called Kankulam four *mâs*." (*This is*) our own order. On the second day of the bright half of Kârttika, Saṁvat 48. The executive officer is the illustrious Yuvarâja Vishṇugupta.

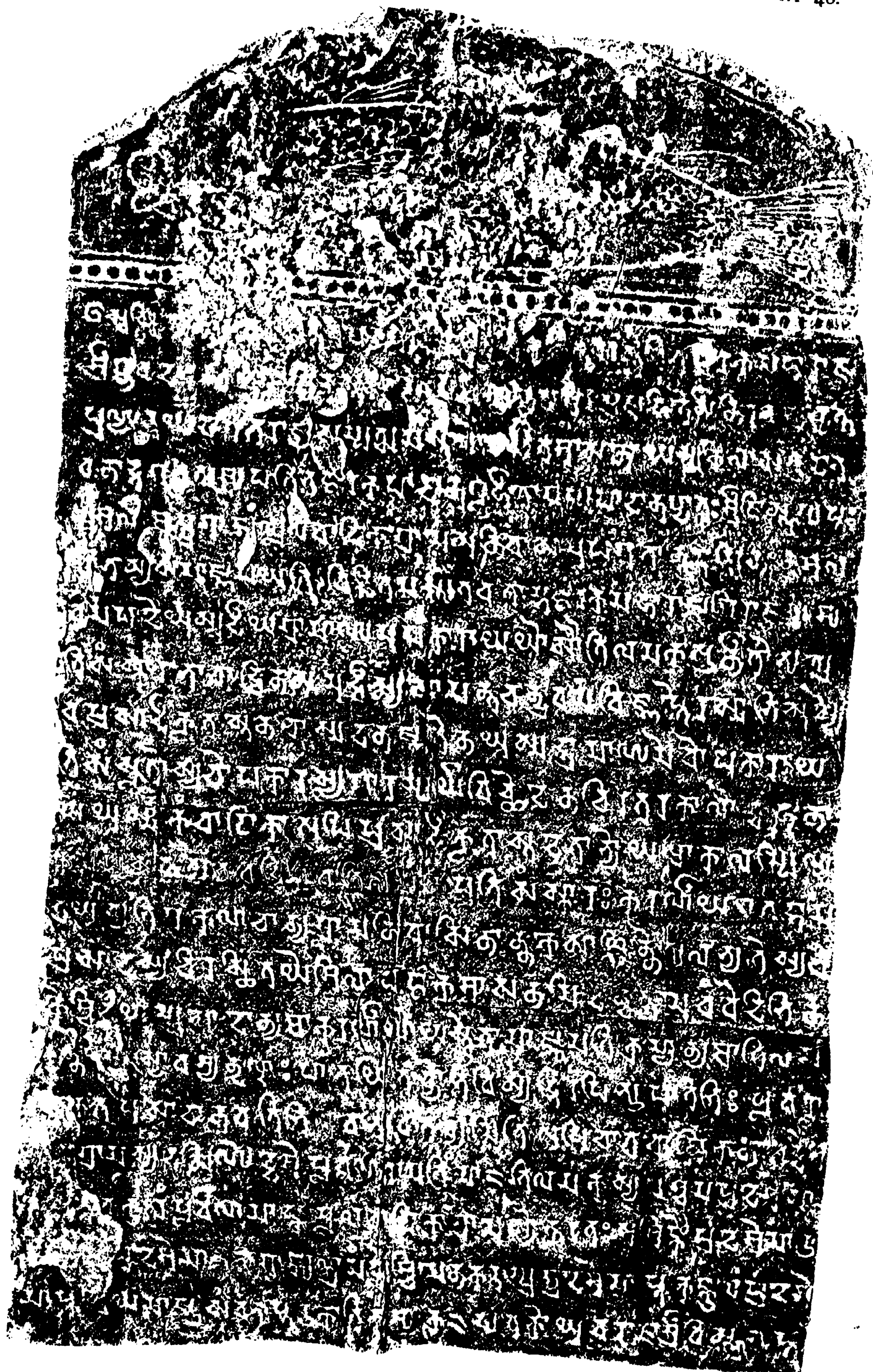
[30] The word *tilamaka* is not found in any dictionary. But it seems certain, from the context, that it must be some kind of watercourse. Probably it denotes a channel which leads the water from the hillside over the fields which rise in terraces one above the other.

[31] *Piṇḍaka*, which is a synonym of the more common *grâs*, seems to denote a share of the produce of the field, see below, No. 11, line 15.

[32] *Vih* is probably a Nevârî word, and corresponds with the modern *vun* 'a field.'

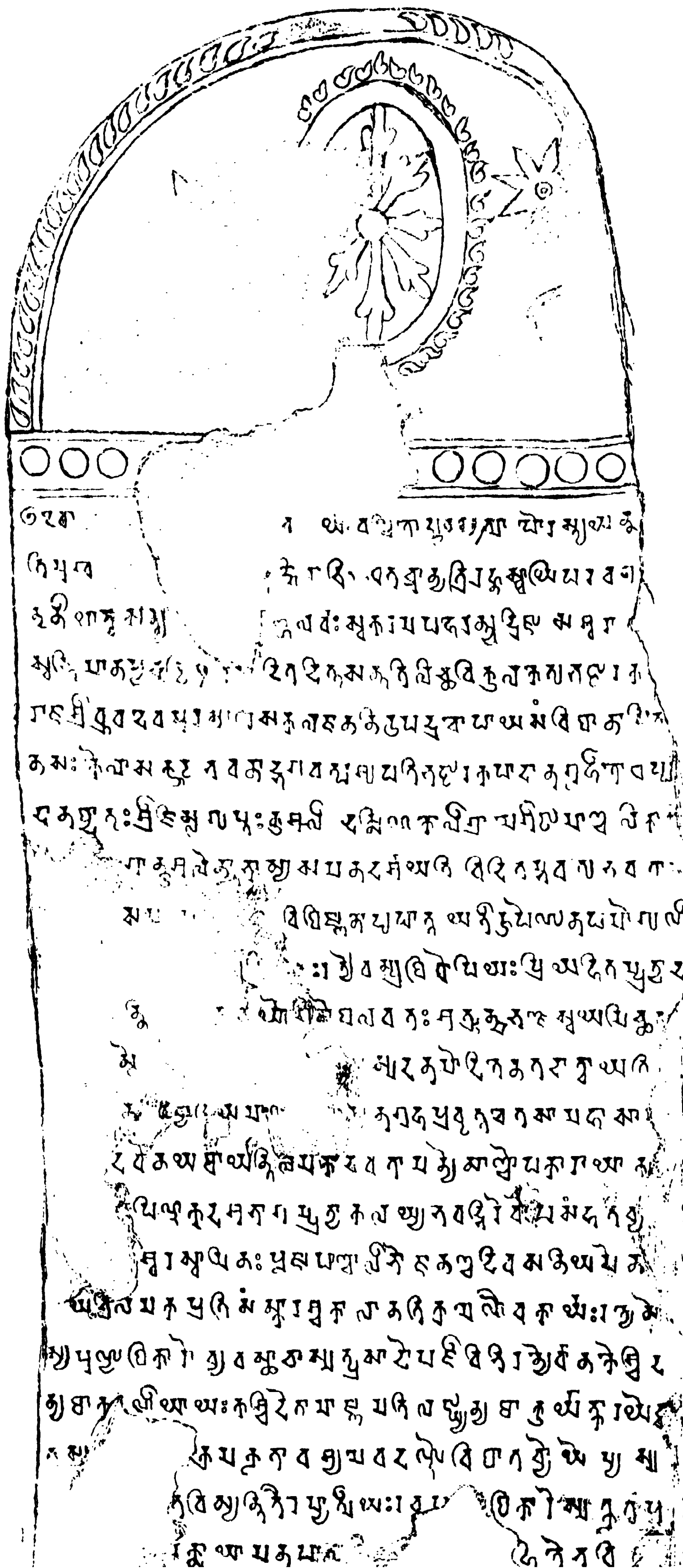
[33] *Mâ* is probably an abbreviation of *mâna*, intended for some measure. The present Nepâlese measure is the *rora*, see also below.

No 9. RUBBING OF INSCRIPTION OF JISHNUGUPTA, DATED SAMVAT 48.





W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM.



No. 10.—An undated inscription of Jishṇugupta.

On a slab of black slate, standing near a temple of V i s h ṇ u, called M î n a-N â r â y a ṇ a, close to the Bhairava-ḍhokâ or southern gate of Kâtmâṇḍu. Its top is decorated by a *chakra.* Parts of the inscription have peeled off. The remaining portions are in good condition.

Transcript.

[1] उँ देवा ------------ यावस्थितो ---त्मा पौरस्त्ययन्त्र-
[2] तिमुख ----------ड्डेराविम् एतच्चान्यच्चिरह्णस्त्वयि परवश -
[3] न्दनीयो --------लैर्वः स्वकरमपहरन्त्य[द्रि]जा सेश्वरा[श्रीः][31]
[4] स्वस्ति मानगृ [हा] ------ दितश्चित्तसन्ततिलिच्छविकुलकेतुभट्टारक-
[5] राजश्रीध्रुवदेवपुरस्सरे सकलजननिरुपद्रवोपायसंविधानार्पित[मा]-
[6] नसः कैलासकूटभवनाद्भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो बप्प-
[7] पादानुध्यातः श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तः कुशली दक्षिणकोलीग्रामे गीटापाञ्चालिका -
[8] ---- गान्कुशलेनाभाष्य समनुदर्शयति विदितम्भवतु भवताम --
[9] ----स------विधिज्ञानादुपात्तायती रूपेणानुपमो गुणी
[10] ----------- इत्येवम्प्रथितेऽपि यः प्रियहितम्प्रत्याद -
[11] ----------बलवतः शत्रून्बभञ्ज स्वयमित्थं --
[12] --ष्ठ----------स्मदनुमोदितेन तदात्वायति --
[13] --व्याप्रियमाणो ----नुग्रहप्रवृत्तचेतसा महासा[मन्त]
[14] ----देवेन यथायन्तिलमको भवतामन्येषाञ्चोपकारायाक --
[15] ---पिण्डकदशभागम्प्रत्याकलय्य भवद्भिरेवोपसंहर्तव्यः --
[16] ---लेश्वरस्वामिनः पूजा पाञ्चालीभोजनञ्च दिवसनियमेन --
[17] -य तिलमकप्रतिसंस्कारश्च कालानतिक्रमेणैव कार्य इत्येषो-
[18] स्य पुण्याधिकारो व्यवस्था चास्मत्प्रसादोपजीविभिरन्यैर्वा न कैश्चिद[प्य]
[19] न्यथाकरणीया यः कश्चिदेतामाज्ञामतिलङ्घ्यान्यथा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा
[20] ------क्रमकृतावश्यमेव दण्डो विधातव्यो येप्यस्म -
[21] ----संभविष्यन्ति तैरप्यात्मीय इव ---धिकारैस्मत्कृतव्र-
[22] ------स्य रक्षायामनुपालने च ----हितैर्भवि[तव्यं]
[23] ---स्य देव -----------
[24] -त्र इति --

Abstract.

The first three lines probably contained a verse in honour of Lakshmî and Vishṇu. On this supposition it is necessary to read *abdhijâ* instead of *adrijâ*. The fact that a *Chakra* adorns the top of the stone makes it probable that the grantee was a Vaishṇava. Lines 4-8 contain the preamble of the grant, and show that J i s h ṇ u g u p t a acknowledged D h r u v a d e v a, of the L i c h c h h a v i race, who resided at M â ṇ a g ṛ i h a as lord paramount. Unfortunately the word following D h r u v a d e v a's name, which has been rendered in the transcript by *purassare* is not certain. J i s h ṇ u g u p t a dates from the Kailâsakûta palace, and addresses his edict to the *Gîṭâ-Pâñchâlikas*, apparently a committee thus named, residing in the village of D a k s h i ṇ a k o l î. The contents of the body of the inscription (ll. 9-24) seem to have been very similar to those of No. 9. They refer to the repairs of a watercourse (*tilamaka*) which had been first dug by some person whose name ended in . . . *deva* (line 14), and the cultivators using it are ordered to pay an assessment (*piṇḍaka*) of one-tenth of the pro-

[31] L. 3, read °न्त्यब्धिजा.

duce (line 16), to feed the Pânchâlî or Panch worshipping a deity whose name ended in . . . *leśvarasvâmin*, and to provide for the repairs of the watercourse.

No. 11.—*An undated inscription of Jishṇugupta's reign.*

On a stone supporting a parasol over an image of Chaṇḍeśvara,[35] which is placed on a quadrangular base in the south-eastern corner of the enclosure of the great temple of Paśupati. The inscription originally consisted of thirty lines, twenty-five of which have been preserved.

Characters as those of the preceding inscriptions.

Transcript.

[1] सम्यग्ज्ञानादियुक्तः सक-
[2] [ल]गुणगणं क्षोभयित्वा प्र-
[3] [धा]नम् ब्रह्मादिस्थावरान्त-
[4] ञ्जगादिदमखिलं योसृज-
[5] द्विश्वरूपम् आजीव्यं सर्व्वे-
[6] पुंसां गिरितरुगहनं यः करो-
[7] त्येकरूपम् पायात्सोद्य प्रस-
[8] न्नः स्मरतनुदहनच्छत्त्रच-
[9] ण्डेश्वरो वः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीजिष्णुगुप्त-
[10] स्य प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये आ-
[11] चार्यभगवत्प्रनर्द्दनप्राणकौ-
[12] शिकेन भगवतश्छत्रचण्डेश्वरस्य
[13] कूग्रामे प्रणालिकायाश्च ख-
[14] [ण्ड]स्फुटितसमाधानार्थमुद्दि-
[15] [श्य] मुण्डशृङ्खलिकपाशुपताचा-
[16] र्यपर्षदि वाराहस्वामिधर्म-
[17] — — — — सोमखड्डुकानाञ्च अशी-
[18] [ति] – पिण्डकमानिकानां भू ः प्रतिपादि-[36]
[19] ता[ः ता]सां प्रदेशा लिख्यन्ते पिखू-
[20] ग्रामे मा १० सामानोदूलके मा २०
[21] पागुमके मा ५ पोग्रामे मा २ खू-
[22] लप्रेङ्ग्रामे मा ९ भूयो मा १५ वि –
[23] — — कयैते अथान्याश्चतुर्व्विङ्शतिकया
[24] — — यच्चके — — — अत्र विंशतिमानिका
[25] — — — — — — शेषाः शृङ्खलिकपा-
[26] — — — — — — [वाराहस्वामि]प्रभृतिभि-

Translation.

May Chhattra-Chaṇḍêśvara graciously protect you, he who burned the body of Cupid, who is possessed of true knowledge and so forth, who, stirring the primary germ which contains all the (*three*) fetters, produced this whole multiform creation from Brahmâ to inanimate objects, who uniformly (*everywhere*) creates the forests and the mountains on which all men live.

Hail! During the prosperous and victorious reign of the illustrious Jishṇugupta Âchârya, the worshipful Pranardanaprâṇakauśika[37] has given to Vârâhasvâmin, Dharma . . . . . and to the Somakhaḍḍukas[38] in the congregation of the Muṇḍaśṛinkhalika[39] Pâśupata Âchârya, fields of eighty . . . . . . measures for repairing (*the sanctuary of*) the divine Chhatrachaṇḍêśvara and the spout of the watercourse in Kûgrâma. The sites of the fields are described (*as follows*): In the village of Pikhû ten *mâs*, in Samânodûlaka twenty *mâs*, in Pâgumaka five *mâs*, in the village of Po two *mâs*, in the village of Khûlapreñg nine *mâs*, further fifteen *mâs*. . . . .

No. 12.—*Inscription of Śivadeva, dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat* 119.

On a slab of black slate, leaning against the wall of a small modern temple of Vishṇu, situated in Lagantol Kâtmâṇḍu. The top of the stone shows a well carved relievo, which represents Nandî reclining on Kailâsa.

Characters as those of preceding inscription. Execution and preservation in general good.

Transcript.

[1] ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीमत्कैलासकूटभवनात् लक्ष्मीलतालम्बनकल्पपादपो
[2] भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो बप्पपादानुध्यातः परमभट्टार-

[35] It was an ancient custom to place an image of Chaṇḍeśvara to the south or south-east of Śaiva temples, and to offer to it the remainder of the materials used for the worship of Śiva. The images of Chaṇḍeśvara resemble those of Śiva and hold the same attributes. In addition they show the same peculiarity as the Greek deity *Priapos*. Hence the common people call them *Kâmadeva*. Such images are also found in the mounds at Mathurâ.

[36] Line 18, read भुव :—

[37] The meaning of this name seems to be equivalent to the modern Śivaprasâda or Śivalâla, and to mean 'dear as life to the roarer' (Rudra).

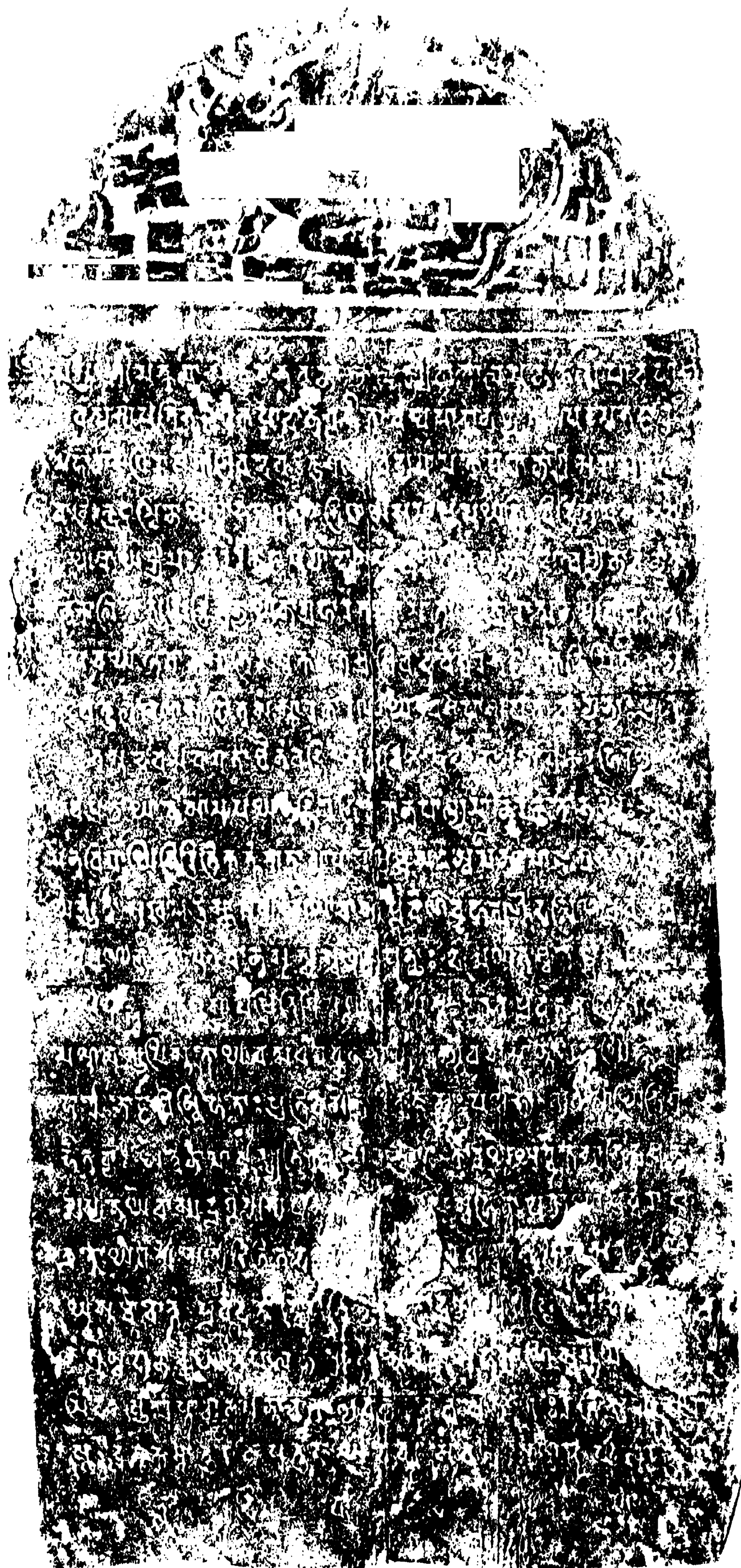
[38] *Khaḍḍuka* occurs on other inscriptions as a name of certain priests of Śiva.

[39] *Muṇḍaśṛinkhalika* literally "wearing a chain of skulls" is the name of a sub-division of the Pâśupatas.

No. 11. INSCRIPTION OF JISHNUGUPTA.

No 12 INSCRIPTION OF SIVADEVA, DATED SAMVAT 119.

No 12. RUBBING OF INSCRIPTION OF SIVADEVA, DATED SAMVAT 119.



[3] कमहाराजाधिराजश्रीशिवदेवः कुशली । वैद्यग्रामके प्रधानाग्रेसरान्सकल-
[4] निवासिकुटुम्बिनो यथार्हङ्कुशलमभिधाय समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भव-
[5] तां यथायङ्ग्रामः शरीरकोट्टमर्यादो[पयुक्त]श्चाटभटानामप्रवेश्येनाचन्द्रार्का-
[6] वनिकालिको भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाग्रहारतया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च विपुलपु-
[7] ण्योपचयहेतोरस्माभिः स्वकारितश्रीशिवदेवेश्वरं भट्टारकन्निमित्तीकृत्य[40]
[8] तद्देवकुलखण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारकारणाय वशपाशुपताचार्येभ्यः प्रति-
[9] पादितस्तदेवमवगतार्थैर्भवद्भिः समुचितदेयभागभोगकरहिरण्यादि-
[10] सर्वप्रत्यायानेषामुपय[च्छ]द्भिरेभिरेवानुपाल्यमानैरकुतोभयैः स्वक-
[11] र्मानुविधायिभिरितिकर्तव्यताव्यापारेषु च सर्वेष्वमीषामाज्ञाश्रवणविधे-
[12] येर्भूत्वा सुखमत्र स्थातव्यं सीमा चास्य पूर्वेण बृहन्मार्गो दक्षिणपूर्वतश्च
[13] शिवी प्रणाली तामेव चानुसृत्य स्वल्पः पन्था दक्षिणतश्च तेङ्खूः पश्चिमे-
[14] नापि तेङ्खूः उत्तरतस्यामपि चिशिमण्डातिलमकः उत्तरपूर्वतश्चापि सहस्र-
[15] मण्डलभूमिस्ततो यावत्स एव बृहन्मार्ग इत्येवं सीमान्तर्भूतेस्मिन्नग्र-
[16] हारे भोट्टविष्टिहेतोः प्रतिवर्षं भारिकजनाः पञ्च ५ व्यवसायिभिर्ग्र-
[17] हीतव्याः ये त्वेतामाज्ञाम्व्यतिक्रम्यान्यथा कुर्युः कारयेयुर्वा तेस्माभिर्भृशन्न
[18] क्षम्यन्ते ये चास्मदूर्ध्वम्भूभुजो भ[विष्यन्ति तेपि प]रस्वहितापेक्षया पूर्वराज-
[19] कृतोयं धर्म्मसेतुरिति तद[वगत्य] --- रवा --- संरक्षणी-
[20] यस्तथा चोक्तं पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठि[र महीं महीम-]
[21] तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मो[दति भू-]
[22] मिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ इति स्वयमा-
[23] ज्ञा दूतकश्चात्र राजपुत्रजयदेवः संवत् ११९ फाल्गुन शुक्ल· दिवा दशम्याम्

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the famous palace (*called*) Kailâsakûṭa! The supreme lord and great king of kings, illustrious Śivadeva, who resembles a tree of Paradise to which the creeper, Fortune, clings, who has received favour from the feet of the lord, the divine Paśupati, and meditates on the feet of Bappa, being in good health, sends due greeting to the headman and cultivators residing in the village of Vaidyaka, and issues (these) orders:—"Be it known to you that this village, including the land, the sky above and the nether regions below, together with . . . . has been given by us in order to gain much spiritual merit for our parents and ourselves, as an Agrahâra to the *Vaṁśapâśupatâchârya* for the sake of the lord Śrîśivadêvêśvara, dedicated by ourselves, in order to repair his temple, the village being not to be entered by our police officers,[41] and the grant to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth endure. You, understanding this, giving to him (*the Âchârya*) all the income, viz., the proper share (*of the produce*) and the taxes in gold and so forth, being protected by him (*the Âchârya*) alone, fearlessly following your occupations, and obeying him in respect to all work that may have to be performed, shall live there in peace. And the boundaries of this (*village are as follows*): To the east the high-road, and to the south-east the Śivî water-conduit and the little footpath along it, and to the south Tenkhû, to the west also Tenkhû, further to the north the Chiśimaṇḍâ watercourse (*tilamaka*); and further to the north-east the Sahasramaṇḍala field, thence as far as the (*above-mentioned*) high-road. From this Agrahâra, which is enclosed by the abovementioned boundaries, the authorities shall take annually five (5) load-carriers for the Thibet service.

[40] L. 7, read °देवेश्वरम°; l. 8, read वंशपा°; l. 21, read षष्टिं.—

[41] I take *châṭabhaṭa* to stand for *châṭân prati bhaṭa*, lit. 'soldiers against robbers,' and to be a name of the royal police, see also the *Kumârapâlacharita*.

But those, who violating this order act otherwise, or incite others to act otherwise, will certainly not be pardoned. And the kings who may come after us should protect this grant, understanding that it is 'a bridge to heaven' built by a former king for his own and others' welfare. And it has also been declared (*in the Mahâbhârata*), 'Oh Yudhishṭhira, zealously protect the (*grants of*) land given to Brâhmaṇs by former kings; oh best of kings, protecting is better than giving. The giver of land rejoices in heaven during sixty thousand years; he who interferes (*with a grant of land*), and he who permits it, will dwell in hell for as long a period.' (*This is my*) own order, and the executive officer here is prince Jayadeva. On the tenth day of the bright half of Phâlguna Saṁvat 119."

No. 13.—*Inscription of Śivadêva, dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat* 143.

This inscription is incised on a stone just outside the southern gate of the enclosure of the temple of Paśupati. I have not seen it myself. A friend in Nepâl, who used to go about with me, and to assist me in my work, sent me the impression from which the photozincograph has been prepared.

The inscription is very badly mutilated. But it is clear that it contained a grant of a village, which was given to the fraternity of Buddhist monks residing in the Śivadeva-vihâra. The name of the donor in line 3 is not distinct. It seems to me, however, that the faint traces of letters visible point to the reading given in the transcript. In favour of this reading the following additional reasons may be adduced.

Firstly, the letters exactly agree with those of the preceding inscriptions. Secondly, the grant is in favour of a monastery founded by Śivadêva. Thirdly, that the *dûtaka* (l. 36) is called Śivadêva-bhaṭṭâraka, *the lord* Śivadêva. The epithet *bhaṭṭâraka* is only given to a king or to a high priest. It is not known that a priest ever exercised the office of *dûtaka*, while we have several instances where the king is his own *dûtaka*.

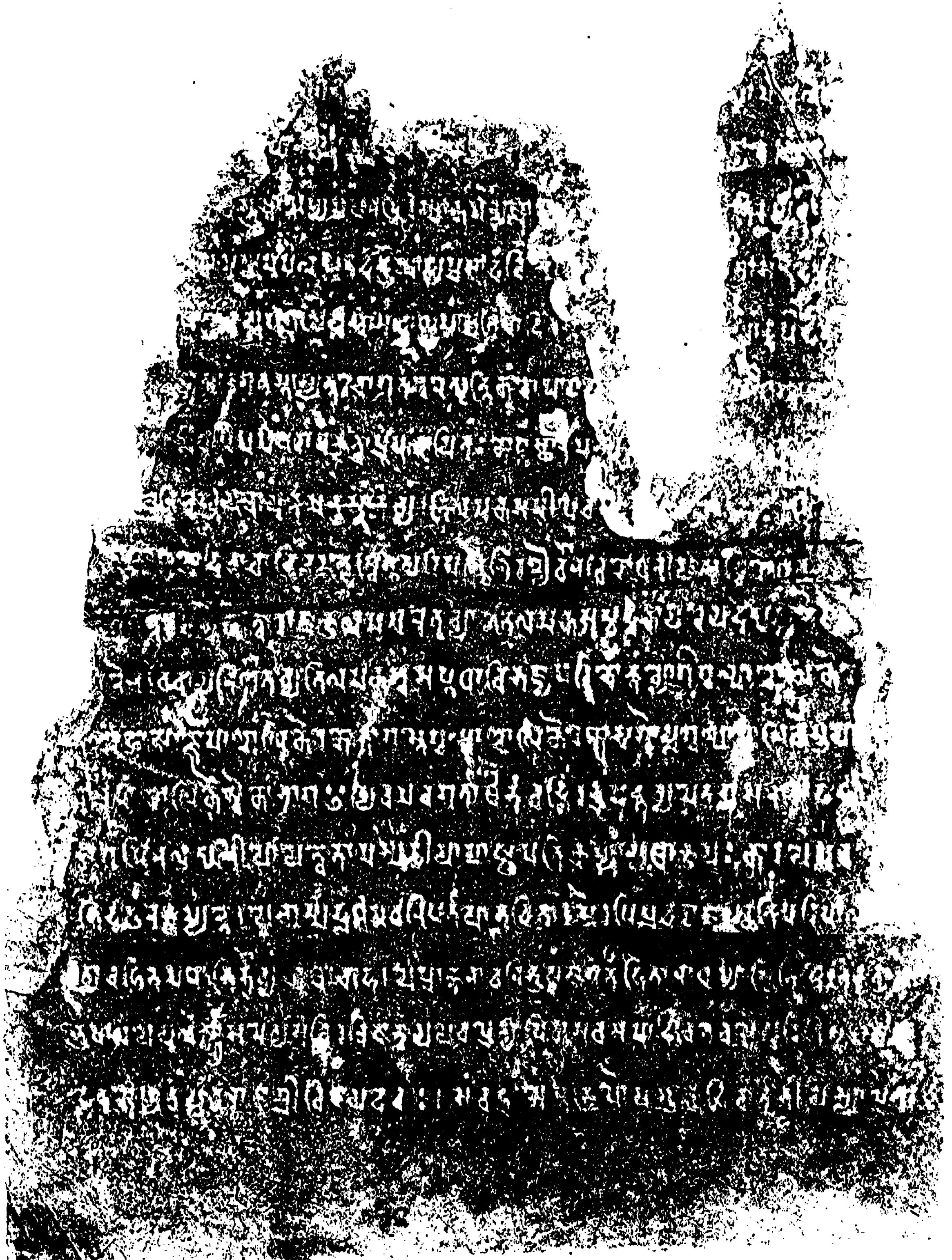
As to the date, the figures for 100 and for three are, though faint, distinctly visible. The middle figure I take to have been 40. But I will not dispute that it may not have been 20 or 30.

Transcript.

[1] — — भद्राधि — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [प]शुपतिभट्टारकपादानु-
[2] गृहीतो बप्पपा[दनुध्यातः] — — — — — — — — परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
[3] रकमहाराजाधिरा[जश्री शिवदेवः कुशली] — अतग्रामे प्रधानपुरस्सरा-
[4] न्सर्वकुटुम्बिनः कुशल[माभाष्य] — — — — — — गुप्तवभु — — — — धयि-
[5] ग्रामो भगवत्पशुपतौ सु-रितसु — — — — — — — — न सर्वे विना — — —
[6] मनुरोधार्थं
[7] -ह्यपरः — — — — — वि-
[8] ष्टिराहितो —
[9] भयच —
[10] पञ्चापराधकारिणां — — — — — — — राजकुलानाम् — — — — कल्पत्रादि सर्वं — य-
[11] स्यार्यसङ्घस्य — — — — — — — शिवदेवविहारचतुर्दिगार्यभिक्षुसङ्घायास्मा-
[12] भिरतिसृष्टः सीमा चास्य पूर्वोत्तरेण श्रेष्ठिनुल्मू — श्रीगुप्तमध्यमाली तस्याः किञ्चित्पू-
[13] र्वेण वृहदाल्या दक्षिणमनुसृत्य [वृह] द्रा — मिम्पूर्वदक्षिणेन[वे]ष्टयित्वा — — — म-
[14] मार्गस्तद्दक्षिणमनुसृत्य सरलवन [ग्राममार्ग] स्त — — — — — — — सृत्य — — —
[15] लिकक्षेत्रपश्चिमकोणाद्दक्षिण[पश्चि]ममनुसृत्य श्रीविदूरिकविहारस्य सन्धौ
[16] मरिमक्षेत्रपश्चिमाल्या दक्षिणङ्ग[त्वा] — — च्छम्भूदक्षिणेश्वराम्बतीर्थक्षेत्राणां सन्धिः
[17] — दक्षिणकोणात्किञ्चित्पश्चिमङ्गत्वा मित्तम्भूमे —
[18] दक्षिणमनुसृत्य तत्पूर्वदक्षिणाल्या ∷ पश्चिमङ्गत्वा किञ्चिदुत्तरञ्च ततः पश्चिम-
[19] मनुसृत्य च निम्भूदक्षिणपश्चिमकोणाद्दक्षिणङ्गत्वा लोप्रिङ्ग्रामकगोष्ठिकक्षेत्रम्

[illegible]

No. 14 INSCRIPTION DATED SAMVAT 145.



W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH PECKHAM.

[20] दक्षिणकोणात्किञ्चित्पश्चिमङ्गत्वा ह्मुंप्रिपाञ्चालिकक्षेत्रम् ---- ल्या दक्षिणमनुसृत्य
[21] ---- राभूमेरुत्तरपूर्वकोणे ह्मुंप्रिग्रामी बृहत्पथस्तत्प[श्चिममनु]सृत्य ह्मुंप्रि --
[22] --- स्त - रोधोनुसृत्य मेकणि - [स्ति]लमकस्तद्ग्राम ---- मधिरुह्य ---
[23] ----- कसरिणोत्तरपश्चिममनुसृत्य - नी ----------
[24] ----- [श्व]रक्षेत्रं पूर्वदक्षिणाल्याः पश्चिमङ्गत्वा लोप्रि ---- तक्षेत्रन्ततः
[25] ------ स्तस्योत्तरञ्च बृहदारामस्य पूर्वमुखे महापथः ---- ङ्गत्वा बृह -
[26] ----------- कोणादधोवतीर्य वनपर्यन्तमुपादाय ---- तस्त -
[27] ---------- स्तस्रोतोनुसारेण श्वभ्रतीर्थ -- गग्व - र्थ
[28] --------- दाराग्रानुसारेण श्रेष्ठि -------- लिन्या
[29] ------- ग्रहारो यदि कदाचिदार्यसङ्घस्य शि -- र्यस ---
[30] तदा प - मा ---- वारणीयमापणकराधिकमा -------- एवा-
[31] र्यभि ----- त्येवमवगतार्थैरस्मत्पादोपजीविभिरन्यैर्वायम्प्रसा[दोन्य]था न
[32] ------ माज्ञामुलङ्घ्यान्यथा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा --- स्सुतरान्न मर्षणीयो
[33] ये ----- भूमिपालास्तैरप्युभयलोकनिरवद्यसुखार्थिभिः पूर्व-
[34] राजविहितो विशिष्टः प्रसाद इति प्रयत्नतस्सम्यक्परिपालनीय एव यतो
[35] धर्मशास्त्रवचनम्बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
[36] स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति । स्वयमाज्ञा । दूतकश्चात्र भट्टारकश्रीशिवदेवः ।
[37] संवत् १ [४] २ ज्येष्ट शुक्ल दिवा त्रयोदश्याम् ।

No. 14.—An inscription dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat 145.

Location: a stone placed near a water conduit close to the temple of Manjughosha or Mînanâtha Lalitapattana. It is very badly mutilated, and has lost a great many lines at the top. It would seem that it refers to the repairs and to the right to use a water-course (*tilamaka*). The name of the king who issued the edict has been lost. The *dûtaka* is the Yuvarâja, or heir apparent, the illustrious V i j a y a d e v a, and the date, the third day of the bright half of Pausha, Saṁvat 145. The letters closely resemble those of the preceding inscriptions, and leave no doubt that it most probably belongs to Śivadeva himself.

Transcript.

[1] — — — — — — — —
[2] ----- त्रस्यान्तरेप्यमुं जानद्भिरस्माकमन्यथा ---------
[3] ------- प्यमुपलपनं च कुमार्या प्रसादं वि ---- सास ---
[4] ---- यूपग्रामे यूचि --- मा प्रतिपादित -----------
[5] ------ ङ्गात्योरगनस्तस्यान्तरे चागूतग्वनेत्पत्तिका घाघाटा ---------
[6] ---- पिध --- मपराधं कृत्वा प्रपलायितः कोट्टस्थानम ---------
[7] --- निवेद्य यथापू[र्व्वं]मनुष्ठातव्यं तिलमकसमीपे च ---------
[8] ---- त्रौ दिवा चा --- त्कैश्चित्तत्परिपन्थिभिरन्यैर्वा न विरोधनीयस्तद्विरोधक ----
[9] --- [द्भिरेवं] गृहीत्वा राजकुलमुपनेतव्याः तिलमक --- कार्यञ्च यदुत्पद्यते ----
[10] [ते] नैव विचार्य निर्णेतव्यं तिलमकश्च सप्तधा विभज्य परिभोक्तव्यो गिग्वल्पाञ्चालिकैरे[को भा-]
[11] [गः] ठ्यासाञ्जापाञ्चालिकैरेको भागस्तेग्वल्पाञ्चालिकैरेको भागो यूग्वल्पा[ञ्चा]लिकैस्त्रयो भागा
[12] -- पाञ्चालिकैस्त्वेको भाग इत्येवमवगतार्थैर्भवद्भिरनुमन्तव्यमेतच्छासन --- [म-]
[13] नागपि न लङ्घनीयो ये त्वेतामस्मदीयामाज्ञामतिक्रम्यान्यथा कुर्युः कारयेयु[र्वा]

[14] [स्मा]भिर्दृढं [न क्ष]म्यन्ते ये चास्मदूर्ध्वमवनिपतयो भवितारस्तैरपि पूर्व्वराजस्थितिपरिपाल-
[15] [ने] व्यवहितमनोभिर्भाव्यं [य]था चाह ये प्राक्तनावनिभुजां जगतीहितानां धर्म्यां स्थितिं स्थितिकृता[म]
[16] नुपालयेयुर्लक्ष्म्या समेत्य सुचिरन्निजभार्ययैवा प्रेत्यापि वासवसमा दिवि ते वसेयुरिति[शुभमस्तु]
[17] दूतको युवराजश्रीविजयदेवः । संवत् १४५ पौष शुक्ल दिवा तृतीयायाम् ।

No. 15.—Inscription of Jayadêva, dated Śrîharsha Saṁvat 153.

Location: a slab of black slate 4′ 4′ by 3′ 4″ placed behind the bull or Nandî, opposite to the western door of the temple of Paśupati. The stone is ornamented with a lotus and buds.

The character is a modified form of the Gupta alphabet.

Execution: good. Preservation: in general excellent.

Transcript.

[1] त्र्यक्षस्त्र्यध्यव्ययात्मा त्रिसमयसदृशस्त्रिप्रतीतस्त्रिलोकीत्राता त्रेतादिहेतुस्त्रिगुणमयतया त्र्यादिभिर्व्वे- र्णितोलं । त्रिस्रोतोधौतमूर्द्धा त्रिपुरजिदजितो निर्व्विबन्धत्रिवर्गो य[स्योत्तुङ्ग]स्त्रिशूल-
[2] स्त्रिदशपतिनुतः — — — तापनोभूत् ॥ [१] राजद्रावणमूर्द्धपङ्क्तिशिखरव्यासक्तचूडामणिश्रेणीसङ्गति- निश्चलात्मकतया लङ्काम्पुनानाः पुरीं । — — द्व[न्द्यपराक्रमा] — — —
[3] — — — — सङ्गताः श्रीबाणासुरशेखराः पशुपतेः पादाणवः पान्तु वः ॥ [२] सूर्याद्ब्रह्मप्रपौत्रान्मनुरथ भगवाञ्जन्म लेभे ततोभूदिक्ष्वाकुश्चक्रव[र्ती] नृपतिरपि ततः श्रीविकुक्षि[र्बभूव] ।
[4] जात — — — — — — — — विदितो भूमिपः सार्व्वभौमो भूतोस्माद्विष्वगश्वः प्रबलनिजबलव्याप्तविश्वान्त- रालः । [३] राजाष्टोत्तरविङ्कृतिक्षितिभुजस्तस्माद्व्यतीत्य क्रमात्सम्भूतः सगरः पतिः — — —
[5] — — — — — — [साग]रायाः क्षितेः । जातोस्मादसमञ्जसो नरपतिस्तस्मादभूदङ्शुमान्स श्रीमन्तमजी- जनन्नरवरो भूपं दिलीपाह्वयं [४] भेजे जन्म ततो भगीरथ इति ख्यातो नृपोत्रान्तरे भूपाला — — —
[6] — — — — — — [जातो] रघोरप्यजः श्रीमत्तुङ्गरथस्ततो दशरथः पुत्रैश्च पौत्रैस्समं राज्ञोष्टावपरान्वि- हाय परतः श्रीमानभूल्लिच्छविः ॥ [५] अस्त्येव क्षितिमण्डनैकतिलको लोकप्रतीतो महाना —
[7] — — — प्रभावमहताम्मान्यः सुराणामपि । स्वच्छं लिच्छविनाम बिभ्रदपरो वंशः प्रवृत्तोदयः श्रीमच्चं- द्रकलाकलापधवलो गङ्गाप्रवाहोपमः ॥ [६] तस्माल्लिच्छवितः परेण नृपतीन्हित्वा प-
[8] — — — रं श्रीमान्पुष्पपुरे कृतिः क्षितिपतिर्ज्जातः सुपुष्पस्ततः । साकं भूपतिभिस्त्रिभिः क्षितिभृतां त्य- क्त्वान्तरे विंशतिं ख्यातः श्रीजयदेवनामनृपतिः प्रादुर्बभूवापरः ॥ [७] एकादशक्षिति-
[9] — — — — — — — — — — [त्य]क्त्वान्तरे विजयिनो जयदेवनाम्नः ॥ श्रीमान्बभूव वृषदेव इति प्रतीतो राजो- त्तमः सुगतशासनपक्षपाती ॥ [८] अभूत्ततः शङ्करदेवनामा श्रीधर्मदेवोप्युदपादि तस्मात् ।
[10] श्रीमानदेवो नृपतिस्ततोभूत्ततो महीदेव इति प्रसिद्धः ॥ [९] वसन्त इव लोकस्य कान्तः शान्तारि- विग्रहः । आसीद्वसन्तदेवोस्माद्दान्तसामन्तवन्दितः ॥ [१०] अस्यान्तरेप्युदयदेव इति क्षितीशाज्जा- तास्त्रयो-
[11] दश [तत]श्च नरेन्द्रदेवः । मानोन्नतो नतसमस्तनरेन्द्रमौलिमालारजोनिकरपांशुलपादपीठः ॥ [११] दाता सद्द्रविणस्य भूरिविभवो जेता द्विषत्संहतेः कर्त्ता बान्धवतोषणस्य
[12] यमवत्पाता प्रजानामलं हर्त्ता संश्रितसाधुवर्गविपदां सत्यस्य वक्ता ततो जातः श्रीशिवदेव इत्यभिमतो लोकस्य भर्त्ता भुवः ॥ [१२] देवी बाहुबलाढ्यमौखरिकुलश्रीवर्म्मचू-
[13] डामणिख्यातिह्रेपितवैरिभूपतिगणश्रीभोगवर्म्मोद्भवा ॥ दौहित्री मगधाधिपस्य महतः श्र्यादित्यसेनस्य या व्यूढा श्रीरिव तेन सा क्षितिभुजा श्रीवत्सदेव्यादरात् ॥ [१३]

[14] तस्माद्भूमिभुजोप्यजायत जितारातिरजय्यः परै राजश्रीजयदेव इत्यवगतः श्रीवत्सदेव्यात्मजः ॥ त्यागी
मानधनो विशालनयनः सौजन्यरत्नाकरो विद्वा[न्सक्त]चिराश्रयो

[15] गुणवतां पीनोरुवक्षस्थलः ॥ [१४] माद्यद्दन्तिसमूहदन्तमुसलक्षुण्णारिभूभृच्छिरोगौडोड्रादिकलिङ्ग-
कोसलपतिश्रीहर्षदेवात्मजा ॥ देवी राज्यमती कुलोचितगुणैर्युक्ता प्रभूता

[16] कुलैर्येनोढा भगदत्तराजकुलजा लक्ष्मीरिव क्ष्माभुजा ॥ [१५] अङ्गश्रिया परिगतो जितकामरूपः
काञ्चीगुणाढ्यवनिताभिरुपास्यमानः कुर्व्वन्सुराष्ट्रपरिपालनकार्यचिन्तां यः सार्व्व-

[17] भौमचरितं प्रकटीकरोति ॥ [१६] राज्यं प्राज्यमुखोर्ज्जितद्विजजनप्रत्यर्प्पिताज्याहुतिज्योतिर्ज्जात-
शिखाविजृम्भणजिताशेषप्रजापद्रुजं । बिभ्रत्कण्टकवर्ज्जितं निजभुजावष्टम्भविस्फूर्ज्जितं

[18] शूरत्वात्परचक्रकाम इति यो नाम्नापरेणान्वितः ॥ [१७] स श्रीमाञ्जयदेवाख्यो विशुद्धबृहदन्वयः ल-
ब्धप्रतापः सम्प्राप्तबहुपुण्यसमुच्चयः ॥ [१८] मूर्त्तीरष्टाभिरष्टौ महयितुमतुलैः

[19] स्वैर्द्दलैरष्टमूर्त्तेः पातालादुत्थितं किं कमलमभिनवं पद्मनाभस्य नाभेः । देवस्यास्यासनायोपगतमिह
चतुर्व्वक्त्रसादृश्यमोहाद्विस्तीर्णं विष्टरं किं प्रविकसितसिताम्भोजमम्भोज-

[20] योनेः ॥ [१९] कीर्ण्णा किम्भूतिरेषा सपदि पशुपतेर्नृत्यतोत्र प्रकामं मौलीन्दोः किम्मयूखाः शरद-
मभिनवां प्राप्य शोभामुपेताः । भक्त्या कैलासशैलाद्धिमनिचयरुचः सानवः किं

[21] समेता दुग्धाब्धेरागतः किं गलगरसहजप्रीतिपीयूषराशिः ॥ [२०] राज्ञः ॥ देवं वन्दितुमुद्यतो
द्युतिमतो विद्योतमानद्युतिः किं ज्योत्स्नाधवला फणावलिरियं शेषस्य सन्दृश्यते ।

[22] अन्तर्द्दूररसातलाश्रितगतेर्द्देवप्रभावश्रिया [ः] किं क्षीरस्नपनं विधातुमुदिताः क्षीरार्ण्णवस्यो-
र्म्मयः ॥ [२१] विष्णोः पातालमूले फणिपतिशयनाक्रान्तिलीलासुखस्थादाज्ञां प्राप्योत्प-

[23] तन्त्यास्त्रिपुरविजयिनो भक्तितोभ्यर्च्चनाय । लक्ष्म्याः संलक्ष्यते प्राक्करतलकलितोत्फुल्ललीलासरोजं किं
वेतीत्थं वितर्क्कास्पदमतिरुचिरं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनानाम् ॥ [२२] नाली नालीकमेतन्न खलु समु-
दितं राजतो

[24] राजतोहं पद्मा पद्मासनाब्जे कथमनुहरतो मानवा मानवाभे पृथ्व्यां पृथ्व्यान्न मादृग्भवति हृतजगन्मा-
नसे मानसे वा भास्वान्भास्वान्विशेषं जनयति न हि मे वासरो वा सरो वा ॥ [२३] इतीव

[25] चामीकरकेसराली सिन्दूररक्तद्युतिदन्तपङ्क्त्या । राजीवराजीम्प्रति जीवलोके सौन्दर्यदर्प्पादिव स-
प्रहासं ॥ [२४] एषा भाति कुलाचलैः परिवृता प्रालेयसंसर्ग्गिभिर्व्वेदी मेरुशिलेव काञ्चनमयी
देवस्य

[26] विश्रामभूः । शुभ्रैः प्रान्तविकासिपङ्कजदलैरित्याकलय्य स्वयं रौप्यं पद्ममचीकरत्पशुपतेः पूजार्थमत्यु-
ज्वलम्[12] ॥ [२५] राज्ञः ॥ यं स्तौति प्रकटप्रभावमहिमा ब्रह्मा चतुर्भिर्मुखैः यञ्च श्ला-

[27] घयति प्रणम्य चरणे षड्भिर्मुखैः षण्मुखः । यन्तुष्टाव दशाननोपि दशभिर्व्वक्त्रैः स्फुरत्कन्धरः सेवां
यस्य करोति वासुकिरलं जिह्वासहस्रैः स्तुवन् ॥ [२६] ख्याल्या यः परमेश्वरोपि वहते वासो

[28] दिशाम्मण्डलं व्यापी सूक्ष्मतरश्च शङ्करतया ख्यातोपि संहारकः । एकोप्यष्टतनुः सुरासुरगुरुर्व्वी-
तत्रपो नृत्यति स्थाणुः पूज्यतमो विराजति गुणैरेवं विरुद्धैरपि [२७] राज्ञः ॥ तस्येदं प्रमथा-

[29] धिपस्य विपुलं ब्रह्माब्जतुल्यं शुभं राजद्राजतपङ्कजं प्रविततं प्रान्तप्रकीर्ण्णैर्द्दलैः । पूजार्थं प्रविधाप्य
तत्पशुपतेर्यत्प्रापि पुण्यम्मया भक्त्या तत्प्रतिपाद्य मातरि पुनः संप्राप्नुयान्निर्वृतिम् ॥ [२८]
राज्ञः ॥

[30] किं शम्भोरुपरि स्थितं ससलिलं मन्दाकिनीपङ्कजं स्वर्गोद्भिन्नवांबुजेक्षणधिया सम्प्राप्तमम्भोरुहम् ।
देवानां किमियं शुभा सुकृतिनां रम्या विमानावली पद्मं किं करुणाकरस्य करतो

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[12] L. 26, read अत्युज्ज्वलं.

[31] लोकेश्वरस्यागतम् ॥ [२९] राज्ञः ॥ स्रोतःस्वर्गापगायाः किमिदमवतरल्लोलकल्लोलरम्यं किं ब्रह्मोत्पत्ति-
पद्मं तलकमलवरप्रेक्षणायोपयातं । सम्प्राप्तं चन्द्रमौलेरमलनिजशिरश्चन्द्रबिम्बं किमत्रेत्येवं

[32] यद्वीक्ष्य शङ्कां वहति भुवि जनो विस्मयोत्फुल्लनेत्रः ॥ [३०] श्रीवत्सदेव्या नृपतेर्ज्जनन्या समं समन्तात्प-
रिवारपद्मैः रौप्यं हरस्योपरि पुण्डरीकं तदादरैः कारितमत्युदारम् [३१] पुण्यं पुत्रेण दत्तं शशिकर-
विमलं

[33] कारयित्वाब्जमुख्यं प्राप्तं शुभ्रं शुभञ्च स्वयमपि रजतैः पद्मपूजां विधाय । सर्व्वं श्रीवत्सदेवी निज-
कुलधवलाञ्चितवृत्तिन्दधाना प्रादात्कल्याणहेतोश्चिरमवनिभुजे स्वामिने स्वर्गताय [३२]
कुर्य्यात्कु-

[34] लजः पुमान्निजगुणश्लाघामनिर्ह्रीच्छया राज्ञा सत्कविनापि नो विरचितं काव्यं स्ववंशाश्रयं । श्लो-
कान्पञ्च विहाय साधुरचितान्प्राज्ञेन राज्ञा स्वयं स्नेहाद्बुभुजि बुद्धकीर्त्तिरकरोत्पूर्व्वामपूर्व्वामिमाम् ॥
[३३] योगक्षेमविधानबन्धुरभु-

[35] जस्संवर्द्धयन्बान्धवान् स्निह्यत्पुत्रकलत्रभृत्यसहितो लब्धप्रतापो नृपः दीर्घायुर्न्नितरान्निरामयवपुर्न्नि-
त्यप्रमोदान्वितः पृथ्वीम्पालयतु प्रकामविभवस्फीतानुरक्तप्रजाम् ॥ [३४] संवत् १९२ कार्त्तिक
शुक्ल नवम्याम् ॥

Translation.

1. He is the three-eyed one, the three *Vêdas* are his imperishable essence, he remains the same in the three (*divisions of*) time, he is felt in the three conditions (*of waking, sleep, and dream*), he is the protector of the three worlds, he is the primary cause of the triad (*of sacred fires*); he is fully praised by the three (*deities Brahman, Vishnu and Rudra*) and others, because he contains the three fetters (*goodness, passion and vice*); his head is laved by the tripartite stream, (*Gangâ*), himself unconquered he conquered (*the demon*) Tripura, through him the three objects (*of human life—merit, wealth and pleasure*) are accessible. He wields the mighty trident, he who is worshipped by the lord of the thrice ten gods (*Indra*) became the destroyer of . . . . .

2. May the particles (*of dust*) from Paśupati's feet protect you, which sanctify Lankâ's town, because they firmly cling to the multitude of glittering crest-jewels fastened to the top of Râvaṇa's row of heads[43] . . . . and which form a garland on famed Bâṇâsura's head.

3. Now from Sûrya, the great grandson of Brahman, was born divine Manu, from him sprang Ikshvâku, from him king Vikukshi. A king who ruled over the whole earth . . . . was born from him; his son was Vishvagaśva, who with his mighty host overran the universe.

4. Twenty-eight (*other*) kings passed by, then Sagara, the lord of the earth . . . . was born. His son was king Asamanjasa; from him descended Aṁśumat. That best of princes begot an illustrious king, called Dilîpa.

5. From him Bhagîratha, a famous lord of men, drew his origin. Then . . . . . . kings (*ruled*). . . From Raghu, Aja was born, from him Daśaratha, who rode on a lofty chariot. After eight other kings together with their sons and grandsons had passed, illustrious Lichchhavi was born.

6. A new great race, famous in the world, the chief ornament of the earth, increasing in prosperity, brilliant like the beautiful full moon, and similar to Gangâ's flood, which is to be honoured even by the gods that are great in majesty, and which bears the pure name Lichchhavi. . . . exists even now.

7. . . . . . . kings following after that Lichchhavi are passed over; then an illustrious holy prince, called Supushpa was born in Pushpapura[44]. No account is taken of twenty-three kings succeeding him; then another famous king called illustrious Jayadêva arose.

8. After the victorious Jayadêva eleven

[43] This line refers to the Pauranic story, according to which Râvaṇa shook Kailâsa, taking it into his hand, and afterwards received a boon from Śiva.

[44] *i. e.* Pâṭaliputra or Paṭna.

kings . . . . . are passed over. Then came a famous king, a follower of Sugata's doctrine, known as the illustrious Vṛishadêva.

9. From him was born Śankaradêva, from him also Dharmadêva sprang. Then his son, the illustrious Mânadêva, became king, after him he who is known as Mahîdêva.

10. From him descended Vasantadêva, dear to the people like spring (*vasanta*), who finished the wars with his enemies, and was praised by his subdued feudal chiefs.

11. Afterwards came thirteen (*rulers*), sprung from king Udayadêva, and then Narêndradêva, who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings.

12. Then illustrious Śivadêva, honoured by men, became the husband of the earth, he who gave wealth in charity, possessed great riches, conquered his numerous enemies, gladdened his relatives, like Yama protected his subjects, greatly relieved the sufferings of pious men depending on him, and spoke truth.

13. That prince respectfully took illustrious Vatsadêvî to be his queen, as if she were Fortune, her the daughter of illustrious Bhogavarman, who was the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the valorous Maukhari race, and who by his glory put to shame (*all*) hostile kings, and the grand-daughter of great Âdityasena, the illustrious lord of Magadha.

14. The son of that prince, the subduer of his foes, and of illustrious Vatsadêvî is known as illustrious king Jayadêva, unvanquished by foes. Liberal he is and keeps honour as his only riches, far sees his eye. He is an ocean of politeness, he loves and long protects virtuous men. His chest is strong and broad.

15. That king wedded, as if she were Fortune, queen Rajyâmatî, possessed of virtues befitting her race, the noble descendant of Bhagadâtta's royal line and daughter of Śrîharshadêva, lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kalinga, Kosala and other lands, who crushed the heads of hostile kings with the club-like tusks of his rutting elephants.

16. He, clothed in beauty, surpassing Cupid, worshipped by females adorned with beautiful girdles, and giving his mind to the duty of protecting his beautiful kingdom, lives the life of a universal emperor.

17. He holds a kingdom where all the subjects' misfortunes are conquered by the spreading flames rising from the offerings made by Brâhmaṇs who have received great happiness (*from him*), which is free from internal enemies, and which has been extended in consequence of the support of his arm, and by reason of his heroism he has received a second name Parachakrakâma (*greedy of the kingdoms of his enemies*).

18. That prince named Śrî-Jayadêva is descended from a pure and great race, has obtained greatness and acquired a large store of spiritual merit.

19. "Has a new lotus risen from the nether regions in order to worship with its eight petals the eight bodies of eight-formed (*Śiva*)? Or has the broad lotus-seat of lotus-born Brahman come from the navel of Vishṇu to be the throne of this deity (*Paśupati*), because it mistook him for four-faced (*Brahman*)?"[45]

20. "Have the ashes (*covering*) Paśupati's (*body*) been scattered, while he violently danced according to his heart's desire? Or has autumn returned imparting brilliancy to the rays of the moon on Śiva's crest? Or have the table-lands glittering with masses of snow, leaving Kailâsa's mountain, collected here out of devotion (*to Śiva*)? Or has a flood of Amṛita lovingly come from[46] the milk ocean out of affection for its kindred, the poison on Śiva's throat?"

(*The above verse is*) the king's (*own composition.*)

21. "Does the resplendent row of heads, brilliant like moon-light, belonging to shining Śesha, who dwells in the furthest recesses of the nether world, and has risen to worship divine (*Śiva*), appear here? Or do I see the waves of the milk-ocean that have come up to bathe in milk the majestic beauty of the Lord?"

22. "Or is it the full blown toy-lotus formerly held by the hand of Lakshmî, who, with the permission of Vishṇu, enjoying his ease in Pâtâla on the couch formed by the king of serpents, is hastening up devoutly to worship the conqueror of Tripura?" Thus (*uttering various*

[45] This and the following verses contain a description of the gilt lotus dedicated by Jayadeva in Paśupati's temple. The Liṅga of Paśupati has, as stated above, four faces, and might, for that reason, be mistaken for Brahman.

[46] The poet wishes to describe the brilliancy of the lotus dedicated by Jayadeva, and compares it with various substances, possessing or supposed to possess extraordinary 'whiteness' as the Hindu poets say.

questions) the young wives of the Siddhas (*made the lotus*) a pleasant object of their guesses.

23. "Forsooth this is not a lotus composed of (*common*) fibres; I am made of silver by the king. How, oh men, can the two lotuses of Śrî and of Brahman, which do not possess a fresh brilliancy, rival me? On the broad earth not one (*flower*) like to me is found, neither in the delighted hearts of men,[47] nor in (*lake*) Mânasa; neither the brilliant sun, nor the day nor the lake produces any difference in me."

24. Thus the lotus spake as if it were proud of its beauty, showing, in derision, its golden stamina, comparable to a row of teeth dyed brilliant red with minium, to all lotuses in this world.

25. "Thinking that this throne on which the deity rests, golden like Mount Meru, was surrounded by the imperishable (*seven*) primeval mountains covered by snow (*the king*) himself caused an exceedingly resplendent silver lotus with brilliant, wide-opened petals to be made for the worship of Paśupati."[48]

(*The above verse is*) the king's (*own composition.*)

26—27. "That most worshipful Sthâṇu, whom Brahman, possessed of manifest glorious majesty, lauds with his four mouths, whom six-faced (*Kumâra*) bowing at his feet, praises with his six mouths, whom ten-headed (*Râvaṇa*) even glorified by hymns from his ten mouths, whom Vâsuki with glittering necks worships devoutly, singing his praise with a thousand tongues, shines even through qualities that are opposed to each other. For though, according to report, a supreme lord, he wears the sky as his garment, he pervades (*the universe*), and (*still is*) exceedingly small; though praised as the giver of welfare, he is the destroyer (*of the world*); though he is one, he possesses eight bodies; and though he is revered by gods and demons, he dances shamelessly."

(*The last of these two verses is*) the king's (*own composition.*)

28. "May I obtain salvation, as I have caused to be made in honour of that Lord of the Pramathas, this great, beautiful, brilliant silver lotus, which resembles the lotus forming Brahman's seat, and wide extends its expanding petals, and as out of devotion I have given to my mother that merit, which I obtained (*thereby*) from Paśupati."

(*The above is*) the king's own (*composition.*)

29. "Is this a lotus from Gangâ's stream, which was growing in the water on Śambhu's head? Or (*is it*) a lotus that has come desiring to see the water-roses, newly opened in heaven? Or is it a beautiful, lovely row of cars of the blessed gods? Or is it the lotus descended from the hand of compassionate Lôkośvara (*i.e. Avalôkiteśvara*)?"

(*The above verse is*) the king's (*own composition.*)

30. "Is this the descending stream of heavenly Gaṅgâ, beautiful on account of its restless waves? Or is it the lotus from which Brahman sprang, come to see the best of earthly lotuses? Or has the pure moon placed on Śiva's forehead approached this spot?" Such doubts arose in the minds of the people, when they gazed on it with wondering wide-opened eyes.

31. This very precious silver lotus, placed over Hara's (*Liṅga*),[49] together with the lotuses, which on all sides surround it to do it honour, has been dedicated by illustrious Vatsadêvî, the mother of the king.

32. The merit (*which her son gained*) by dedicating the chief lotus, that is resplendent like the rays of the moon and presented to her,[50] as well as the merit which she herself obtained by worshipping the lotus with (*gifts of*) silver, illustrious Vatsadêvî, who is pure in thought as becomes her race, has presented to her husband, the deceased king, for his welfare.

33. What man of noble race would shamelessly praise his own virtues? Though the king is a true poet, he has not composed the verses in honour of his own race. With the exception of five verses, which the clever prince himself composed right well, Buddhakîrti, out of affection for the king, wrote the above original (*eulogy*).

[47] Hindus always speak of the lotus of the soul, which has five petals of various colours, symbolical of the passions.

[48] The poet tries to prove that the lotus resembled the shrine of Paśupati. As the latter is of gold, so the centre also of the lotus is golden, and as the temple is surrounded by snowy mountains, so the petals of the lotus are made of silver.

[49] At present, too, a large silver lotus in a square frame is suspended by a chain from the ceiling just above the Linga of Paśupati. In shape it exactly resembles the picture at the head of the inscription. It is possible that it dates from Jayadeva's time, and is identical with the one described in this inscription.

[50] See above v. 28.

34. May the king who is able to ensure security and welfare, who takes care of his relatives, who is surrounded by loving sons, wives and servants, and who has obtained greatness, long protect, in good health and joyfully the country where subjects are rich according to their desire, and loyal.

On the ninth day of the bright half of Kârttika, Saṁvat 153.

No. 16.—An inscription of Jyotimalla, dated Nepâla Saṁvat 533.

A slab of sandstone to the left of the western door of Paśupati's temple, inside the court.

Characters Nivârî. Ornaments on the slab a trident between two Nandîs. Preservation good, but lower portion damaged. Language very incorrect Sanskṛit, and towards the end Nivârî. Nivarî portion not copied.

Transcript.

श्रीश्रीनेपालखण्डे सकलमलहरे व्यापिनं पुण्यभूमौ शंभुं श्रीवत्सलेशं परमपशुपतिं पञ्चवक्तृस्वरूपं ।
श्रीवाग्मत्यास्तटाले वरुणदिशि वरे वासुकीनागपूज्यं [तं चाहं] नौमि नित्यं मुनिजनसकलैर्वंदितं पादयुग्मं ॥ [१] ॥

श्रीसूर्यवंशप्रभवः प्रतापः श्रीपट्टवन्तः स्थितिमल्लदेवः ।
राजल्लदेव्याः पतिरिन्दुमूर्त्तिस्तस्यात्मजः श्रीजयधर्म्ममल्लः ॥ [२]
विद्वज्जनाम्भोजविकाशभानुर्विपक्षराजोन्नतचित्तहारी ।
श्रीवीरनारायणमूर्त्तिरेष श्रीधर्म्ममल्लो युवराजसिंहः ॥ [३]
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिः सुकृतैकसिन्धुश्चिन्तामणिः क्षितिरुहोपमदर्शनानाम् ।
भूदेवदेवपरिपूजनसाभिलाषो भ्राता तु मध्यजवरो जयजोतिमल्लः ॥ [४]
तस्यानुजो मदनरूपसमानदेहः सत्सुन्दरीहृदयपङ्कजभानुमूर्त्तिः ।
सन्मानदानगुणलक्षणभूषिताङ्गो भ्राता कनिष्ठरुचिरो जयकीर्त्तिमल्लः ॥ [५]
उद्दण्डक्षितिपालमण्डनमणिः सन्नीतिरत्नाकरो धर्म्माधर्मविवेकचारुचतुरः श्रीशंभुभक्तः सदा ।
पुण्यानामभिलाषचित्तसततं वाञ्छाप्रदो धार्मिको देवश्रीजयजोतिमल्लनृपतिः संसारदेवीपतिः [६]

स्वस्तिश्रीश्रीपशुपतिचरणकमलधूलिधूसरिताशिरोरुहश्रीमन्मानेश्वरीवरलब्धप्रसादितप्रणमदवनिपति-मुकुटकोटिपत्रांकुररुचिरचरणपल्लवचानक्यप्रभृतिविद्यावदातसमस्तराजनीतिरत्नाकरनिखिलगान्धर्वविद्यागु-रुपरममाहेश्वररघुकुलकमलवनप्रकाशनैकभास्करदेवद्विजगुरुचरणाराधनैकस्वभावषडदर्शनाराधनैकचित्त-सकलार्थिजनकल्पतरुसर्वगुणैकनिधानदैत्यनारायणावतारश्रीपद्माचलशिखरोपरिधर्म्मालयस्थानाश्रितश्रीधर्म्म-धातुवागीश्वरमूर्तिस्वयंभुचैत्यभग्नस्थापनमहाकीर्तिभारनतविविधविरुदावलीसमलङ्कृतश्रीश्रीरघुवंशावतंसमहा-राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीमत्श्रीश्रीजयजोतिमल्लदेवेन लक्षाहुतिमहायज्ञपूजाभिर्गणगुरुमातृगणदे-वताः समाराधयित्वा श्रीदेवपट्टनमहास्थाने श्रीश्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकस्य प्रासादोपरि सुवर्णकलशावरोपणप्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ तस्य राज्ञः ॥

जामातः जयभैरवेति नृपतिर्भूपालचूडामणिर्नानाशास्त्रविचारणैकनिपुणः सद्भारतीभूषितः ।
दाता धैर्यगुणेन भूषिततनुः सत्येन भीष्मोपमो लोके प्रीतिकरः परार्थरसिकः श्रीजीवरक्षापतिः ॥
श्रीजोतिमल्लहृदयनन्दनयक्षमल्लः सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरवपूरतिमञ्जुवाणिः ।
भक्तापुरीनगरवासितसौख्यकारी दुर्भिक्षदुःखभयहारणदेवमूर्त्तिः ॥
जयलक्ष्म्याः सुतः श्रीमान् सुनयः पुण्यवत्सलः ।
जयंतराजेति विख्यातो जयलक्ष्मीपतिः सुधीः ॥
अनेन पुण्येन च तस्य भूयात्सहस्रवर्षायुरहार्यकीर्तिः ।
नरेश्वरः श्रीजयजोतिमल्लः सत्पुत्रपौत्रैः सहभृत्यवर्गैः ॥
संवन्नेपालकाख्ये त्रिभुवनदहने कामबाणे प्रयाते
माघे शुक्ले च कामे तिथि—विदिते प्रीतियोगे च पुण्ये

वारे पूषाभिधाने मकररविगते युग्मराशौ शशाङ्के
शम्भोः प्रासादशृङ्गे कनकमयध्वजं तत्र संरोहणं स्यात्
संवत् ५३३ माघ शुक्लत्रयोदशी पुनर्वसुनक्षत्रे प्रीतियोगे आदित्यवारे

Abstract.

I. Invocation addressed to Paśupati.

II. *Vaṁśâvali, Sûryavaṁśa*:—

Sthitimalla *married to* RÂJALLADEVÎ

YAYADHARMAMALLA, Yuvarâja	JOTIMALLA md. Samsâradêvî	KIRTIMALLA
Yakshamalla Protector of Bhaktapurî (Bhâtgâm)	Jayantarâja	daughter Jîvarakshâ married to Bhairava

III. Description of Jyotimalla.

The ornament of the race of Raghu, supreme king of great kings, great lord and sovereign, the illustrious, famous J y o t i m a l l a, who is adorned by the various honorific titles (*birudâvali*), viz., 'he whose head is covered by the dust of glorious Paśupati's lotus feet', 'he who has obtained favour through a boon granted by glorious Mânêśvarî',[51] 'he whose tender feet are made resplendent by the crests of the diadems of bowing princes', 'he who is an ocean of all kingcraft (*taught*) by Châṇakya and other learned men', 'he who is master of the whole science of music', 'he who is the ardent devotee of Śiva', 'he who is the only sun able to unclose (*the flowers*) of the lotus-thicket of the race of Raghu', 'he who is intent on worshipping the feet of Brâhmaṇs', gods, and of his Gurus', 'he who is exclusively engaged in studying the six kinds of philosophy', 'he who is a tree of Paradise for needy men', 'he who is the only vessel of all virtues', 'he who is an incarnation of Nârâyaṇa for (the destruction of) the Demons', 'he who is bending under the load of fame gained by the restoration of the Tope of S v a y a m b h û and of the image of glorious D h a r m a d h â t u-V â g î s v a r a[52] (Manjuśrî) placed in the sanctuary on the top of famous P a d m â c h a l a'.[53]

IV. *Object of grant*: to record the dedication of a golden *Kalaśa* on the temple of P a ś u p a t i at D e v a p a t t a n a, on which occasion a *Koṭyâhuti* was offered to G a ṇ e ś a and to the Mothers (*Mâtrigaṇa*).

V. *Date*: Nepâla Saṁvat 533 (*tribhuvana dahana, kâmabâṇa*) on the 13th lunar day (*Kâmatithi*) of the bright half of Mâgha, on a Sunday, under the constellation Punarvasu, while the sun stood in Makara (Capricorn) and the moon in Gemini, during the conjunction called Prîti.

No. 17.—*An inscription of Siddhinṛisiṁha of Lalitapattana, dated Nepâla Saṁvat* 757.

A slab in the wall of a temple of Râdhâ and Krishṇa, standing opposite the palace in Lalitapaṭṭana. Characters Nepalese.

Language Sanskrit, and in the last portion Nivâri. Preservation good.

Transcript.

उँ नमो गोपालाय ॥

ब्रह्मत्वे सृजते विश्वं स्थितौ पालयते हरे । रुद्ररूपाय कल्पान्ते नमस्तुभ्यं त्रिमूर्त्तये ॥ १ ।
प्रावीण्यप्रथितः प्रतापमथितप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिप्रोद्दामप्रमदौघलोचनपयःप्रारब्धवारांनिधिः ।
जातः श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिर्द्दाताऽवदातान्वये सम्प्राप्तः पृथुना नृपेण समतां यो वृत्तिदाता सताम् ॥ २ ।
यस्यान्ववायजलधावुदियाय राजचन्द्रो महेंद्र इव तत्र महेन्द्रमल्लः ।
येनार्थिकल्पतरुणा गुणसागरेण राजन्वती वसुमती महती बभूव ॥ ३ ॥
यत्प्रौढप्रभवत्प्रतापपतिताः प्राकम्पिताः शत्रवो भेजुः शैलदरां विहाय नगरीं त्यक्त्वा पुरे सुन्दरीम्

[51] *i. e.* Tulajâdêvî, who seems to have been Jyotimalla's Kuladevatâ.

[52] A sanctuary of Manjusri is found behind the Tope of Svayambhû, on a small separate head of the hill.

[53] Padmâchala is a hill to the south-west of Kâṭmâṇḍu, on which the Tope of Svayambhû is situated, see Wright, *Nepal*, p. 23.

यस्याचारविचारपौरुषरवव्यग्रास्समग्रा गिरस्तस्य क्षोणिपतेः प्रसिद्धमहसः केनोपमेयं यशः ॥ ४ ॥
अस्यात्मजोजनि महीतलकल्पवृक्षो राजा विराजितयशाः शिवसिंहदेवः ।
भूमीभुजा समरसीम्नि महाभुजेन क्षेमं क्षणेन रिपवो बहवो विनष्टाः ॥ ५ ॥
येन क्षोणिभुजा प्रयाणसमये पादातसैन्योच्छलद्धूलीजालसमुत्थितेन तमसा व्योमान्धकारीकृतम् ।
कूर्म्मो मर्म्मणि चूर्णितोपि नितरां धत्ते कथंचिद्धरां शेषः शेषदशाञ्जगाम सहसा सर्वंसहा निःसहा ॥ ६ ॥
तनयोस्य विनयपूर्ण्णो बभूव कर्णोपमो भूमौ । हरिहरसिंहनरेन्द्रो वसुधाचन्द्रो बभूवा[सौ] ॥ ७ ॥
अरीणान्निहन्ता यशःपारगन्ता सुशीलः समन्ताज्जयन्ताधिकश्रीः ।
स्वतातानुरूपोतितेजःसुरूपो बभूवावनीमण्डले चण्डरोचिः ॥ ८ ॥
इन्द्राणीव सुरेश्वरस्य दयिता पद्मेव पद्मापतेः वैदेहीव रघूत्तमस्य गृहिणी गौरीव गौरीपतेः ।
तस्य क्षोणिपतेर्ब्बभूव महिषी भव्या भवानीसमा राज्ञी लालमती सती गुणवती प्रायो रतिर्भारती ॥ ९ ॥
पौरन्दरी दिगिव नूतनभानुबिम्बं सौन्दर्यकाननगजाननमम्बिकेव ।
पुत्रं पवित्रमथ सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लं सा राजपुत्रतनया जनयाम्बभूव ॥ १० ॥
येनाकारि विपक्षपक्ष्मलदृशां दृग्वारिभिर्वारिधिर्येनाधारि जगत्त्रयोपरि शरच्चंद्रावदातं यशः ।
बाल्योपक्रम एव विक्रमवतस्तस्याधुना पौरुषे श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतेर्युद्धे समर्थो हि कः ॥ ११ ॥
यद्भूमीपालगङ्गाजलविमलयशःपूरकर्पूरपूरैः ब्रह्माण्डे पाण्डुरेऽस्मिन्समजनि रजनीनायको निष्कलङ्कः ।
तत्किं भूसेवकोभून्मुखकमलमिषादेष यस्यामृतांशुः सोयं दीर्घायुरास्तामधिधरणिमणिः सिद्धिपूर्व्वो
नृसिंहः ॥ १२ ॥
दानाल्पीकृतकल्पवृक्षगरिमा सीमा च तेजस्विनां श्रीमानद्भुतकीर्त्तियुक्तमहिमा भीमानुजः साहसे ।
दोर्द्दण्डद्वयचण्डिमान्तगलितप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतिर्व्वर्त्तते सर्व्वोपरि ॥ १३ ॥
प्रातिष्ठयं च युधिष्ठिराधिकतरं निष्ठा वसिष्ठाधिका कीर्त्तिः कार्त्तिककृत्तिकापतिमतिस्तस्याधिका वर्त्तते ।
वाणी व्याससमा रमा स्थिरतमा रामाभिरामाकृतिः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतेः किन्नाम यन्नाद्भुतम् ॥ १४ ॥
कदाचिदेतेन महोन्नतेन मठः कृतः कोपि धनैरनेकैः ।
श्रीबालगोपालविरामभूमिर्विकुर्वतामर्त्यधरा जगत्याम् ॥ १५ ॥
यो मेरुमन्दरमहेन्द्रहिमाद्रिविन्ध्यकैलासशैलशिखरभ्रममातनोति ।
किञ्चास्य हेमकलशानवलोक्य देवैः सन्दिह्यते कनकधामनि पर्वतेन्द्रे ॥ १६ ॥
हर्षान्नेपालवर्षे स्वरशरतुरगैरङ्किते फाल्गुनीये पक्षे प्राप्ते वलक्षेमरगुरुदिवसे शङ्करर्क्षे दशम्याम् ।
चक्रे जाम्बूनदीयैर्गुरुतरकलशैर्भास्वरैरेकविंशैः नेपालक्षोणिपालः प्रथितभुजबलो भूषणं तन्मठस्य ॥ १७ ॥
युद्धारम्भः कृतोस्मिन्नपि शुभदिवसे शत्रुभिर्युद्धशौण्डैर्दुष्टैः कोटेवरुद्धः कुटिलनृपभटैरद्भुतैः कोटिसंख्यैः ।
लीलामात्रेण शत्रूनपनयत तदा पार्थिवः पार्थतुल्यः कोटं निर्मोचयित्वा नमुचिरिपुरिवानन्दसन्दोहमाप ॥ १८ ॥
राजसूय इवारब्धो मध्यस्थेन महीभुजा । विशिष्य शेषनागोपि न शक्तो यस्य वर्णने ॥ १९ ॥
आचार्यो यत्र मर्यादाधैर्यौदार्यदयानिधिः । विश्वनाथ उपाध्यायो विश्वनाथ इवाभवत् ॥ २० ॥
यो मेरुभूधर इवातिगुरुर्गरिम्णा योसौ महार्णव इवातिमहान्महिम्ना ।
यो व्यासवद्विविधवैदिकमन्त्रपाठे यो निष्ठया भुवि वसिष्ठमहर्षिकल्पः ॥ २१ ॥
यात्रायाता मञ्जुर्यतः कियन्तो विद्यावन्तो जञ्जपूकायिवन्तः ।
नानादिग्भ्यः पण्डितैरभ्युपेतं सत्रे तस्मिन्मंडपं मण्डितं यैः ॥ २२ ॥
द्वास्थातारौ कल्पितौ तत्र सत्रे द्वौ द्वौ द्वारि द्वारि देवर्षितुल्यौ ।
भूषाभूतो विद्विषां दर्पहन्ता नेता तेषां विश्वनाथो मनीषी ॥ २३ ॥
आरब्धे शिबिना नृपेण विधिना सत्रे पुरा गौरवादग्नेः खाण्डवखण्डनं समतनोद्गाण्डीवकोदण्डवान् ।

अस्मिन्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतेः सत्रे घृताजीर्णतः किम्भूयासमितीव मुञ्चति शिखी बाष्पानि धूमच्छलात् ॥२४॥
चत्वारिंशद्दिनान्यासीन्महासोमो महोत्सवः ।
श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहेन कलिकर्णेन कारितः ॥ २५ ॥
सम्भारः सर्व्ववस्तूनां राजसूये यथा श्रुतः ।
तथैव तत्र सत्रेपि जातस्तदधिकोपि वा ॥ २६ ॥
रत्ने स्वर्णे गवादौ करितुरगधने भूषणे दिव्यवस्त्रे दासीदासे निवासे विविधरसमये भक्ष्यमात्रे पवित्रे ।
चत्वारिंशद्दिनानि क्षितिपकुलमणेरास्यपद्मे प्रसन्ने वाणी तत्रोल्लास प्रतिपलमधिका देहि देहीति मात्रा ॥२७॥
पामरीवलयकुण्डलादिकं दृष्टपूर्वमपि येन न क्वचित् ।
तेन तत्र नृपतेः प्रसादतो भिक्षुणा निजतनौ समर्थितम् ॥ २८ ॥
दिव्यान्यव गृहाणि दिव्यवसुधारत्नानि दिव्याम्बरं दिव्यान्येव विभूषणानि सदयो दिव्यानि रत्नानि च ।
नेपाले प्रचरन्ति यानि वसुधावस्तूनि दिव्यान्यसौ श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतिः सर्वाणि तान्यार्प्पयत् ॥ २९॥
यानि दृष्टानि वस्तूनि न श्रुतानि कदाचन ।
तानि दत्तानि सर्वाणि तत्र सत्रे महीभुजा ॥ ३० ॥
येनाकारि जगत्त्रयोपरि मठो होमोपि कोन्याहुतिर्दत्ता स्वर्णशतद्वयी प्रतिदिनं किंकिन्न दत्तं धनम् ।
दत्तस्तण्डुलपर्वतोपि विधिना कल्पद्रुमोप्यद्भुतः श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतिः कर्णावतारो ध्रुवम् ॥ ३१ ॥
विद्यावन्तः कियन्तो विविधगुणभृतः केपि विद्याविहीना नानादिग्भ्यः समेताः श्रुतनृपतिगुणा भिक्षवो लक्षसंख्याः ।
तषामन्नैः सुवर्णैः सुललितवसनैर्भूषणाद्यैर्द्धनौघैर्दारिद्र्यं वारयित्वा नृग इव मुमुदे देवकल्पोवनीन्द्रः ॥ ३२ ॥
कर्णः कन्यातनूजो बलिरपि विदितः किन्तु दैतेयजन्मा पाषाणो देवतानां मणिरजनि महादारु देवद्रुमोपि ।
भ्रान्तो राजा नृगोपि प्रथितभुजबलो भार्गवो मातृहन्ता कोन्यो धन्यो वदान्यो जगति विजयते सिद्धिपूर्व्वान्नृसिंहात् ॥३३॥
नृत्यानि गीतानि मनोहराणि वाद्यानि हृद्यानि च कौतुकानि ।
अन्नानि वस्त्राणि विभूषणानि सर्व्वाणि जातानि च तत्र सत्रे ॥ ३४ ॥

यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरावुदयतो यावन्महीमण्डलं
यावत्पर्वतनन्दिनी पशुपतेरुत्सङ्गमालिंगति
यावज्जन्हुकलिन्दयोरपि सुते तावद्धरीवर्त्ततां
श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतेरेषा यशोवल्लरी ॥

॥ अथ नेपालभाषा लिख्यते ॥

सम्वत् ७५७ फाल्गुणमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां तिथौ आर्द्रापरपुनर्वसुनक्षत्रे आयुष्मान्योगे बृहस्पतिवासरे थ्व कुन्हु कोट्याहुति यज्ञ याङन देवता स्थापन याङन नियछपु गजुरि छास्यं देवो दयकाव आयप्रसाय दुंता । रोव ७ पोवि वूं रोव न्हेस पविखं ३ खोरागार वूं रोव श्लेपि १४ तवधर वूं करख छि १ थंथ छे बाटिका थ्व तेया वरसानन नित्यपूजा निश्रावहोम याङन वुंसाधन वुगंयातन इंद्रयातन मतं छोयके स्वन्हेतो धारे कार्त्तिक लछि घेर्‌प्र छि धारेण जलदेवा छोयके कृष्णाष्टमी कुन्हु चाक्रमतं छोयके थ्वते जुलो भूय रोव गुं ९ यंप्याको वूं रोव च्या ८ काका पलि रोव श्लनछि १२ गुस्तलको वूं रोव न्हेस ७ खोमोर वूं थ्वत वूया वरसानन फाल्गुनशुक्लपूर्णमासीप्रतिपत्संधिस दोलयात्रा ज्येष्ठ शुक्लपूर्णिमा कुन्हु स्नानयात्रा आषाढ शुक्लद्वादशी कुन्हु शयनपूजा देवशयन याचके श्रावण शुक्लद्वादशी कुन्हु पवित्रारोहण श्रावण कृष्णाष्टमी कुन्हु जन्माष्टमीपूजा चाक्रमतं छोयके कार्त्तिक शुक्लद्वादशी कुन्हु उत्थान पूजा वारी

ब्राह्मनेयातं दंशं गुये फं ९० जाकय विय थ्व छपतक जुरो । भूय रोव श्लंखू १६ थ्वे वूं रोव स्व थ्वां त्रूं थ्वतेय वरसानन कार्तिक लछि चेकन कुड षुन ६ । श्लंछिनियपात १२० चाकमतं च्छोयके माल भूय निश्राव दछिना यात मगाडाव तंडा रोव डा ५ न्यंखुवुं-

Abstract.

I. *Invocation* to Gopâla (vs. 1.)

II. *Vaṁśâvali* (vs. 2-14.):

Harisiṁha
|
Mahendramalla
|
Śivasiṁha
|
Harisiṁha married to Lâlamatî
|
Siddhinṛisiṁha [N.S. 757 A.D. 1637]

III. *Object of inscription*, to record the dedication of a temple (*maṭha*) of Bâla-Gopâla (Kṛishṇa), which was ornamented by twenty-one spires and *kalaśas* (vs. 15-17). On the day of the dedication the king fought certain unnamed enemies, who besieged the fortress (of Lalitapattana), and drove them off (vs. 18). These two auspicious events were celebrated by offering a *Koṭyâhuti* (Tântrika) sacrifice (vs. 31) under the superintendence of Viśvanâtha, the king's Upâdhyâya (vs. 20), and by giving daily two hundred gold mohars (*svarṇa*) (vs. 31) during forty days (vs. 25) to the priests, by presenting 'a mountain of rice'[54] (*taṇḍulaparvata*) and 'a tree of paradise'[55] (kalpadruma), food and other gifts to Brâhmaṇs and beggars. The Nivârî portion mentions the details of the grants and allowances made to the temple, viz.:

1. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Povi* of seven *Ro* or $\frac{7}{16}$ of a *Bîga*,[56] about one-third of an acre.

2. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Pavikham* of seven *Ro*.

3. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Khorâgâr* of three *Ro*.

4. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Tharadhara* of 14 *Ro*.

5. An irrigable field of inferior quality (*kharakha chhi vâtikâ*) called *Thanthachhe* for the purpose of the daily worship of the Niśrâva homa, of illuminating the temple (*chākramataṁ*) for three days every year on the occasion of the festivals (*gulau*) of Matsyendranâtha and Indra, of burning daily one *Pala* (*pla*) of Ghî during the month of *Kârttika*, of illuminating the temple on the Krishṇajanmâshṭamî (*Śrâvaṇa vadi* 8).

Further;

1. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Yampyâko* of nine *ro*.

2. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Kâkâpali* of eight *ro*.

3. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Gustalako* of twelve *ro*.

4. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Khomor* of seven *ro*, for the purpose of swinging the image of Krishṇa (*dolayâtrâ*) in the interval between the 15th lunar day of the bright half and the 1st of the dark half of Phâlguṇa (March), of bathing the image (*snânayâtrâ*) on the full moon of Jyeshṭha, of putting the image to bed and of worshipping his bed (*śayanapûja*) on the 12th of the bright half of Âshâḍha, tying the *Pavitras* or three hundred and sixty threads round the neck of the image on the 12th of the bright half of *Śrâvaṇa*, of worshipping and of illuminating the temple on the Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî, and of giving to the Brâhmaṇs who perform the ceremony of *Utthâna* (waking the god) on the 12th of the bright half of *Kârttika* ninety *phaṁ* (or *pâthîs*)[57] of rice.

Moreover:

1. A field (*vuṁ*) called *Thve* of 16 *ro*.

2. A field called *Thvâṁ* of 3 *ro*, for the purpose of expending in the month of *Kârttika* daily six *kuḍas* of oil, and of providing with that quantity 20 lamps;

Finally, a field called *Nyakhu* of 5 *ro*, for the purpose of giving fees and food to the Brâhmaṇs.

IV. *Date*, the tenth lunar day of the bright half of Phâlguṇa, Nepâla Saṁvat 757 (A.D. 1635), a Thursday, conjunction *Âyushmân*, under the Ârdra and Punarvasu constellations (vs. 17 and beginning of Nivârî portion).

No. 18.—An inscription of Pratâpamalla of Kâṭmâṇḍu, dated Nepâla Saṁvat 769.

On a slab in the wall near the southern door of a temple of Vishṇu close to the royal

[54] Hemâdri, *Dânakhaṇḍa*.
[55] See *Matsyapurâṇa* adhyâya 277.
[56] At present the Nepalese reckon 25 *Ro* to a *Bîga*, but in olden times a *Bîgâ* contained 16 *Ro* only.

[57] The Nepalese pâthîs holds, according to Wright (p. 298), 8 pounds avoirdupois, according to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl 3 shers of 76 tolas each.

palace in Kâṭmâṇḍu. This temple is apparently the building mentioned in the inscription. It is an octagon, and has three stories.

Characters Nepâlî; language Sanskrit, and Nivârî in the concluding portion, which has not been copied.

Transcript.

आसीच्छ्रीसूर्यवंशे रघुनृपकुलजो रामचन्द्रो नृपेशः तद्वंशे नान्यदेवोवनिपतिरभवत्तत्सुतो गङ्गदेवः ।
तत्पुत्रोभून्नृसिंहो नरपतिरतुलस्तत्सुतो रामसिंहस्तज्जः श्रीशक्तिसिंहो धरणिपतिरतो भूपभूपालसिंहः ॥ १ ॥
तस्मात्कर्ण्णाटचूडामणिरिव हरयुत्सिंहदेवोस्य वंशे भूपः श्रीयक्षमल्लो नरपतिरतुलो रत्नमल्लोप्यमुष्मात् ।
तस्माच्छ्रीसूर्यमल्लो ह्यवनिपतिरभूत्तत्तनूजोमराख्यो मल्लोभूत्तस्य पुत्रो रिपुगणविजयी श्रीमहेन्द्राख्यमल्लः ॥२॥
तस्माच्छिवसिंहोभूद्धरिहरसिंहसुतस्तस्मात्
तस्माल्लक्ष्मिनृसिंहो नरसिंहपराक्रमः — — — ॥ ३ ॥
तस्मात् श्रीमत्प्रतापो नरपतिरभवद्भूपभालावलीषु न्यस्यत्पादारविन्दद्वयरसविलसद्रेणुभिर्भूषणानि ।
योकार्षीत्कूतिखासाकिरमिति स्ववशे भोट्टभूपस्य देशाज्जग्राहैवावदीनं प्रतिदिनमपरे यं भजन्ते नरेशाः ॥४॥
भक्तग्रामनरेशमल्लनृपतिर्दत्त्वेभमेनं भिया भेजेसौ वसुधां जहार सुदृढं सं [धार्य] दुर्गं पुनः ।
श्रीमड्डुम्बरशाहभूपतिबलं विध्वस्य हत्वा बलं श्रीमत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतेर्जग्राह दुर्गावलीम् ॥ ५ ॥
आस्ते काप्यमरावतीव विलसद्धन्तीन्द्रदिव्यांगना युक्ता स्वर्णमयी विहारनगरी सा राजधानी परा ।
श्रीमच्छ्रीकमलाधिका मधुपतेरिन्द्रेण तुल्यस्य च प्रत्यर्थिव्रजनिर्जितस्य नवपुन्नारायणस्यापि च ॥ ६ ॥
लक्ष्मीनारायणस्तस्माद्वीरनारायणस्ततः
पुत्री रूपमती तस्य प्राणनारायणः सुतः ॥ ७ ॥
सेयं रूपमती सती गुणवती स्वर्णद्युतिः सन्मतिर्माद्यत्कुञ्जरगामिनी प्रणयिनी साक्षात्परा रुक्मिणी ।
आसीत्सर्वगुणा पितुर्नरपतेः श्रीमत्प्रतापस्य सा पत्नी प्राणसमा यथा जलनिधेः पुत्री जगत्पायिनः ॥ ८ ॥
कर्णाटी रङ्गघाटी कुचकनकघटी कामलीलैकवाटी स्वर्णालङ्कारकोटी हरिसदृशकटी चारुदेहा नुपाटी ।
नाम्ना राजमती महारसवती भूपप्रतापस्य सा भूता भोगवधूटिका किल हरेर्भामेव जीवाधिका ॥ ९ ॥
स्वर्गार्थं कृतवान्प्रतापनृपतिः सद्योषितोरेतयोः प्रासादं वसुपत्रपद्मसदृशं भृङ्गाष्टकैः शोभितम् ।
नानाचित्रविराजितं सममिदं सद्वैजयन्तेन वै होमाद्यैरकरोच्छ्रुतिस्मृतिमतैरस्य प्रतिष्ठाविधिम् ॥ १० ॥
संवत् ७६९ फाल्गुन शुक्ल षष्ठ्यां तिथौ अनुराधानक्षत्रे हर्षणयोगे बृहस्पतिवासरे.

Abstract.

I. *Vaṁśâvali.* In the Solar race, in the family of Raghu, was born RÂMA. In his family was born—

Nânyadêva
|
Gangadêva
|
Nrisiṁha
|
Râmasiṁha
|
Śaktisiṁha
|
Bhûpâlasiṁha
|
Harasiṁha[38]

In his family was born—

Yakshamalla
|
Ratnamalla
|
Sûryamalla
|
Amaramalla
|
Mahendramalla
|
Śivasiṁha
|
Hariharasiṁha
|
Lakshminṛisiṁha
|
Pratâpa
married to Rûpamatî and Râjamatî.

[38] The name is given as Harayutsiṁha, which for metrical reasons has probably been used for Harasiṁha.

Pratâpa took (vs. 4-5) the province of Kûtkhâsâkiram from the Bhoṭṭas, *i.e.* the Thibetans, he took Evâvadîn prisoner. The king of Bhâtgâm Nareśamalla (Narendramalla) presented him with an elephant. He defeated the army of Dambarashâh, an ancestor of the present Nepâlese Gorkhâ line, who ruled over Gorkhâ in 1633-42 A.D. He defeated the army of Siddhinrisiṁha (inscr. XVII.) of Lalitapattana, and took his fortresses. Rûpamatî was descended from the Râjas of Vihâra (Behâr), whose line is given as follows:

Nârâyaṇa
|
Lakshmînârâyaṇa

Vîranârâyaṇa

Rûpamatî — Prâṇanârâyaṇa.

Pratâpa's second wife Râjamatî came from a Karṇâṭa family.

II. *Object of the inscription*, to record the consecration (*pratishṭhâ*) of an octagonal (*vasupatrapâdmasadriśa*) temple with eight Śikharas (*śringa*) built for the sake of the two queens, on which occasion the usual *Homas* were offered.

III. Date, the sixth lunar day, of the bright half of Phâlguna (Nepâla) Saṁvat 769, a Thursday, under the constellation *Anurâdhâ*, conjunction *Harshaṇa*.

No. 19.—An inscription of Pratâpamalla, dated Nepâla 778.

On a slab of black stone, 4′ 9″ by 2′ 6″, standing in the court of the temple of Paśupati, decorated by a *triśûl* between two Nandis. Letters Nivârî, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्री ३ भवानीशङ्कराभ्यां नमः

नत्वा गिरीन्द्रतनयां प्रलयानलाभां भालोल्लसल्ललितचन्द्रकलाभिरामाम् ।
मल्लप्रतापनृपतिः स्वकुलप्रकाशां वंशावलीं सुतनुते विमलां कवीन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥
श्रीविष्णोर्न्नयनाम्बुजात्त्रिजगतीपापान्तकर्त्ता रविः प्रोद्भूतस्तिमिरौघवारणघटाविद्रावणः केसरी ।
कालाकाशदिशां प्रकाशनिपुणः कन्दर्प्पदर्प्पापहस्सानन्दं सरसीरुहेषु तनुते मैत्रीं विचित्राकृतिः ॥ २ ॥
गाम्भीर्य्यादिगुणेन सागरसमो धैर्येण विन्ध्याचलः सौन्दर्यप्रकरेण दैत्यदलनो रूपेण कामोपमः ।
जातो भूमितले ततोतिविमले वैवस्वताख्यो मनुर्मर्यादा रचिता सतां समुचिता कीर्त्तिप्रदा येन वै ॥ ३ ॥
तद्वंशे विमले बभूव धरणीचन्द्रो दिलीपो हि यो देवेन प्रमथाधिपेन तुलनां प्राप प्रचण्डे रणे ।
यस्य प्रौढतरप्रतापदहने नित्यं द्विषः शेरते दृष्ट्वा तस्य कलेवरं सुविमलं कामेन दग्धं वपुः ॥ ४ ॥
जातस्सन्नृपसत्तमो रघुरिति ख्यातस्ततो वीर्यवान् बाणाग्रैः परिमथ्य शक्रहृदयं कीर्त्तिः स्थिरा स्थापिता ।
यस्य प्रौढतरप्रतापतपनत्रासेन सद्यः कृता वृष्टिस्तेन धनेश्वरेण ललिता कार्त्तस्वरी भूतले ॥ ५ ॥
जातो भूपबरस्ततः कलिहरः श्रीमानजो वीर्यवान् दुष्टानां किल दर्प्पणहारणविधौ प्रोद्भूतकण्ठीरवः ।
सिष्टानां प्रतिपालकः प्रतिपलं दानैः – – – म्मनः पश्चादिन्दुमतीवियोगजनितक्लेशाब्धिमध्येपतत् ॥ ६ ॥[39]
जातो देवतनुस्ततो दशरथः कन्दर्प्पदर्प्पापहः सेनापत्यमुपेत्य पङ्क्पतितः शत्रुः कृतो निर्भरः ।
क्रूरः कोपरतः प्रसारितभयो भेत्तुं गतः कृत्तिकां पापे संसक्तचित्तः शनिरपि सहसा स्तंभितो येन मार्गे ॥७॥
जातस्तत्तनयो महानययुतो रामोभिरामाकृतिः दानेन प्रचुरेण वर्द्धितगुणः ख्यातस्त्रिलोकीतले ।
बध्वा यो जलधिं निशाचरभटान्निर्जित्य लङ्कापुरीं गत्वा रावणराक्षसं कलिकरं हत्वा वशे लब्धवान् ॥ ८ ॥
तत्पुत्रः सूर्यतुल्यो लव इति विदितो प्रोल्लसद्दानपुण्यैर्जातो भूचक्रशक्रः प्रथितगुणचयः सम्मतस्सज्जनानाम् ।
शत्रूणां शासकोसौ प्रबलरणधराधारणादत्तभारो धर्म्मात्मा देवतुल्यो दशरथतनया निर्जिता येन संख्ये ॥९॥
जातः श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिः प्रौढप्रतापोदयः तद्वंशे विमले महारिपुहरे गाम्भीर्यरत्नाकरः ।
कर्त्ता यः सरसामुपेत्य मिथिलां संलक्ष्य लक्षप्रियो नेपाले पुनराढ्यवैभवयुते स्थैर्यं विधत्ते चिरं ॥ १० ॥

[39] Vs. 6 read शिष्टानां;

मानिक्यप्रतिमप्रतापपटलैरादीप्तलोकत्रयो मुक्तापंक्तिसहस्रशोभनयशोवृन्देन संशोभितः ।
पक्षस्याकृतिकर्णवारणगिरिग्रामावनव्याकुलः पारावारमिवेह यः परिहसत्याधाय चित्तेच्युतं ॥ ११ ॥
तत्पुत्रो यक्षमल्लः प्रबलरिपुहरः कर्णतुल्योवनीशः सर्व्वासां नागरीणां नयनसुखकरस्सर्व्वदस्सज्जनानाम् ।
प्रोद्यद्दोर्दण्डचण्डाहृतनिशितमहाखड्गपातैर्विपक्षान् क्षिप्त्वा सद्यः क्षितीशान्क्षितितलविषये प्रोल्लसत्की-
र्तिचन्द्रः ॥ १२ ॥
तस्माच्छ्रीरत्नमल्लः समजनि विबुधाराधने दत्तबुद्धिर्दन्तीनां दानकर्त्ता प्रबलरिपुकुलोत्सादने पार्थतुल्यः ।
यद्दानाम्बुप्रवाहप्रकरविकसितां वाहिनीं वीक्ष्य नूनं गंगासंगात्प्रवृद्धं प्रचलजलनिधिः प्रेमगर्वम्मुमोच ॥ १३ ॥
येनु प्रौढतरान्निहत्य धरणीपालान्महासङ्गरे गत्वा कान्तिपुरं चकार विमलं राज्यन्तु स्वर्गोपमम् ।
श्रीसिद्धिर्हरपूर्विका हरवधूराराधनैस्तद्वशे जाता भावहृता मुदा सुविदिता चाद्यापि या तिष्ठति ॥ १४ ॥
प्रोद्यत्प्रौढप्रतापप्रचुरपरिलसत्कुंकुमक्षोदपूर्णः कीर्णः पाटीरपंकैः सितकरकिरणाकारकीर्त्तिप्रतारः ।
मित्राणामत्र शैत्यं किमपि विरचयन्पूर्वपूर्वागतानां तत्पुत्रः सूर्यमल्लो नरपतितिलकः प्रादुरासीत्प्रवीरः ॥ १५ ॥
तस्मान्मल्लनरेन्द्रनामधरणीपालो बभूव प्रभुः प्रोद्भूतप्रबलप्रतापदहनज्वालावृताहस्करः ।
यस्यारातिनितम्बिनी सुचकिता शुष्यन्मुखाम्भोरुहा स्थित्वा पर्व्वतगव्हरेतिविषमे दैन्यं सदाभ्यस्यति ॥ १६ ॥
पुण्यैर्घैर्जपयज्ञदानविपुलैर्गौरीपदार्चाफलैः संजातस्तु महीन्द्रमल्लवसुधारत्नं ततस्तत्सुतः ।
येनेमां किल काश्यपीं वसुमतीं रत्नेन पूर्णां वरां दत्त्वा भूमिसुराय स्वर्गभवने कीर्तिः स्थिरा स्थापिता ॥ १७ ॥
श्रीग्रामे भक्तपूर्वं विनिहितसहसावासरूपप्रतिष्ठां भावैर्निर्जित्य देवीं कलिकलुषहरीं दैत्यदर्प्पापहन्त्रीम् ॥
आनीय स्वर्गतुल्ये रचितगृहवरे स्थापिता येन पूर्वं नित्यं तत्पूजनेन त्रिभुवनललितां सिद्धिमुग्रामवाप ॥ १८ ॥
तस्माच्छ्रीशिवसिंहनामनृपतिर्जातो धरामण्डले नेपालक्षितिपालभालतिलकः कन्दर्प्पदर्प्पापहः ।
संसारार्णवतारणाय सततं नित्यं भवानीपदध्याने दत्तमनाः समस्तविदुषां मध्ये प्रसिद्धक्रियः ॥ १९ ॥
वैरिस्त्रीनयनाब्जनिर्गतजलैर्धाराम्बुभिर्येन वै शस्ताः सान्द्रकबन्धरन्ध्ररुधिरैर्नद्यः समासादिताः ।
तासां संगमसंभवं सुविमलं तीर्थं प्रयागाह्वयं । यत्र स्नानकृता प्रलब्धमनिशं शत्रुक्षयं सत्फलम् ॥ २० ॥
तस्माद्धरिहरसिंहो नरपतिसिंहो बभूव भूपालः ।
गच्छति जलनिधिपारं कीर्तिरेकाकिनी यस्य ॥ २१ ॥
धत्ते गैरिकरागविभ्रमभयं यस्य प्रतापोत्करो यत्कीर्तिर्गुणपर्वतोपरिसरी कौतूहलं यच्छति ।
एतेनैव तु हेतुनास्य तु गुणान्विज्ञाय शैलोत्तमान् दूरस्थाः प्रपलाय्य सन्निधिममी कुर्वंति यद्वैरिणः ॥ २२ ॥
श्रीलक्ष्मीनरसिंहनामनृपतिस्तस्मादभूत्सन्मतिः बाणाग्रैः परिपन्थिमन्थनकरः कारुण्यपुण्याकरः ।
यन्दृष्ट्वा खलु वैरिवर्गवनिता कम्पाकुला सर्वदा प्राणेशस्य सुजीवितं मम विभो देहीति संयाचते ॥ २३ ॥
अष्टाशास्वपि यत्प्रतापतपनस्यालोक्य नित्योदयं दीप्तात्मापि दिवानिशं भृशमहो विश्वान्धकारापहम् ।
आत्मानं सहसा समीक्ष्य मनसा हीनं हठाद्गर्हयन् सायं सायमयं स्वयं दिनमणिर्द्दीनोम्बुधौ मज्जति ॥ २४ ॥
श्रीलक्ष्मीनरसिंहभूपतिदिवप्रस्थानकालोद्यते देवैः शंखमृदंगभेरिपटहध्वानैर्दिशः पूरिताः ॥
प्रौढाः शूरतराः प्रदारितरिपोर्ब्रह्माण्डचण्डोल्लसन्मार्गेणेव विनिर्गताः सुयमिताः प्राणास्त्रयोस्यामलाः ॥ २५ ॥
तत्पुत्रोसौ कवीन्द्रः क्षितिपतितिलकः श्रीप्रतापाभिधानः संग्रामे वैरिवर्गप्रबलतरलसद्दर्पदावानलाभः ।
तर्कालंकारकोशादिकसकलमहाशास्त्रमार्गप्रवीणो नानागद्यानवद्यासुललितकवितानर्त्तकीरङ्गभूमिः ॥ २६ ॥
मेदिन्यामुदधौ सरस्सु सरिताम्मध्ये गिरौ कानने यस्य प्रौढतरप्रतापतपनस्यालोक्य दीप्तिं पराम् ।
अत्युत्कर्षमवेक्ष्य संप्रति समासाद्यापिकर्षश्चिरादौर्वैः खर्वयशाः प्रशाम्यति हठान्ममः समुद्राम्भसि ॥ २७ ॥
दृष्ट्वा तस्य प्रतापं तपनमनुपमं हन्त हृष्टो विवस्वान्मेने ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डभ्रमणविधिकृतं श्रान्तमेव श्रमौघम् ।

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[90] Vs. 11 read माणिक्य° ;— Vs. 13, दन्तिनां is the recorrect form which the royal poet probably found inconvenient on account of the metre.

व्यस्ताहोरात्रिभेदं त्रिभुवनभवनं व्याप्तमेनं विदित्वा किञ्चायं चक्रवाकः शिथिलयति शुचं सर्वतः सर्वबीजं ॥ २८ ॥

शस्त्रे शास्त्रवरे सदा सुखकरे सङ्गीतविद्यावरे सानन्दं किल केलिकर्म्मकुशलव्यापारकण्ठीरवः ।
स्वर्गे भूमितले तथा दशदिशाम्प्रान्ते गिरौ कानने कोप्यस्तीति निगद्यते मम समो राजेन्द्रचूडामणिः ॥ २९ ॥
नेपाले संवतेस्मिन्हयगिरिमुनिभिः संयुते माघमासे सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षे रविदिनसहिते रेवतीऋक्षराजे ।
योगे श्रीसिद्धिसंज्ञे रजतमणिलसत्स्वर्णमुक्ताप्रवालैरेकीकृत्य प्रदत्तं हयशतसहितं येन दानं तुलाख्यम् ॥
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीराजराजेन्द्रकवीन्द्रजयप्रतापमल्लदेवविरचिता निजवंशावली समाप्ता
माधुर्यादिविचित्रताखिलपदन्यासैर्मनोहारिणी संक्षिप्तेन कवीन्द्रभूमिपतिना वंशावली निर्मिता ।
प्रत्येकं किल कीर्तिशौर्यनिखिलप्रौढप्रतापादिकं भूपानां रचितुं विमृश्य निपुणं शक्तो न वा वाक्पतिः ॥ ३० ॥

Abstract.

I. *Invocation* to Bhavânî and Śankara.

II. *Vaṁśâvalî*, composed by king Pratâpamalla, a prince of poets:—

Vishṇu
|
Sûrya
|
Manu Vaivasvata,
From him were descended:
Dilîpa
|
Raghu
|
Aja
|
Daśaratha
|
Râma
|
Lava.
In his race were born:
Harisiṁha,
who dug tanks in Mithilâ and settled Nepâla.
|
Yakshamalla,
(falsely here called his son)
|
Ratnamalla
|
Sûryamalla
|
Narendramalla
|
Mahîndramalla
who brought an image of Devî from Bhâtgâm
|
Śivasiṁha
|
Harinarasiṁha
|
Lakshmînarasiṁha
|
Pratâpamalla.

III. *Object of inscription,* to record the presentation of a *Tulâpurusha, i. e.* the king's own weight in gold, silver and pearls, together with one hundred horses.

IV. *Date,* the 7th day of the bright half of Mâgha, Nepâla Saṁvat 778, a Sunday, constellation *Revati,* conjunction *Siddhi.*

No. 20.—An inscription of Riddhilakshmî, dated Nepâla Saṁvat 810.

On a slab in the wall of a great temple of Śiva, close to the palace in Kâṭmâṇḍu. On the upper portion of the same stone is found a hymn to Śiva, in the Bhujanga metre, composed by Srî-śrî-jaya Bhupâlendramalla, who describes himself as follows:

Śrîmat paśupaticharaṇakamaladhûlidhûsaritaśiroruha — śrîmâneśvarîshṭadevatâvaralabdhaprasâda — dedîpyamânamânonnataśrîraghuvaṁśâvatâra — ravikulatilaka — hanumaddhvaja — nepâleśvara — mahârâjadhirâja, — sakalarâjachakrâdhîśvara.

Letters Nivârî, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

देवी श्रीऋद्धिलक्ष्मी विमलकुलभवा नीतिमार्गे निविष्टा शिष्टाचारैकभूमिस्त्रिभुवनजननीपादलब्धप्रसादा ।
शंभोरम्भोजजन्मप्रभृतिभिरमरैः सेवितस्याति – – विख्याता व्यक्तकीर्त्तिर्जगति विजयते सत्प्रजानन्द-दात्री ॥ १ ॥

नेपालक्षितिपालभाल्लतिलको विद्वद्गुणालङ्कृतो दानोद्रेककृतातिरेकमहिमः प्रौढप्रतापोन्नतः ।

देवो यत्तनयो नयोदयलसत्कीर्त्तिप्रचारः श्रिया भूपालेन्द्र इति प्रथामुपगतो भूपो वरीवर्त्तते ॥ २ ॥
नेपालाब्दे गगनधरिणीनागयुक्ते किलोर्जे मासे पक्षे विधुविरहिते सुद्वितीयातिथौ सा ।
कृत्वा देवालयमपि रवौ ऋद्धिलक्ष्मी प्रसन्ना चक्रे देवी सुविधिविदितां शङ्करस्य प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ ३ ॥

Abstract.

I. *Object of inscription:* to record the consecration of a temple of Śiva, built by Queen Riddhilakshmî, the mother of king Bhûpâlendramalla.

II. *Date,* the 2nd lunar day of the dark half of Kârttika, Nepâla Saṁvat 810 (1690 A.D.).

No. 21.—An inscription of Śrînivâsa, dated Nepâla Saṁvat 792.

On the lintel of the door[62] of the temple of Avalokiteśvara in Bungmatî (see above No. 6).

Letters Nivârî, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्रीलोकेश्वराय नमः

मत्स्येन्द्रं योगिनां मुख्याः शाक्ताः शक्तिं वदन्ति यम् ।
बौद्धा लोकेश्वरं तस्मै नमो ब्रह्मस्वरूपिणे ॥ १ ॥

नेपालाब्दे लोचनच्छिद्रसप्ते (२)
श्रीपञ्चम्यां श्रीनिवासेन राज्ञा
स्वर्णद्वारं स्थापितं तोरणेन
सार्द्धं श्रीमल्लोकनाथस्य गेहे.

Translation.

"Praise to (that Deity), bearing the form of Brahman, whom the Śâktas, best of ascetics, call Matszendranâtha and the Bauddhas Lokeśvara!

On the fifth day of the bright half of Mâgha (*śrîpanchamî*) king Śrînivâsa placed a golden door and *toraṇa* in the temple of glorious Lokanâtha."

No. 22.—An inscription of Princess Yogamatî, dated Nepâla Saṁvat 843.

On a stone in the inner wall of a small temple of Râdhâ and Krishṇa situated close to the palace in Lalitapattana.

Letters Nivârî, language corrupt Sanskrit.

Transcript.

यन्नाभीसरसीरुहे समजनि ब्रह्मा जगत्सृष्टिकृत् यत्पादाम्बुजतो ववाह जगतामालम्बिनी स्वर्णदी ।
येनाधारि धरा वराहवपुषा दंष्ट्राग्रकेनोच्चकैः प्रत्युद्यन्नवनीरदायिरुचये तस्मै परस्मै नमः ॥ १ ॥

सजलजलदनीलः कामिनीप्रेमशीलः कलितभुवनलीलः कंसचानूरकालः ।
सुललितवनमालः मोक्षमार्गैकसालः भवतु मम मुदेसौ सर्वदा नन्दबालः ॥ २ ॥

आसीत्सिद्धिनृसिंहमल्लनृपतिः सूर्यान्वये कीर्त्तिमान्नेपाले ललिताभिधाननगरे पौरान्सदा पालयन् ।
गोपीनाथपदारविन्दमधुपो वाचस्पतिर्द्धीवरः संसारं जलबुद्बुदोपममसौ हित्वा गतो जान्हवीम् ॥ ३ ॥

तस्यात्मजो भूपतिरेष जातः श्रीश्रीनिवासो ननु श्रीनिवासः ।
तापानलो वैरिमहीरुहाणां स राजतेतीव सुधाकरेव ॥ ४ ॥

तस्यात्मजो योगनरेन्द्रमल्लोमलेन्द्रचानूरहतुल्यवीर्यः ।
कन्दर्पसौन्दर्यविनिन्दिरूपः रराज भूमाविव देवराजः ॥ ५ ॥

दोलपर्वतमसाविभिगम्य तत्र विष्णुभवने सह ताभिः
एकविंशतिसतीभिरगच्छत् केशवं प्रति समाहितचित्तः ॥ ६ ॥

तस्यात्मजा योगमती बभूव निमेषचिह्ना लक्ष्मीरिवापरा !
सुवर्णकुम्भापुता नागहस्त यज्ञान्तरे स्नानकृतेन पूता ॥ ७ ॥

तस्याः प्रसूत इव शक्तिधरोम्बिकायाः लोकप्रकाशनृपतिर्विरराज धीरः ।
विष्णोः पदं स गतवान्रमणीयरूपः हाहेति लोकमसकृज्जननीं विहाय ॥ ८ ॥

[62] The door is made of gilt brass plates, and adorned by relievos. The arch or toraṇa above the door, which is likewise made of brass, encloses three images of Lokeśvara.

लोके किन्न विलक्ष्यतेऽद्भुतरुचिः प्रासादराजो महा-
म्नानातोरणमोहनावलिभरो जीमूतलेहायुतः ।
भृङ्गं हेममयैर्मनोज्ञकलशैः सज्वालयैवो – –
– – – वसमीरणेन च भुवि भृंगं सुमेरोर्बभौ ॥९॥

अब्दे रामप्रजेश्वरास्यवसुभिर्माघे सिते पक्षके
शूले चोत्तरफाल्गुने शशधरे वारे द्वितीयातिथौ ।
[पुत्रार्थं] कुरुते सुधांशुवदना पाषाणदेवालयम्
कृष्णं राधिकया सहाय – – – कृत्वा प्रतिष्ठाकरोत्

Abstract.

I. *Invocation* to Vishṇu—Krishṇa.

II. *Vaṁśâvali*,

Siddhinṛisiṁhamalla, king of Lalitapattana, became an ascetic, and went to dwell on the banks of the Gangâ (Benares).

|

Śrînivâsa

|

Yoganarendramalla went with his twenty-one wives to Dolaparvata, and died in the temple of Vishṇu.

|

Yogamatî

|

Lokaprakâśa, died before his mother.

III. *Object of the inscription*, to record the consecration of a temple of Râdhâ and Krishṇa, built by Princess Yogamatî in memory of her son.

IV. *Date*, 2nd lunar day of the bright half of Mâgha, Nepâla Saṁvat 843 (1723 A.D.), a Monday, constellation—Uttaraphâlguna, conjunction—Śûla.

No. 23.—An inscription of Queen Lalitatripurasundarî, dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1878.

On a pillar, supporting a Nandî, placed opposite the western door of a temple of Tripureśvara on the road from Kaṭmaṇḍu to Lalitapaṭṭana, close to the river Vâgmatî.

Letters Devanâgarî, language Sanskrit. Preservation good.

Transcript.

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्गिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिनीराजितचरणतलतुहिनगिरिवरासन्नमहाचीनसीमपर्यन्तनेपालदेशजयजनितयशोराशिविशदिताशामण्डलस्य श्रीगोरक्षाचलाधीशश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीपृथ्वीनारायणशाहदेवस्य पौत्रो दयादाक्षिण्यादिप्रधानगुणनिधानश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहप्रतापशाहतनयो निखिलमहीपालमौलिमालालालितपादपीठः श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीरणबाहादूरशाहदेवः शतरुद्रास्वर्णवतीतरङ्गिणीपर्यन्तवारुणेन्द्रदिग्भागसाम्राज्यविख्यातमूर्त्तिरभूतपूर्वः समजनि

युद्धे रुद्रः प्रतापे रविरखिलभुवो रक्षणे वासुदेव- स्त्यागे कर्णः क्षमायां क्षितिरखिलजनानन्दने पूर्णचन्द्रः ।
सत्ये धर्म्मः सुरूपे रतिपतिरपथस्थायिनां दण्डधारो नानादेवस्वरूपो जयति रणबहादूरशाहो नृपेन्द्रः ॥

तस्य पुत्रः सकलगुणगणाभिरामप्रजारञ्जनानुकृतरामावतारः श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीगीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रमशाहदेवः प्रतीतस्तदात्मजे सकललक्षणशोभिते श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीराजेन्द्रविक्रमशाहदेवे मेदिन्यां पालयति श्रीमद्रणबाहादूरशाहदेवपट्टराज्या श्रीमल्ललितत्रिपुरसुन्दरीदेव्या स्वभर्त्तुः स्वर्गसाधनप्रयासोत्कया वेदविद्यानिपुणनानाविद्वन्मण्डलीप्रार्थनासञ्चारितविचारनिश्चितधर्म्मप्रधानशिवलिङ्गादिदेवप्रतिष्ठादिकर्म्मतया स्वपौत्रानुमत्या तत्कार्यनिर्वाहानुगुणसामग्रीसम्पूर्त्तिसम्पादनक्षमं भीमसेनं मंत्रीवरं तत्साधने नियोज्य सांप्रतं तत्कर्म्मविधानं नियुक्ताः श्रीगुर्व्वादिब्राह्मणा वेदसप्तगजेन्दुमिते १८७४ वैक्रमे शाके शुचिशुक्लनवम्यां सोमान्वितायां शिलाधिवासनः कर्म्म यथाविधि सम्पाद्य तस्मिन्नेव शके भाद्रकृष्णनवम्यां शुक्रे शिलाप्रवेशं विधाय बाणस्वरनागभूमिते १८७५ शके माघमासि तृतीयायां गुरौ शिवलिंगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठाकर्म्म समाचरन्

मध्ये श्रीत्रिपुरेश्वरो यमदिशि द्वारे स्थितो भैरवो ज्ञेयाः शङ्करभागतो हरिरविद्वैमातुराम्बास्ततः ।
दक्षादिक्रमकोणगा अथ महाकालादिनन्दी तथा भृङ्गी श्रीगणपश्च दक्षिणदिशो देशक्रमाद्दिग्गताः ॥ १ ॥
तद्बाह्ये स्वदिशि स्थिताः सुरपतिर्व्वन्हिर्यमो निर्ऋतिः पाशी वायुकुबेररुद्रविधयो नागाधिपोतः क्रमात् ।

ईशाने बलिशेषभागभिमतश्चण्डेश्वरः पश्चिमे विख्यातो वृषभश्च मण्डलगता देवा इमे सम्मताः ॥ २ ॥
रम्भापत्रफलप्रसूनललिते सत्तोरणाच्छादने नानावर्णपताककेतनलसत्प्रान्ते महामण्डपे ।
कुण्डानां नवकं विधाय्य विधिवद्विप्रैर्विधानक्षमैः कर्माश्चर्यकरं समापयदिदं श्रीरङ्गनाथो गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥
दोषोन्मोषवृषप्रघोषादिविषत्सन्तोषपोषक्षमः संयातातुलतीर्थभूतपरिषत्सत्कारकल्पद्रुमः ।
नानामङ्गलदिव्यवस्तुनिभृतस्तौर्यत्रिकोल्लासितो ह्यद्यः कोपि स वासरः समभवल्लोकप्रमोदोज्ज्वलः ॥ ४ ॥
ततस्तस्मिन्नेव शके मार्गकृष्णपञ्चम्यां बुधे देवालयप्रतिष्ठामकुर्वन्
दिग्भागान्तरसन्निवेशितचतुर्द्वारः सुखारोहणः पश्चाद्रम्यसुवर्णकेतनतलन्यस्तत्रिशूलोन्तरः ।
सौवर्णोज्ज्वलकुम्भपत्रपटलप्रोद्भासिताशामुखः प्रासादो दिशतादभीप्सितसदावासप्रसक्तो मुदः ॥
ततः पाताललोकवसुवसुमती शके ज्येष्ठकृष्णदशम्यां रवौ श्रीवाग्मतीजलावतारसोपानारामघण्टाधर्म्मशालाप्रतिष्ठाकर्म्म समापयन् ।
सोपानालिरियं विदग्धरचनासुश्लिष्टचित्रोपला रम्या वायुसुताधिवासविहितप्रोद्दामविघ्नावलिः ।
सम्पाद्याह्निकसक्तलोकविहितस्वेच्छावकाशस्थला स्नानध्यानहिता सुधाधवलितप्रान्ता चिरं राजताम् ॥ १ ।
नानादेशप्रभवसुफलव्रातभारातिनम्रवृक्षश्रेणीनियमखचितः शालसंगुप्तमध्यः ।
आरामोऽयं सुरभिसुमनोराजिसंराजमानः नानावीरुल्ललितसरणिः पूर्णकामः सदास्ताम् ॥ २ ॥
घण्टानिनादकृतकर्णसुखातिधीरा पूजाविधानविहितध्वनिमादधाना ।
देवप्रसादपरिपूरितहीनभागा सर्वोपचारपरिचारकृतां विधेयात् ॥ ३ ॥
शालेयं विविधप्रवासिमनुजप्राज्योपकारक्षमा रथ्याचत्वररम्यकोष्ठविलसद्वातायना श्लक्ष्णभूः ।
नानादेशसमागतान् पथिपरिश्रान्तान्नसङ्ग्राहिणो नित्यं भोजनवासदानविधिना कामानुगन्तोषयेत् ॥ ४ ॥
तदिदं साङ्गोपाङ्गकर्म्म सम्पूर्त्तिम्प्रापितं यजमानसङ्कल्पसिद्धिं सम्पादयति चिरं श्रीशिवादिदेवप्रीतये भूयात्
धर्म्मोयं कुलसन्ततिप्रचयदो लोकद्वयानन्दनस्तद्रोधे निरयादिदुःखजनका दोषाः परं कीर्त्तिताः ।
ज्ञात्वैवं नृपमन्त्रिविप्रमनुजैरेतस्य संरक्षणे नालस्यं श्रयणीयमित्यभिहितं रक्ष्यं श्रुतेः शासनम् ।

शुभम्भूयात्

Abstract.

I. *Invocation* to *Ganeśa.*

II. *Vaṁśâvali*,—

Pṛithvînarâgaṇa Shâ,
lord of the Gorakshâ hill (*Gorkhâ*), master of all Nepâl up to the frontier of Mahâchîna.

|

Siṁhapratâpa Shâ

|

Raṇabahâdûr Shâ,
who ruled in the west up to the Śatarudra river (*Kâlî* ?) in the east up to the river Svarṇavatî.

|

Gîrvâṇâyuddhavikrana Shâ

|

Râjendravikrama Shâ

III. *Object of the inscription*, to record the consecration of a temple of Śiva, built by Queen Lalitatripurasundarî, the widow of Raṇabâhâdûr Shâ, in memory of her deceased husband. She employed, with the permission of her grandson, the minister Bhîmasena, the Upâdhyâya and other Brâhmaṇs for the execution of this work and for the ceremonies incidental thereto. On the 9th of the bright half of Âshâḍha, Vikrama Saṁvat 1874, a Monday the *śilâdhivâsana*, the worship of the stones for the building was performed. The cornerstone was laid (*śilâpraveśa*) on the 9th day of the dark half of Bhâdrapada of the same year, and on the 3rd day of the bright half of Mâgha, of the following year, a Monday, the *Liṅga* of Śiva was consecrated. At all these ceremonies the royal Guru, Ranganâtha, presided. On the 5th day of the dark half of Mârgaśîrsha V. S. 1875 the temple itself was consecrated, and finally on the 10th of the dark half of Jeṭh 1877 a Dharmaśâlâ and a staircase leading to the river Vâgmatî a garden and a bell were made over to the temple.

THE BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION AT KEU-YUNG-KWAN.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

Attention has elsewhere been drawn to the ancient *Buddhist inscription at*[1] Keu-yung-kwan, a small village about five miles to the north of the Nankow Pass. This inscription is engraved in the characters of six different nations, viz., Mongol or Bâshpah, Uîghûr, Nyuchih, Chinese, Devanâgari, and Tibetan. On examination it is found to contain certain Buddhist *dhârani* or incantations, which in the paper alluded to (*Jour. R. A. Soc.*, vol. V. pp. 14ff.)[2] have been translated by Mr. Wylie and Dr. Haas for the benefit of the English reader. These *dhâranis* are found in various Buddhist works, and are supposed to represent the highest and most potent charms which words proceeding from the top of the illustrious diadem (*chûda*) of Buddha's head are able to convey. This "honoured diadem of Buddha's head" refers to the well known conceit of the Buddhists that from the top of the cranium of their master proceeded an elongated excrescence (*ushnîsh*),[3] the top of which reached to the highest heaven. In all probability this imaginary formation is pictured in the Amarâvati sculptures as the "pillar of glory surmounted by Om" proceeding from the throne supposed to be occupied by Bhagavat (see particularly pl. lxxi, figs. 1 and 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). These pillars of light are also referred to by Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, 1st ed. pp. 180, 207), and perhaps originated in the idea of the Liṅga and its worship. Be this as it may, it is curious to trace as far back as we can the origin of such a peculiar idea; and for this purpose we have appended the translation of a *Sûtra* attributed to the Shaman Buddhavara (*Fo-to-po-li*) of the Yang dynasty.

The Sûtra of the Dhârani of the Illustrious Diadem of Buddha's Surmounting Head.

"Thus have I heard. At one time Bhagavat was residing at Śrâvastî, in the garden of Jeta, the friend of the orphans, together with 1250 great Bhikshus, his disciples, and with upwards of 12,000 great Bôdhisattwas and priests. At this time there was amongst the Dêvas of the Trayastriṁśas Heavens, one in the Assembly of the Saddharma Hall, called Shen-chu. This Dêva, whilst wandering to and fro in the celestial gardens, with the company of Dêvîs who attended him, had heard a voice proceeding from space, and warning him that in a few days hence he should be called to give up his heavenly estate and be born in hell, after which he should receive a succession of births all more or less miserable and painful. On this, the Dêva hastened to Śâkrarâja, and with doleful voice and many tears laid the case before him, asking and beseeching for advice and escape. Then Śâkrarâja, having heard the words of Shen-chu, at once entered into a state of profound abstraction, and, perceiving that the case was to be with Shen-chu even as the voice had declared, he resolved at once to repair to the place where Buddha was residing, even to the garden of Jeta, and there having presented him with suitable gifts, to seek his counsel and advice on the point. Accordingly having done so, and having saluted the foot of Bhagavat and seven times circumambulated him, he stated the circumstances of Shen-chu's destiny, and humbly asked the advice of the World-honoured one."

Then Buddha caused to proceed from the top of his head every kind of glorious light, which spread itself from world to world through all space. Then this light again returned to the presence of Buddha, and having revolved around him three times entered through his mouth. Then the World-honoured gave a gentle smile, and addressed Śâkrarâja as follows:—"Heavenly king, there are certain *dhârani* called the 'honoured diadem of Buddha's head,' which are able to deliver from every kind of evil birth, and to destroy every possible sorrow. If a man once hears these, and if they once pass through his ears, then all the evil deeds he has ever done shall be cancelled and their punishment remitted; if he writes them on a wall, or reads them, so written, to others, then shall the same consequences follow and full deliverance be obtained."

On this Śâkrarâja entreats Buddha to repeat these charmed words, on which he did so.

[1] It belongs to the Mongol age, cir. 1345 A.D.

[2] See also Yule's *Marco Polo*. vol. I, pp. 29, 414.—ED.

[3] The word *ushnîsha* usually means a 'turban,' but is used by the Buddhists as a technical term for the top-knot on Buddha's head, by which all figures of him are distinguished; he is never represented in Indian sculpture with any sort of covering on his head.—ED.

The *dhârani* are much shorter than those on the Keu-yung gate, but contain the same leading words; we do not repeat them, our object being merely to show the purpose of their being placed on this barrier gate, through which Mongols and Thibetans must enter the empire, and doubtless were glad to be so easily assured of deliverance by the repetition of the words.

"Śakrarâja, having heard these words, thankfully received them; and having saluted the World-honoured one, forthwith departed."*

NOTES ON THE *KURRAL* OF THE TAMIL POET TIRUVALLUVAR.

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(*Continued from Vol. VIII. p. 309.*)

No. III.

It may seem strange that the introductory Chapter on God is followed by one on Rain. The connection, however, seems evident, as in *Acts* xiv. 17: 'Nevertheless He left not Himself without a witness, in that He did good, and *gave us rain from heaven,* and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.'

In the *Bhagavatgîtâ*, III. 14: 'All things which have life are produced from bread which they eat. Bread is produced from rain: rain from divine worship, and divine worship from good works.' The title of the second chapter, or collection of 10 *Kurrals*, is 'vân śirappu,' *the specific qualities*, or *excellence of rain.* The words for 'rain' in the chapter are *vân* and *maṟai*; those for 'cloud' are *puyal*, *eṟili*; those for 'sky' are *vânam*, *viṇ*, *viśumbu.*

A consideration of these words will prepare the way for the analysis of the chapter.

1. *Vân* and *vânam* are the same word. By apocope *vân* is used for *vânam* in poetry, and may signify 'the sky,' or the rain that falls from it. In common Tamil *vânam* is often pronounced *mânam*: thus, a district which, having no rivers, is wholly dependent on casual rains, is called *mânam pârtta śîmai*, 'a district that looks to the sky.' 2. *Viṇ* is, I suppose, a poetical variation of the same word. 3. *Viśum-bu* (S. *viśva* + *bu*; the postfix *bu* is added to many stems in Tamil to form a noun, with an idea of 'existence.' S. *bhu.* means 'coelum' and by metonomy 'a cloud.' 4. *puyal* (also *puśal* and *piśal*) = 'nimbus'. 5. *eṟili* (from *eṟ*, 'arise': Lat. *o*) is 'that which arises.' 6. *maṟai* is the ordinary word for 'rain.' It appears also as *mâri*; and *vâri* = 'water' (comp. S. *vrish* and *vâri*). I regard the cerebrals in Tamil (and especially *ṟ*) as resulting from the attempt to pronounce a compound consonant such as *rs*.

The chief words for 'rain' or 'sky' in the Drâviḍian dialects are—

Tel.	*Kan.*	*Mal.*	*Tam.*
vân.	bân.	vân-am.	vân-am, viṇ.
varsha-mu	varsha.	varsha.	varsha.
	ma-le.	maṟa.	maṟai, mâri.
	(Tuda: mḷâ)		

I cannot help thinking that the Drâviḍian *vân* (both as a verbal root = 'fashion' and as a noun = 'sky,' 'rain') is connected with S. *Varuṇa*, 'the investing sky' in the old Âryan mythology.

Couplet I.

vâ'nindr' | ulagam | vaṟangi | varuthalâḷ
tânam,ṟtham | endr'uṇarat | pâṭṭu.[1]

Scanning:

temā | pŭḷĭmā | pŭḷĭmā | pùḷĭmāngāi |
kūvĭḷăngāi | kūvĭḷăngāi | kăśŭ.[2]

"Since by the continued existence of rain the world preserves its course, it (rain) is to be regarded as partaking of the nature of nectar."

The idea of this couplet is an obvious one: 'rain gives life to all creation, revives the dying vegetation, restores life to what seems dead.' Any one who has seen an Indian district suffering from drought, and noted the instantaneous change in the aspect of all living things when the long-expected rain has fallen, will understand the poet's feeling: 'rain is the elixir of immortality to the whole earth.'

Nindru (= having stood) is past adv. participle of R. *nil.* [con. S. *ni* in *nishṭita.*] *vânindru* is, in fact, a nominative absolute.

Ulagam, Tam. form of S. *lôka*, Comp. Ch. I. 1.

Vaṟangi, 'having gone on its way.' In Tamil a very large group of words from stem *vaṟ* is

* *The Oriental*, Oct. 9, 1875.

[1] ' over a letter indicates omission of a letter according to the Tamil laws of euphony. *th* is always flat in Tamil, as in 'this.'

[2] ˘ indicates a very short *u*, hardly audible.

found. Some of these are here given. (1). *vaṛ-akku, vaṛ-akkam*, 'custom.' This is also written with *p* for *v*. It is probable that *vaṛ* and *paṛ* are only variations of the same stem. (2). *vaṛ-angu*, 'be in use,' 'pass current,' this is the word in the stanza. The transitive is not found; but *paṛ-akka* 'to habituate, render common,' takes its place. This has an intransitive, *paṛ-agu*. (3). *vaṛi*, 'a road, way, what is old, antiquity, succession.' Here we find *paṛa*, 'old'; and *paṛi*, 'guilt,' the transmitted liability to punishment, a man's *old* sin. *Paṛam* is 'fruit,' 'result of actions.' I suggest that *vaṛ* = *paṛ* = S. *phal*. The cognates would be Gr. ὀφελ-; Lat. flor-; Goth. *blom-*. In ancient Kanarese this is *haḷa*. Here may be an example of the law which I spoke of in my Drâviḍian notes, No. I. vol. V, p. 158. Other forms of the same stem are *paḷ, paṇ, paṇḍ*, illustrating the important fact *that in the Dravidian languages cerebrals are interchangeable; and the original seems to be ḷ.*

Tamiḷ possessed originally very few stems, and these were mostly, if not altogether, monosyllabic. These the poets, and especially the Jainas, (who were anxious to obliterate all traces of Sanskrit; to introduce a new language, as they had introduced a new religion,) varied in every possible manner, especially softening every harsh sound, and promoting assonance. Tamiḷ and Telugu are, therefore, highly artificial languages, and in them the Âryan element has been designedly put out of sight.

Varuthalaṭ : here final *l* is followed by initial *t* (dental), and both are changed into palatal *ṭ*. This is in accordance with the law that 'two consonants coming together must be of the same organ,' and assimilation: dental *t* becomes palatal, and *l* is assimilated. *Vá*, in inflection *var* or *van* = 'come' or 'go', 'proceed.' *varuthal*, is a verbal noun = 'the proceeding,' and *âl* is the sign of the instrumental ablative: = 'by the proceeding,' 'because it proceeds.' *L* or *ḷ* added to a stem, with or without euphonic insertions, form a Drâviḍian noun. This is sometimes changed into *n*, and equals *r* and *s*, in Âryan languages. *Vá* is in Kanarese *bá*. We may compare Oscan and Umbrian *ben* with Latin *ven*. *tân* is 'ipse.' *Sva* is the root of the reflexive pronoun in Âryan languages. Tamiḷ would write this *ta*, having no sibilant and using *t* for *s* habitually.

Amirtham (S. *amṛita*, Gr. *ambrosia*) = 'immortal;' 'a medicine prolonging life,' 'the food of the gods.' Other forms are *amirutham, amirtham, amirtham, amutham*, and *amuthu*. Thus the S. *ṛi* is rendered by *iru, ir, iṛ*, and *u*. The Kan. has also *amṛita*.

The use of *varu* for Gr. *holi, his* has been referred to before.

Uṇar al = 'the perceiving, understanding.' This is a verbal noun, or infinitive mood, though very often the final *l* is omitted. The Latin suffix is *r* or *s* (see Roby), the Greek *n*, or *sth*. The verb-stem *uṇar* is from *uḷ* or *uṇ* = 'within,' 'internal.' *ar* = 'know;' as a separate verb *ari*. *uḷ* is much used (in cognate dialects = *el, ol*). It is a case inflexion = 'in,' 'inter.' It is also the root of a verb = 'to be, exist.' It forms a verb *uṇ*- 'eat,' 'suck in.' It forms a noun *uṇ-mai* = 'reality, truth.' The equivalent root in the 'Ursprache' is *rá* (see Fick).

Pâṭṭu is a form like muthaḷḷu in Ch. I. 1. (see Notes on *Kurraḷ* II, vol. VIII, p. 307).

The noun is *pâl* (for *pag al* : S. *bhag* : Fick.) = 'essential property.'

Couplet II.

tuppârkku | tuppâya | tuppâkki | tuppârkku | tuppây | a thû um | maṛai.

Scanning :

tĕmāngāi | tēmāngāi | tĕmāngāi | tēmāngāi
tēmā | pūḷimā | mālār.

"For the eaters sweet food making,
To the eaters itself food becoming: such is rain."

The root *tu* = (1) 'eat,' (2) 'enjoy,' (3) 'experience.' Hence the noun *tuppu* = (1) 'food,' (2) 'enjoyment,' 'sweetness.' [S. *duh* = (1) milk, (2) enjoy].

There is a peculiarity in old Tamiḷ, which is called *aḷab'eḍai* (= lengthening), by which in this case, short *u* is lengthened to *û*, and then a short *u* is added, making *ûu* out of *ŭ*. Thus *âthûm* is made *âthûum*. Hiatus is here allowed. This resembles the process by which Ionic Greek writes *hêelios* for *helios*.

The idea is here, that rain causes fertility and is itself necessary to quench the thirst of men and cattle. The punning and alliteration are thoroughly in accordance with Tamiḷ ideas.

Couplet III.

Viṇṇindru | poyppin | virinîr | viyanulagat' | tuṇṇindr' | udaṭṭum paśi.

Scanning :

tēmāngāi | tēmā | pūḷimā | kārru viḷāngâi |
tēmā | pūḷimā | mālār.

"If the cloud standing (*in the sky*) deceives (*by not falling in rain to the earth*), hunger will afflict, standing in the midst of the wide-spread earth, though (*this earth is*) surrounded by an expanse of waters."

The clouds charged with moisture stand over the hills, big with the promise of fertilizing showers. If they remain there, and do not fulfil their promise, the earth, though surrounded by vast oceans of water, must fall a prey to all the miseries of famine.

During the late disastrous droughts, each day heavy clouds collected and hung over the Maisûr province; but winds arose and bore them away in the direction of the sea, leaving the broad fields dry and parched, and abandoning multitudes to misery and death by famine. Those who have seen this can understand the force of the poet's lines.

The compound *viri-nîr-viyan-ulagam* is interesting. It is verb + noun + adjective + noun, extend + water + broad + world. 'The wide world around which the ocean spreads.' Observe the alliteration. Perhaps Sanskṛit grammar would divide this into two compounds (1) *Viyan-ulagam*, being a 'Karmadharaya,' where *viyan* (S. *viyat*) is descriptive of *ulagam* = *the wide world*; (2) *viri-nîr* being a 'bahu-vrihi.'

Viri is the stem, or crude form, used in Sanskṛit (Comp. S. *vṛi*, *vi-vṛi*, *vi-vṛita*.) The Tamiḻ grammarians see here only ellipsis (*togai*) of inflectional particles and of connecting words.

Couplet IV.

êrin | *uḻâar* | *uḻavar* | *puyalennum*
vâri | *vaḷam kundri* | *kâl*.

Scansion:

tēmā | pŭlĭmâ | pŭlĭmā | pŭlĭmāngāy
tēmā | pŭlĭmāngāy | nāḷ.

"The ploughmen plough not with the yoked oxen when the abundance of the cloud-deluge is diminished."

Agriculture is the great employment of the Tamiḻ people; it ceases when the rains are not abundant.

The roots *ér* and *uḻ* are very remarkable.

Ér is 'the plough with its yoke of oxen.' It is found in all the S. Indian languages. *Ĕr-uthu* is 'a bull,' *er-umai* is 'a buffalo', *êrru* is 'the male of any animal.' (Tuḍa, *er* and *esht*.) Here we may compare A. S. *ear-ian*, (Eng. *ear*), Lat. *ar-are*, *aratrum*. (See Fick), 'arman,' Lat, *ar-mentûm*. (See also Fick, *arâya*).

The Kanarese has *uḷ* for *uḻ* (cerebrals interchangeable) and *hûḍ*. The Tamiḻ has *puḻ-uthi* for 'pulverised earth,' this in ancient Kan. is *huḍi*.

It is curious that the Sanskrit and Telugu words for 'plough' are quite different from each other, and from Tam., Kan., Mal., &c.

Couplet V.

Keḍuppathûum | *keṭṭârkku* | *śârvây matt'* | *āñgê*
eḍuppathûum | *ellâ'* | *maḻai*.

Scansion:

kărŭviḷăngāy | tē māngāi | tē māngāi | tēmā
kărŭviḷăngāy | tēmā | mălăr.

"That which will ruin, that which will uplift, becoming a help to the ruined: all this is rain."

The destructive violence of tropical storms, and the life-giving effects of the first burst of the monsoons in India, are referred to here.

Keḍ = 'destroy,' 'perish.' [S. *skad*. *chid*. Fick. another form is *śerru*.]

Śâr vu = 'support.' The root *śâr* = 'lean, recline against.' Hence the idea of 'prop,' 'support.' *śér* = 'approach.' Comp. S. *char*.

Eḍu = 'take up,' 'lift,' 'assist.'

Roots with *ḍ* as the significant letter, preceded by what seems to be a prefix, are many in Tamiḻ. Thus:

1. *ko-ḍu* = 'give.'
2. *i-ḍu* = 'give,' 'place.'
3. *vi-ḍu* = 'leave.'
4. *â-ḍu* = 'move about.'
5. *pô-ḍu* = 'put.'
6. *e-ḍu* = 'take up.'
7. *ta-ḍu* = 'hinder.'
8. *na-ḍu* = 'middle,' 'plant.'
9. *a-ḍu* = 'cook.'
10. *ka-ḍu* = 'cross.'
11. *na-ḍa* = 'walk.'
12. *u-ḍu* = 'clothe.'
13. *ô-ḍu* = 'run.'
14 *pa-ḍu*, 'suffer,' 'sink.'

Whether these are not compounds of a root like *d â* or *d h â* of the Sanskrit, and θε of the Greek, is an interesting question.

A parallel list with *ṟ* as the significant letter, which may be formed from a root like *ṛi* or *ar*, or *sru* of the Sanskrit is:

1. *ko ṟu*, 'soft,' 'grow fat.'
2. *ka-ṟi*, 'pass off.'
3. *vi-ṟu*, 'fall.'
4. *a-ṟi*, 'perish.'
5. *va-ṟi*, 'way.'
6. *i-ṟu*, 'draw.'
7. *po-ṟi*, 'pour forth.'

8. *e-ṟu*, 'rise up.'
9. *a-ṟu*, 'weep.'
10. *o-ṟi*, 'cease.'
11. *ki-ṟi*, 'tear.'

A comparison of *e-ḍu* with *e-ṟu* suggests that *e* is a prefix = 'up;' *vi-ḍu* with *viṟu* suggests that *vi* = 'down,' 'away,' 'off.'

The Tamiḻ seems to me to contain just such traces of these compounds as the Keltic dialects do: e. g. *cy* in Welsh answers to *ko* or *ku* in Tamiḻ. [*Cy-dio* (W.) = *kû-ḍu* (T) = 'join;' *dad* in W. is = re, un-dis-, back, comp. Tam. *ta-ḍu*, *ta-ḍai*.]

In regard to such compounds, is it not possible that S. *krap* (Fick) Gr. *klep*, are made up of *ka* = *com*, and a stem signifying 'take,' (*ra* or *la*)? Thus Varro says 'corrîpere = 'klepere.' In Tam. *ka-ḷ* = 'steal.'

Ell-âm = 'all.'

Couplet VI.

Viśumbil | *tuḷi viṟin* | *allânmaṭṭ* | *'ângê*
paśumpuṭ | *ṭalai kâṇb'* | *arithu.*

Scansion:

pŭḷimā | pŭḷimāngāy | tēmāngāy | tēmā
pŭḷimā | pŭḷimā | pirrăppŭ.

"Unless the drop of rain falls from the cloud, scarcely may you see the green grass putting forth its head."

Something of the effect of the rhythm may be seen in the following literal rendering, where the rhyme is preserved:

'If thè drόps | òf thè ráin fáll | nót, thén thé | gréen shóots
òf thè cróps | arè nòt séen | pùttíng fórth.'

Couplet VII.

neḍum kaḍalum | *tannîrmai* | *kundrum* | *taḍinth' eṟili*
tâ 'nalgâth' | *âgi* | *ciḍin.*

Scansion:

kărúviḷăngāi | tēmāngāi | tēmā | kărŭvilangāi|
tēmāngāi | tēmā | mălăr.

"The broad sea even will diminish in goodness, if the cloud do not swell and pour down its gifts."

Kaḍ-al = 'sea': from *kaḍ*, 'cross over'; for epithet *neḍum* = 'long' comp. Gr. '*euruporos.*'

Couplet VIII.

Śirrappoḍe | *pûsanai* | *śellâthu* | *vânam*
varrakkumêl | *vânôrkkum* | *îṇḍu.*

Scansion:

kărŭviḷăm | kûviḷăm | tēmāngāi | tēmā
kărŭvilăm | tēmāngāi | kāśŭ.

"If the heaven dry up, worship to the heavenly ones with due solemnity on earth will not be paid."

Varr, 'dry.' co. Lat. *ar*-idus.

Śel = 'go,' 'go on,' [S. *char*. *chal*.]

êl = 'if,' a contraction from *en-il* = 'if you say.'

vân-am = 'heaven.' Thence *vân-ôn*, 'a heavenly one,' plur. *vân-ôr*. Comp. Greek, *ôn* in participles. *avan* = 'he,' in Tamil, comp. Welsh, *af*.

Couplet IX.

dânam | *taram irandum* | *tangâ* | *viyanulagam* |
vânam | *vaṟangâth'* | *enin.*

Scansion:

tēmā kărŭvilăngāi tēmā kărŭvilăngāi
temā pŭḷimā mălăr.

"Neither alms-giving nor ascetic practices will abide in the wide world, if the sky dispense not its gifts."

Asceticism, always an important subject in Oriental systems, is the subject of the next chapter

Viyan-ulagam: comp. notes on coup. III. and Greek, '*euruchoros.*'

Couplet X.

nîr indr' | *amaiyâth'* | *ulag'-enin* | *yâryârkkum*|
vân indr' | *amaiyâth' oṟukku.*

Scansion:

tēmā | pŭḷimā | kárŭviḷăm | temāngāi
temā | pŭḷimā | pirăppŭ.

"If the world's work to none goes on without water, without rain the prescribed order cannot be preserved."

Yâr is plur. of *yâ-van* = 'who'? here it is doubled and *um* = 'and' is added = 'to any persons whatsoever.' ya = S. Ka. comp. Lat. use of *que* in *quis-que*.

Amai is found in the form *śamai*. Another of the group is *amar*. Initial *s* is often omitted in words from Sanskrit (*avai* = *sabhai*; *aravam* = *sarppam*; *amaiyam* = *samayam*.)

The S. root is *ksham*, Gr. *kom-izô*.

Oṟu-kku see *oṟ* under coup. I.

This ends the second chapter. The importance of rain as necessary to the subsistence of all living creatures, and to the observance of piety, is its topic.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

DISCOVERY OF SÂYAṆA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ATHARVA-VEDA.

I trust you will kindly allow me the use of your columns to announce the discovery of Sâyaṇa's long-sought *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda.* Hitherto scholars had almost given up all hopes of finding the *Commentary*, which there was reason to believe did exist. And as all attempts to

find it made throughout the length and breadth of India had failed, and no trace had been found of it, scholars had already begun to say that it was never written by Sâyaṇa, or, at any rate, that it had perished, like numerous other books which one hears so much about in Indian literature, and which, if found, would go very far to solve some knotty questions connected with Sanskrit literature.

The MS. of which I am now in possession contains Sâyaṇa's *Commentary on the Saunakî Śâkhâ of the Atharva-Veda*, and was discovered in the South through the kind offices of an enlightened friend, himself a Sanskrit scholar, Mr. V. N. Narasimaiyengar, of the Mysore Commission. It is written on palmyra leaves, in what I suppose is called the Nandi-Nâgarî character, a form of Devanâgarî still in use in some parts of the Madras Presidency, especially on the Malabar Coast. Many in India had no doubt that the *Commentary* did exist; and as Sâyaṇa, the great Vedic interpreter, lived in the South, and as that part of the country is still celebrated for Sanskrit lore and the preservation of ancient Sanskrit MSS., I directed my enquiries to centres of Sanskrit interest in that Presidency, and it is a matter for congratulation, in the interest of Vedic philology, that the long-lost thing has been found at last.

It is a pity, however, that the MS. does not contain the whole of Sâyaṇa's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda*. Of the twenty Kâṇḍas, or chapters, into which the *Atharva Saṁhitâ* is divided, the MS. contains the commentary on nine Kâṇḍas, viz., the first four Kâṇḍas, the three Kâṇḍas from 6 to 8, and the four Kâṇḍas from 17 to 20. We have thus three fragments of the *Commentary*, but put together they form about two-thirds of the whole. I am in hopes of getting some portions of the Kâṇḍas that are missing, as some have been already traced; but I may not be sure of completing the *Commentary* without waiting for an indefinite length of time.

The MS., so far as it goes, is correct, and it will be possible to edit the *Commentary* from it even if no other copies are obtained. And I have already been working at the *Saṁhitâ* and the MS. with a view to place before scholars the results of this happy find of the year 1879.

It is fortunate that the first portion of the *Commentary* has been found. We have there Sâyaṇa's usual introduction. And here we learn some interesting facts. The author says that he was ordered to write the *Commentary* by King Harihara, the son of King Bukka, with whom Sâyaṇa's *Commentary on the Ṛigveda* edited by Prof. Max Müller has acquainted the students of the *Veda*. From the introductory verses, when taken with the opening of the *Commentary on the Ṛigveda*, it would appear that Sâyaṇa and Mâdhava are one and the same person. For, according to the present *Commentary*, Harihara commanded Sâyaṇâchârya to compose—and it is Sâyaṇâchârya that composes—the *Commentary*; and the author, farther on, says that he proceeds, therefore, to write his *Commentary*, having already written his *Commentaries* on the other three Vedas. In Sâyaṇa's *Commentary on the Ṛigveda* it is Bukka who commands Mâdhavâchârya to explain the *Ṛigveda*, and it is that Mâdhavâchârya who composes the *Commentary*. The question, therefore, whether Mâdhava and Sâyaṇa were one and the same person, or, as has been supposed by some, different individuals, may be said to be set at rest by the *Commentary* now found.[1]

The Preface distinctly says that the *Atharva-Veda Commentary* was written after three other Vedas had been explained by the author by commentary.

Sâyaṇa quotes an authority which says that the *Atharva-Veda* has five "*upavedas*" or *Vedângas*, which are *Sarpaveda* (the *Veda* about snakes), *Piśâchaveda* (the *Veda* about ghosts and devils), *Asuraveda* (the *Veda* about demons), *Itihâsaveda* (the *Veda* of legends), and *Purâṇaveda* (the *Veda* of the *Purâṇas*).

According to Sâyaṇa, there are nine branches, or Śâkhâs (he calls them bhedas), of the Atharva-Veda, which he enumerates as follows:—(1) the Paippalâdas, (2) the Taudâs, (3) the Maudâs, (4) the Śaunakîyâs, (5) Akshalâs, (6) the Jaladâs, (7) Brahmavâdâs, (8) the Devadarśas, and (9) the Châraṇavaidyas. And he goes on to say that the ritualistic use of the verses of the four Śâkhâs of

[1] The introductory verses are as follows:—

Vâgîśâdyâḥ sumanasaḥ sarvârthânâm upakrame |
Yaṁ natvâ kṛitakṛityâḥ syus taṁ namâmi Gajânanam ||
Yasya niśvasitaṁ Vedâ yo vedebhyo'khilaṁ jagat |
Nirmame tam ahaṁ vande Vidyâtîrthamaheśvaram ||
Avidyâbhânusantapto Vidyâranyam ahaṁ bhaje |
Yadarkakaratapṭânâm aranyaṁ prîtikâraram ||
Tatkaṭâkshena tadrûpaṁ dadhato Bukkabhûpateḥ |
Abhûddhariharo Râjâ kshîrâbdheriva chandramâḥ
Vijitârâtivrâto vîraśrî Hariharaḥ kshamâdhîśaḥ |
Dharmabrahmâdhvanyah Kaliṁ svacharitena Kṛitayugaṁ karute ||
Sâdhayitva Mahîṁ sarvâṁ srîmân Harihareśvaraḥ |
Bhuekto bahuvidhân bhogân asakto Râmavat sudhîḥ ||
Vijayî Hariharabhûpaḥ saṁnadvahan sakalabhûbhâraṁ |
Shoḍaśa mahânti dânânyaniśaṁ sarvasya tushṭaye kurvan |
Tvanmûlabhûtam âlochya vedam Atharvanâbhidham |
Adiśat Sâyaṇâcharyaṁ tadarthasya prakâśane ||
Ye pūrvottaramîmâṅso te vyâkhyâyâtisangrahât |
Kṛipâluḥ Sâyanâchâryo Vedârthaṁ vaktum udyataḥ ||
Vyâkhyâya vedatritayam âmushmikaphalâpradaṁ |
Aihikâmushmikaphalaṁ chaturthaṁ vyâchikîrshati ||

It will be observed that the reading of *tatkaṭâkshena tadrûpaṁ* in line 7 gives a better sense than *yatkaṭâkshena*, &c., as found in Prof. Max Müller's most valuable edition of the *Ṛigveda-Commentary*.

the Śaunakîyâs, the Âkshalâs, the Jaladâs, and the Brahmavâdâs is given, in accordance with the *Gopatha Brâhmaṇa*, in five *Kalpasûtras*, which he names as (1) the *Kauśikam*, (2) the *Vaitânam*, (3) the *Nakshatrakalpaḥ*, (4) the *Âṅgiraskalpaḥ*, and (5) the *Śantikalpaḥ*.

Sâyaṇa shows how the *Kauśika Sûtra* is the chief of the five *Kalpa Sûtras*, and promises that, though he will give the substance of the other Sûtras in explaining the *Viniyoga* of the *Atharva-Veda-Saṁhitâ*, he will chiefly and largely quote from the *Kauśika*.

As for the object and the use of the *Atharva-Veda-Saṁhitâ*, according to the author of the *Kalpa-Sûtras*, Sâyaṇa summarises the *Kauśika* as follows:—The performance of the fortnightly sacrifices; the creation of brain; obtaining success of the vow of celibacy; the acquisition of villages, towns, forts, and kingdoms; the acquisition of sons, cattle, wealth, corn, subjects, wives, elephants, horses, chariots, sedan-chairs, and other means of comfort; the acquisition of unity among the people; acquisition of good feeling; frightening away enemies and elephants; acquisition of victory in battles; the fencing away of shafts; the fencing away of swords and other weapons; the stupefying, routing, stopping, and destroying of hostile armies; the inspiring with bravery and the protection of one's own armies; finding out whether victory or defeat is to attend a given battle; the destruction of the commander of an army and similar high men; the throwing, in tracts travelled over by hostile armies, of charmed nets, swords, &c.; the mounting a chariot by a king desirous of victory; the beating of drums and all other instruments which have been charmed; the destruction of enemies; the restoration of a king dethroned by an enemy; the coronation of a king; the destruction of sin; about calamity; about fattening; the fattening of cows; the acquisition of prosperity; the tying of a talisman; the prosperity of cattle; the enriching of houses; the building of new halls; the letting-off of a bull, the application of medicinal remedies to curable diseases caused by sins committed in former existences; medicine for all diseases; medicines for fever, looseness, diabetes; stopping of blood flowing out from wounds made by weapons; the laying of devils, ghosts, demons, paroxysms, Brahma *râkshasas*, and evil spirits haunting children; medicines for bile, cough, and wind; removal of heart diseases and jaundice; the curing of intermittent, diurnal, and remittent fever, of consumption and dropsy; destruction of worms; curing of vegetable, snake's, scorpion's, and other poison derived from immoveable or moveable things; medicines for diseases of the head, of the eyes, of the nose, of the ear, of the tongue, of the throat, &c.; antidote against the curse of Brahmans and others; medicines for various diseases, such as carbuncles, easy parturition, consumption, and formation of the fœtus; appeasing of the ire of kings and others; the knowledge of the means of obtaining what is desired; the warding off storms, lightning, and excessive rain; victory in meetings, in disputations, and reconciliations; making the rivers flow according to one's own desires; digging up of treasures; victory in gambling; reconciliation between the cow and the calf; obtaining peace to horses; obtaining profits in trade; liberating a woman from sin; entering a new house; purification of a house defiled by a dove, a crow, &c.; the warding off the effects of improper receipts of largesses; of improper sacrificing and officiating; warding off the effects of an evil dream; warding off the effects of a boy's birth under inauspicious stars; the repaying of debts; warding off the evil effects of bad auspices; warding off the effects of magic practised by others; performance of ceremonies connected with the birth, the naming, the saving, and the initiation of children; the performance of petty sacrifices; pacification on the occasion of many accidents, such as bleeding, the meeting with a demigod (Yaksha) and demon, an earthquake, the sight of a comet, lunar and solar eclipses, &c.

Then follow similar but shorter summaries of contents of the other four *Kalpa Sûtras*.

As might have been expected, the *Commentary* (which contains both the text and the explanation) comes to the help of the reader of the edition of the text published by Profs. Whitney and Roth by supplying more correct and intelligible readings. This is especially the case, so far as I have hitherto seen, in the last two *Kâṇḍas*. In many places the readings of the MSS. relied upon by the editors are confirmed, and in some places their emendations are shown to have been correctly made. Thus in *Kâṇḍa* xix. 1, 3, Sâyaṇa reads and explains *gambhîreapasaḥ* instead of *gambhîravepasaḥ* of the printed edition. In xix. 4, 1, 8, Sâyaṇa reads and explains *mâ mrityorudagâ vaśam* instead of *mâ mrityorupagâ vaśam*. In xix. 4, 2, 2, Sâyaṇa reads and explains *dvishatastâpayan*. . . *ivâbhîn santâpayan* instead of *dvishtastapanaṁ* . . . *ivâbhisantâpaya*, which appears to have been substituted as an emendation in the printed edition. In xix. 7, last verse but one, instead of *vandamânâ* Sâyaṇa correctly reads and explains *vadamâtâ*, which is obviously the proper reading.

From the *Commentary on the Rigveda* we learn that Sâyaṇa was the minister (*dhurandhara*) of King B u k k a; here he calls himself the minister of King H a r i h a r a (Śrîmadrâjâdhirâjaparameś-

varaśrî-Hariharamahârâjasâmrâjyadhurandharena Sâyanâchâryena virachite mâdhavîye Atharva-vedasamhitâbhâshye vedârthaprakâśe, &c., &c.).

The MS. is not very old, but may have been written within the present century. This justifies us in hoping that the missing portions of the *Commentary* may yet be found. But the portions in hand being on the most important parts of the Atharva collection, I propose editing the *Commentary*, incomplete as it is.

From Sâyana's introductory verses already quoted it also appears that he was different from Vidyâranya. Popularly Sâyana and Vidyâranya are believed to be one and the same individual, and Sâyana's *Commentary* on whatever work is called *Vidyâranya-bhashya*. Sâyana's respectful mention of Vidyâranya made in these verses now shows that the latter was a different individual from Sâyana, and different again from Sâyana's Guru or Teacher, whom Sâyana constantly mentions and refers to in language worthy of the Divine Being only, under the name of Vidyâtîrtha-Maheśvara.

SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT.[1]

With reference to the above, we have received the following communication from Mr. S. P. Pandit:—

Since I wrote to *The Academy*, I have been following various lines of search after the missing portions of Sâyana's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda Samhitâ*, but regret that I have not yet succeeded in obtaining any of the portions which are missing in the MSS. already in my possession, except that on *Kânda* xi. This was obtained from one of the sources which yielded the fragments described in the letter given above. Further search in the same places, though made with care and attention, has only made the hope of getting the needed portions of the *Commentary* less than ever likely to be immediately fulfilled. "It appears," says my esteemed friend Mr. Narasimaiyengar, of the Mysore Commission, to whom I owe the discovery of the *Commentary*, "heaps of Cadjan MSS. get spoiled and are thrown away into the Tungabhadrâ river periodically! It is possible the missing parts were lost in the same way." I am nevertheless hopeful that my enquiries in other quarters may yet succeed, and we may some day come into possession of the whole *Commentary*.

SHANKAR P. PANDIT.

Poona, 27th August 1880.

I have just read Prof. Shankar Pandurang Pandit's able and interesting letter on the discovery of a MS. of Sâyana's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda-samhitâ*, and I feel tempted to say again what I said the other day, when I had to announce the discovery of Sanskrit texts in Japan, "It never rains but it pours." After we had been looking for years for a single MS. of Sâyana's Commentary on the so-called *Fourth Veda*, the same week brings us tidings of the discovery of two MSS. That a Commentary by Sâyana or Mâdhava on that Veda had once existed could hardly be doubted, but in reply to repeated enquiries addressed by me to my friends in India I always received the same answer, *Non est inventum*. The reason why I did not give up my belief in the existence of such a Commentary was because, so far back as 1846, in some statistic accounts of Vedic literature sent to Mr. J. Muir, and published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, not only the name of the author of the Commentary, *scil.* Mâdhava, but the number of lines of his *Commentary on the Samhitâ* and on the *Brâhmana* was mentioned—viz., 80,000 for the former, 20,000 for the latter. That information seemed to me so important that I thought it right to call the attention of Sanskrit scholars to it afresh, particularly of those who were exploring India in search of MSS., and had it published therefore once more in my *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 1873, p. 109. But though my friends Dr. Bühler, Kielhorn, Burnell, and others have kept a keen look-out for "Sâyana on the *Atharva-Veda*," and though rumours of its existence reached them from time to time, nothing tangible has ever come to light. So late as March 10, 1874, Dr. Burnell, that most indefatigable explorer of the ancient literature of India, wrote to me from Mangalore:—"For the same reason I doubt the report of the Benares Brahmans to Dr. Muir about an *Atharva-Veda* Commentary. I have so often had tales told me quite as precise which I have ascertained afterwards to be untrue that I am very little inclined to believe mere assertions." (See Preface to the sixth volume of my edition of *Rig-Veda*, p. xvii. note.) Now, at almost the same time that Mr. V. N. Narasimaiyengar discovered the MS. in Nandi Nâgari described by Prof. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Dr. Bühler writes to me that he had an offer from a learned Brahman at Madras of a copy of Sâyana's long-sought-for *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda*, written in the Grantha alphabet. While the copy in Nandi Nâgari is incomplete, that in Grantha is said to be complete, so that Dr. Bühler hopes we may at last obtain, not only the missing Kuntâpa hymns, but also a more readable text of the nineteenth book of the *Atharva-Veda* than that hitherto accessible.

In the same letter (dated Ahmedabad, May 7, 1880) in which Dr Bühler informs me of the dis-

[1] *The Academy*, 5th June 1880.

covery of the Grantha MS. of Sâyaṇa, he sends me several other items of information which may be of interest to Sanskrit scholars, and which I feel at liberty to publish. "Among our new finds," he writes, "you will see a long list of Vedica. There is a *Pada-pâṭha* of the Mantras of the *Maitrâyaṇîya Saṁhitâ* which is unique. It seems most opportune, as Dr. Schroeder intends publishing the book. I found that in Gujarât, north of the Narmadâ, there are still many Maitrâyaṇîyas, among them three so-called Śuklas, who recite the whole *Saṁhitâ* from day to day. The others know little of their sacred writings. The Northern Atharvavedins are really, as the *Charaṇa vyûhabhâshya* asserts, all Paippalâdins. But as they have lost their books they study the *Saunaka Śaṁhitâ* or the *Saṁhita* of any other *Veda*." "What I have bought this year of *Vedica* consists of nearly one hundred numbers. For the other Śâstras there is also some new material, even some historical texts, and such scarce works as the *Pañchasiddhântikâ* of Varâhamihira. The *Sâsvata Kosha*, according to Aufrecht the oldest *Kosha*, has been found. A little time ago a portion of a very old MS. of Sâyaṇa's *Commentary on the Ṛig-Veda-saṁhitâ* was brought to me. It is written *initio saec XV!* I collated some passages with your edition, and found that the MS. belonged to what you designate as the C. family. It is wonderful that that family should be so old. I shall go on collating some more of it."

The same letter contains some very important information about the discovery of new inscriptions and their bearing on the date of Buddha's death in 477 B.C.; but in regard to these matters I do not like to anticipate Dr. Bühler's own statements.

What is a matter of real congratulation in these discoveries is that they have been made on the very spot where they were expected to be made, and that hope deferred has at last been rewarded. We seldom find what we are looking for in exactly the place where we think it ought to be, and therefore the discovery of Sâyaṇa's *Commentary on the Atharva-Veda*, after thirty-four years of search, in the South of India, *i.e.*, in exactly the locality where it ought to have been, like the discovery of Sanskrit texts in Japan, is the best encouragement that could have happened in this field of research.

I cannot close this letter without stating that not only Japan, but China, too, is at last surrendering some of the literary treasures which, beginning with the first century of our era, and not with the seventh, were poured into it from India. I have now the Sanskrit text of the *Vajrachchhedika* and some other *Sûtras* published in China, and I hope soon to find leisure to report more fully on those new *trouvailles*.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

Oxford, June 5, 1880.[1]

CINDERELLA—HEPHAESTUS—KUVERA.

Rev. S. Beal writing to the *Academy* (July 3, 1880, p. 11) thinks "we may find a probable explanation of the story of Cinderella in the far East. If we take the Russian variant Chornushka, which according to Ralston is derived from *chorna*, 'black,' her connexion with the figure known in Japan as D a i G a k f'—the 'Great black one' is at once suggested. Dai Gakf' is worshipped there as the god of riches. He is represented as a little man with a large sack on his shoulders and a hammer in his hand. His proper place is in the kitchen, and he is always found placed near the hearth." Hwen Thsang mentions him as Chinwang, and he is described[2] "as a little black figure seated on the hearth and called Mahâkâla (*the mighty black one*)." "In every case he is represented as a *little dwarf*, two or three feet high." Now in Smith's *Dictionary of Biog. and Mythology*, art. 'Hephaestus,' we find that "the Greeks frequently placed small dwarf-like figures of this god near the hearth, and these dwarfish figures seem to have been the most ancient." Hence, adds Mr. Beal, "in Aristophanes, *Aves* 435, we have the expression πλησίον τοῦ ἐπιστάτο, where ἐπιστάτης is thus described by the scholiast: 'simulacrum luteum Vulcani quod prope focum collocari solebat, idque sic dictum fuisse quod Vulcanus esset ἐπιστάτης, *i.e.* praeses et inspector ignis sive foci' (*vide* Suidas sub ἐπιστάτης, and Spanheim *ad Callimachum*, p. 172). And now, taking Max Müller's derivation of Hephaestus from *yavishtha*, *i.e.* the *youngest*, we have some light let in upon the question why Cinderella, who answers to the Norse Boots, is described as the *youngest* child and always sitting in the hearth[3] among the ashes."

"But again, as to the connexion of Cinderella, or rather Cendreusette and the other variants, with the *cow*. This is at once explained by the myth that Hera was the mother of Vulcan. In the later form of the myth she was his *husband*-less mother, and under this form she is represented as disliking him on account of his deformity. This appears to be the origin of the idea of the step-

[1] From *The Academy*, June 12, 1880.

[2] See *Mem. sur les Cont. Occ.* tom. I. p. 43n: also pp. 30, and 319, tom. II. p. 224.—ED.

[3] See Mr. Lang's paper in *The Academy*, June 26, 1880, p. 474.

mother's dislike to the *cinder* wench. But Hera under the form of Io, and in other ways, is figured as a *cow*. The cow spinning the kilo of cotton* refers plainly enough to the moon threading her course through the stars at night, while her death is explained by her monthly disappearance. Instead of 'light' then, I would take Cinderella to denote 'fire,' or 'flame,' which dies out and becomes black in the form of cinders, but when revived is beautiful in its golden dress; and as the deformed Vulcan becomes the husband of the lovely Aphroditê, so, by an easy change of sex, Cinderella is chosen by the beautiful prince to be his wife.

"The identity of the Indian *Vaiśrâvaṇa* with the Greek Hephaestus, is proved by the derivation *viśrâvas* 'the renowned,' which is identical with the Homeric epithet, περικλυτός, always applied to Vulcan."

BOOK NOTICE.

LITERARY REMAINS OF DR. THEODORE GOLDSTÜCKER, 2 vols. 8vo. W. H. Allen & Co. London: 1879.

Goldstücker's premature death on the 6th March 1872, was a heavy blow to the progress of Sanskrit studies in England; his conscientiousness and energy impressed all those in communication with him, and his disinterestedness had much effect in raising the tone of Oriental studies in England, where selfish motives, not love of scientific truth, are too often the inducements to follow unattractive courses of study: the results of this offer a sad contrast to the work done in other countries.

The views Goldstücker adopted in respect of the value of the work of the native commentators, are already quite obsolete, and it would be difficult now to find a single scholar who follows him. He held the native commentaries far above the results attained by means of scientific philology, and said (*e.g.*): "when modern Sanskṛit philology affords the spectacle of writers haughtily exaggerating these shortcomings, and combining with their would-be criticisms the pretence of establishing the true sense of the *Vedas* without the assistance of Mâdhava, a mere comparison of the commentary of the latter with what the European public is called upon to accept as its substitute, adds a new testimony to the vast superiority of the Hindu scholar over his European antagonists" (vol. I. pp. 101-2). The results already attained by European philologists are decisive on the question, and Goldstücker, if now alive, would, probably, materially modify the strong views he held. But his opposition did much good in its way, as the philologists had to look earnestly to the solidity of their work, and thus it happens that the dispute has been finally decided on really solid grounds. In this respect, Goldstücker's papers are rather valuable as materials for history of the past than as helps for the present.

In other respects, every Sanskritist will welcome these two volumes as valuable helps in present difficulties.

The first volume contains contributions to the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* and Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, and consists of sixty-eight articles, some of considerable length, especially one on the Vedas. The Editor has carefully annotated these, and drawn attention, where necessary, to the results of more recent research; it thus constitutes a small Indian Encyclopædia.

The second volume contains six longer Essays, and a philological note. Among these are the famous Essay on Hindu Epic Poetry, originally published in the *Westminster Review*, and the remarkable pamphlet on the *Deficiencies in the Present Administration of Hindu Law*, which is just as true now as when it was written ten years ago. But if slow in coming, its result is certain.

It will thus be seen that a really excellent work has been done in bringing together papers of such value, and which were so inaccessible before, for the most part. But a little more might have been found; in Trübner's *Record* (*e.g.*) there are several summaries of papers which Goldstücker read before the Philological Society, but never published, and there is, also, his most remarkable review of Max Müller's *Prâtiçâkhya of the Ṛigveda*, printed in the *Academy* of July 9th 1870, which might well have been included. The biographical notice prefixed (16 pp.) is excellent; it is no secret that it is by the sympathetic and most competent pen of Dr. R. Rost.

An occasional error remains to be corrected here and there, *e.g.* the statement (I, p. 276) that the *Adbhuta-Brâhmaṇa* is probably recent, and that it is not mentioned by *Sâyaṇa*; it is part of the *Shaḍviṁça* which *Sâyaṇa* does mention.

All Sanskritists will welcome these volumes as a worthy memorial of a true scholar, and it is to be hoped that Mr. J. F. Fleet will now see his way to bringing out Goldstücker's ***Sanskrit Grammar.***

A. B.

* In the Mentone version given by Mr. Lang.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

COLLECTED BY Mrs. F. A. STEEL, WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.AS., &c.[1]

No. 1.—Folk-Tale.

The Story[2] *of Bôpô Lûchî or Bopo the Trickster.*[3]

Once upon a time, five or six marriageable girls went to the well to draw water, and began talking of their betrothals and weddings. Said one, "My uncle[4] is coming soon, and he will bring me the finest clothes imaginable." Said another: "My uncle-in-law[5] is coming soon, and will bring the nicest, most delicious food you can think of." Said a third, "Well, my uncle is coming, I know, and is sure to bring the rarest jewels in the world."

But Bôpô Lûchî, the prettiest of them all, was silent. She was an orphan, and had no one to make a marriage for her. But she was proud, so she said gaily, "And my uncle is coming too, and will bring me fine dresses, fine food, and fine jewels."

Now a wandering pedlar of the kind called Wanjârâ[6] who sell *Surmâ*[7] and sweet-scented oils, wax and cosmetics, was sitting near the well, and heard what Bôpô Lûchî said. He was a *ṭhag*[8] in reality and was very rich. The very next day he disguised himself, and came to Bôpô Lûchî's house, bringing with him fine dresses, fine food and fine jewels. Everything was there just as Bôpô Lûchî had said. He told her that he was her father's brother who had been away in another place for years, and now had come back to make her marriage with one of her cousins, his sons.

Bôpô Lûchî was ever so much pleased, packed up her belongings in a bundle, and set off with the *ṭhag*. But when they were on the road a crow sat on a branch, and croaked—

Bôpô Lûchî !
Aqloṅ ghuṭhî,
Ṭhag nâl ṭhagî gayî.
Bôpô Lûchî!
You have lost your wits,
You have been deceived by a ṭhag.[9]

"Uncle," said Bôpô Lûchî, "that crow croaks funnily, what does it say?" "Oh," answered the ṭhag, "all crows make that noise about here."

A little further they met a peacock. As soon as it saw pretty Bôpô Lûchî it began to scream—

Bôpô Lûchî !
Aqloṅ ghuṭhî,
Ṭhag nâl ṭhagî gayî.
Bôpô Lûchî !
You have lost your wits,
You have been deceived by a ṭhag.[10]

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[1] Notes, criticisms, or remarks will be gladly received by the compilers.

[2] This story is not very common or well known. It was told by an old peasant from the Kasûr district near Lahore.

[3] بوپو لوچي *Bôpô Lûchî*, لوچا *luchâ*, fem. لوچي *lûchî* Panjabi adjective signifying "wicked, worthless, unlucky." بوبو *bôbô* or بوبي *bôbî* 'sister, mother,' Panj. term of endearment. بوپال *bôpâl* common girl's name, Panj. In Hindi बूबू बीबी बोबो *bûbû, bîbî* or *bôbô* is an elder sister, lady; बोबो *bôbô* also the breasts. According to the school girls, Firôzpûr, *bôpô* means a babbler and with the addition of *lûchî* would mean a trickster.—R. C. T.

[4] ماموں *mâmû*, mother's brother.—R. C. T.

[5] پتیہورا or پتیورا *Patiauhrâ* or *Patiaurâ*, husband's or father-in-law's younger brother, Panj. پتي *pati* is husband, master, lord, Panj. = Sansk.—पति *pati*, husband lord, etc., √पत् *pat*, to share, to rule.—R. C. T.

[6] ونجارا or بنجارا *Wanjârâ* or *Banjârâ*, Panj. a wandering pedlar dealing in spices; also a seller of grain. ونج or بنج *wanaj* or *banaj* is a bargain, trade.—R. C. T.

[7] سرما *surmâ*, antimony used for blackening the eyelids.

[8] ٹھگ *Ṭhag* Hindi and Panj. a deceiver, whence that class of robbers who deceive and strangle travellers. The Hindi and Panjabi connected words are ठग्या *ṭhagyâ* Hind. and Panj. a thief, rogue, fem. ٹھگني *ṭhagnî*. ٹھگي *ṭhagî*, ٹھگائي *ṭhagâî* the practice of murdering by ṭhags, deceit; ٹھگنا *ṭhagnâ*, to deceive, with causative ٹھگانا *ṭhagânâ* and ٹھگوانا *ṭhagwânâ*; ٹھگاجانا and ٹھگانا *ṭhagâ jânâ* and *ṭhagânâ* to be deceived; Sansk. स्थग् *sthag* a rogue. In the Indian Penal Code a thag is defined as being a person habitually associated with others for the purpose of committing robbery or child-stealing by means of murder.—R. C. T.

[9] بوپو لوچي
عقلوں گھٹھي
ٹھگ نال ٹھگي گئي

گھٹھي *Ghuṭhî*, second person singular past tense, local Firôzpûr pronunciation; گھٹھنا *ghuṭhnâ* Panj. to fail. گھٹھا جانا *ghûṭhâ jânâ* to be lost. Proper Panj. form is گھسنا *ghusnâ* to fail. گھسنا *ghusnâ* in Hindi is to thrust oneself in, to enter. ٹھگي گئي *ṭhagî gayî* you have been deceived. See note 8. ٹھگ نال *ṭhag nâl*, Panj.-Hindi. *ṭhag sê* with or by a thief. Dr. Fallon, *New Dict. Hindust.*, says *nâl* नाल is of Hindi origin, but I cannot find the word in Kellogg's *Hindi Grammar*.—R. C. T.

[10] See Note 9.

"Uncle," asked Bôpô Lûchî, "that peacock screams funnily, what does it say?"

"Oh," answered the ṭhag, "all peacocks make that noise about here."

A little further they met a jackal—no sooner did it see pretty Bôpô Lûchî than it began to howl—

Bôpô Lûchî !
Aqloṅ ghuṭhî,
Ṭhag nâl ṭhagî gayî.

Bôpô Lûchî !
You have lost your wits,
You have been deceived by a ṭhag.[11]

"Uncle," said Bôpô Lûchî, "that jackal howls funnily, what does it say?"

"Oh," said the ṭhag, "all the jackals make that noise about here."

Then they arrived at the Ṭhag's house, and he told her who he was, and that he intended to marry her himself, and she wept and cried. Then the Ṭhag went out and left her in charge of his old, ever so old, mother. Now, Bôpô Lûchî had such beautiful hair that it reached down to her ankles, but the old mother hadn't a single hair on the top of her bald old head.

"Daughter," she said, as she was putting the bridal dress on Bôpô Lûchî, "how did you get such beautiful hair?"

"Well," said Bôpô Lûchî, "my mother made it grow. She pounded my head in the mortar[12] for husking rice, and at every stroke she gave with the pestle my hair grew longer and longer. It is a plan that never fails."

"Perhaps it would make my hair grow," said the old lady.

"Perhaps it would," said Bôpô Lûchî.

So the old woman put her head in the mortar, and Bôpô Lûchî pounded it so hard that the old woman died.

Then Bôpô Lûchî dressed the dead body in her scarlet bridal dress, seated it on the low bridal chair, and put the spinning wheel in front of it. Then she drew the veil well over the dead woman's face, put on the dead woman's clothes, and taking her bundle of things stepped out of the house as quickly as possible.[13]

On the road she met the Ṭhag who was returning with a stolen mill-stone on his head. She was dreadfully frightened, so she slipped behind the hedge so as not to be seen. The ṭhag did not know her in his mother's dress, but thought she was some strange woman from another village, so he slipped behind the other hedge so as not to be seen. And so it was that Bôpô Lûchî ran away home safe.

When the ṭhag came to his house he saw the figure in bridal scarlet[14] sitting on the bridal chair spinning, and thought it was Bôpô Lûchî. So he called to her to help him down with the mill-stone. But she didn't answer. So he called again, but still she didn't answer. Then he got angry, and threw the mill stone at her head. The figure toppled over, and lo! it was not Bôpô Lûchî but his own mother! Then the ṭhag wept and beat his breast, for he thought he had killed her. But when he found out Bôpô Lûchî had run away, he determined to bring her back somehow.

Now Bôpô Lûchî felt sure the ṭhag would try and carry her off, so every night she begged a night's lodging in a friend's house, and so her own little bed in her own little house stood empty. But at the end of a month she had slept in every friend's house for a night, and was ashamed to ask any of them again. So she determined to sleep at home whatever happened, but she took a bill-hook to bed with her. In the middle of the night four men came and lifted up her bed, and the ṭhag was behind her head. Bôpô Lûchî pretended to be fast asleep till they came to a wild deserted spot, and then she whipped out the bill-hook, and in a twinkling cut off the heads of the two men at the foot of the bed. Then she turned round quickly, and cut off the head of one of the men at the head of the bed, but the Ṭhag who was the fourth ran away, and scrambled up a tree like a wild cat before she could cut off his head.

"Come down," said Bôpô Lûchî, "and fight it out."

But he wouldn't come down. So Bôpô Lûchî gathered all the sticks she could find, piled them

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[11] See Note 8.

[12] اوکھلي *ukhlî* Hind. a mortar, and موسل *mûsal* a pestle. Hind.—R. C. T.

[13] The word used for the bridal chair is पीढा *pîṛhâ*, this with its diminutive पीढी *îṛhî* is a low seat or stool with a back like a chair used by women. The word is universal in many forms in Hindi and Panj. as *pîḍhâ*, *pîḍô* and *pîṛhiyâ*. The Sansk. form is पीठ् *pîṭh* a seat. The diminutive *pîṛhî* also means the pangs of childbirth, etc. but this is probably quite a different word connected with the Sansk. √ पिड् *piḍh*, to be afflicted, suffer pain.—R. C. T.

[14] The bridal scarlet, a universal custom among all Panjab tribes and classes. Every bride, however poor, wears a dress of scarlet and gold for six months, and if rich for two years.—R. C. T.

round the tree, and set fire to them. Then the tree caught fire, and there was so much smoke that the Ṭhag was obliged to throw himself down and was killed. Then Bôpô Lûchî went to the Ṭhag's house and carried off all the gold and silver jewels and clothes. And after that Bôpô Lûchî was so rich that she could marry any one she pleased.

No. 2.—FOLK-TALE.

The Sparrow and the Crow.

This is a very common tale among Hindûs and Muhammadans in the Firôzpûr, Siâlkôṭ, and Lâhôr districts.

A sparrow and a crow once agreed to cook *Khijrî*[1] for their dinner. The crow brought pulse[2] and the sparrow rice, and the sparrow cooked the *khijrî*. When it was ready the crow came to claim his share. "No," said the sparrow, "you are dirty, go and wash your beak in the tank yonder, and after that sit down to dinner."

So the crow went to the tank, and said—

Tû Chhappaṛ Dâs,
Maiṅ Kâng Dâs,
Deô paneriyâ,
Dhôwêṅ chucheriyâ,
Khâwêṅ khijeriyâ,
Dêkh chiṛiyâ kâ chûchla,
Maiṅ kâng sapariyâ.[3]

You're Mr. Tank,
I am Mr. Crow,
Give me water
That I may wash my beak,
And eat my khijrî.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the tank said: "I will give you water if you will go to the deer, break off one of its horns, and dig a hole in the ground close by me, and then I'll let my water run in clean and fresh. So the crow went to the deer, and said—

Tû Hiran Dâs,
Maiṅ Kâng Dâs,
Tû dêo singarwa,
Maiṅ khôdûṅ chalarwa,
Nikâlûṅ panarwa,
Dhôwêṅ chunjarwa,
Khâwêṅ khijarwa,
Dêkh chiṛiyâ kâ chûchla,
Maiṅ kâng saparwa.[4]

You are Mr. Deer,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me a horn,
And I will dig a hole,
And take out the water,
That I may wash my beak,
And eat my khijrî.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

[1] كهجري *khijrî* properly كهچڙي *khichṛî*, a dish of rice and dâl (دال the peas of various pulses prepared for cooking, etc.). *Khichṛî* is usually prepared from مونگ *mûng* pulse (Panj. منگي *mungî*), but some versions of this tale make it to be made from the مانہ *mâṅh* (Panj. = Hind معاش *ma'âsh*) pulse.—R. C. T.

[2] مونگ كي دال or معاش *mûng* or *ma'âsh kî dâl*, see note 1.—R. C. T.

[3] تو چھپّڑ داس
مين كانگ داس
ديو پنڑيا
دھووين چوچريا
كھاوين كهجريا
ديكھہ چڑيا كا چوچلہ
مين كانگ سپريا

چھپّڑ *chhappaṛ* Panj. a tank. كانگ *kâng* or كان *kâṅ* Panj. a crow = Hind. كوا *kawwâ*. پنڑيا *paneriyâ* and the other words چوچريا *chucheriyâ* كهجريا *khijeriyâ* are merely made to assume this form for the song and represent respectively پاني *pânî*, water, چونچ *chônch* (Panj. چنج *chunj*), a bird's beak, and كهجري *khijrî*, while the final word سپريا *sapariyâ* represents the Arab. adj. صاف *sâf*, clean.—R. C. T.

[4] تو ہرن داس
مين كانگ داس
تو ديو سنگروا
مين كھودون چلروا
نكالون پنڑروا
دھووين چنجروا
كھاوين كهجروا
ديكھہ چڑيا كا چوچلہ
مين كانگ سپروا

In this song and those following it the rhyming fanciful termination is اروا *arwa*, the terminal words being سنگ *sing*, Panj. = Hind. سينگ *sîng*, a horn, چلاو Panj. a hole, and the remainder as before.—R. C. T.

But the deer said—"I'll give you my horn if you will give me some buffalo's milk, for then I shall grow fat, and breaking my horn won't hurt me." So the crow went to a buffalo and said—

Tu Bhaiṅs Dâs,
Maiṅ Kâng Dâs,
Tû dêo dûdharwa,
Pilâwêṅ hirnarwa,
Tôṛêṅ singarwa,
Khôdêṅ chalarwa,
Nikâlêṅ panarwa,
Dhôwêṅ chunjarwa,
Khâwêṅ khijarwa,
Dêkh chiṛiyâ kâ chûchla.
Maiṅ kâng saparwa.[5]

You are Mrs. Buffalo,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me milk,
That I may give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijrî.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the buffalo said—"Bring me some grass first, and I'll give you milk."

So the crow went to some grass, and said—

Tû Ghâs Dâs,
Maiṅ Kâng Dâs,
Tû dêo ghasarwa,
Pâwêṅ bhaiṅsarwa,
Chôwêṅ dûdharwa,
Pilâwêṅ hirnarwa,
Tôṛêṅ singarwa,
Khôdêṅ chalarwa,
Nikâlêṅ panarwa,
Dhôwêṅ chunjarwa,
Khâwêṅ khijarwa.
Dekh hiṛiyâ câ chûchla
Maiṅ kâng saparwa.[6]

You are Mr. Grass,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me some grass,
That I may give it the buffalo,
And take her milk,
And give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijrî,
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

But the grass said—"Get a spade first, and then you can dig me up."

So the crow went to a blacksmith, and said—

Tû Lohâr Dâs,
Maiṅ Kâng Dâs,
Tû dêo pharwa,
Maiṅ khôdûn ghasarwa,
Khilâwêṅ bhaiṅsarwa,
Chôwêṅ dûdharwa,
Pilâwêṅ hirnarwa,
Tôṛêṅ singarwa,
Khôdêṅ chalarwa,
Nikâlêṅ panarwa,
Dhôwêṅ chunjarwa,
Khâwêṅ khijarwa,
Dêkh chiṛiyâ kâ chûchla,
Maiṅ kâng saparwa.[7]

You are Mr. Blacksmith,
I am Mr. Crow,
You give me a spade,
And I will dig the grass,
That I may give it the buffalo to eat,

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[5] تو بهينس داس
مين كانگ داس
تو ديو دودهروا
پلاوين ہرنروا
توڑين سنگروا

remainder as before. In this the new terminal words are دودهہ *dûdh*, milk, and ہرن *hiran*, a deer.—R. C. T.

[6] تو گهاس داس
مين كانگ داس
تو ديو گهسروا
پاوين بهينسروا
چووين دودهروا

remainder as before. Terminal words are گهاس *ghâs*, grass, بهينس *bhaiṅs* a buffalo. دودهہ *dûdh*, milk. *pâwêṅ bhaiṅsarwa*—that the buffalo may obtain it. پانا *pânâ* to obtain. چووين *chôwêṅ* Panj. (Hind. دوہنا *dôhnâ*) to milk, *chûnâ* Hind. is to ooze.—R. C. T.

[7] تو لوہار داس
مين كانگ داس
تو ديو پهڑوا
مين كهودون گهسروا
كهلاوين بهينسروا

remainder as before.—R. C. T.

And take her milk,
And give it the deer to drink,
And break his horn,
And dig the hole,
And take out the water,
And wash my beak,
And eat my khijrî.
See the bird's playfulness,
I am a clean crow.

"With pleasure," said the blacksmith, "if you will light the fire and blow the bellows."

So the crow began to light the fire and blow the bellows, and in so doing fell into the middle of the fire and was burnt.

So that was the end of him, and the sparrow ate all the khijrî.

No. 3.—Folk Tale.

The Lord of Death.[1]

Told by a North-West[2] boy, who heard it from his grandmother:—

Once upon a time there was a road, and every one who travelled along it died. Some said they were killed by a snake, and others said they were killed by a scorpion.

Now a very old man was travelling along the road, and he sat down on a stone to rest, and on the stone beside him he saw a scorpion as big as a cock, and as he looked at it, it changed into a snake. He was wonderstruck, and determined to follow it to see what it really was. So he followed it at a little distance.

One day it went into an inn and killed several travellers; another day it crept into the king's house and killed him. Then it crept up the waterspout to the women's rooms, and killed the king's young daughter, and always when the sound of weeping and wailing arose, it went on its way. All this time the old man followed it, but never spoke, so it took no notice of him.

Then in the road came a broad deep river, and the snake changed to a handsome buffalo with brass necklace and bells. Now on the bank of the river sat some poor travellers who had no money to pay the ferry; when they saw the buffalo they said, "This beast is going to its home across the river; let us get on its back and hold on to its tail, and so get over the stream." So they got on its back, and held on to its tail, and the buffalo swam bravely with them to the middle of the river. Then it began to kick till they had to let go; so they were all drowned, but when the old man who was following in a ferry boat got across there was no buffalo to be seen, only a beautiful ox. A peasant saw the ox wandering about, and being struck by covetousness, lured it to his house. It was very gentle, and suffered itself to be tied up with the other beasts; but in the middle of the night it changed into a snake and bit all the cattle till they died. Then it crept into the house, and killed all the sleeping folk. After that it escaped. The old man followed it, but never spoke, so it took no notice of him.

Presently they came to another river, and then the snake changed into the likeness of a beautiful young girl covered with jewels and fair to see. Now two brothers, soldiers, came that way, and as they approached the girl began to cry. "What is the matter," asked they, "that you so young and beautiful sit by the river alone?"

The girl answered—"My husband was even now taking me home, and there was no ferry boat, so he went down to the stream to look, and fell to washing his face, when he tumbled in, and was drowned. I have neither friends nor relations left." Said the eldest of the brothers, who was enamoured of her beauty, "Come with me, and I will marry you." "On one condition," said the girl, "you must never ask me to do any household work, and whatever I ask for, you must give me." "As a slave will I obey you," cried the elder brother. "Then go and fetch me a draught of water from the well," said the girl, "your brother shall stay with me."

The elder brother did as he was bid, and went to the well. Then the snake girl said to the younger, "Fly with me, I love you. I don't care for your brother. It was only a trick to get him away." "Nay," said the younger, you have promised him, and are now as my mother."

Then the girl was angry, and began to weep and wail, and when the elder brother came back with the water, she cried "Oh! what a villain

[1] ملک الموت *Malik-ul-maut*—the Lord of Death, a common object of belief.—R. C. T.

[2] پوربیا *Pûrbiâ*—properly Eastern, but applied in the Panjâb to the inhabitants of the North-West Provinces.—R. C. T.

this is. He asked me to fly with him, and bid me leave you, my husband." Then there was great anger in the elder brother's heart, and he drew his sword and fought all the day long with his brother, till in the evening they both died.

Then the girl changed to a snake again, and afterwards to an old, old man with a white beard reaching to his waist. At last the old man who had followed the snake so long took courage, laid hold of him, and asked—"Tell me who you are." The old, old man said: "Some people call me the Lord of Death, and I go about to bring death to the world." Then said the old man—"Give me death, for I am old and have followed you far." But the Lord of Death said: "Not so. I only give death to those whose years are full, and you have yet sixty years of life before you." Then the old, old man vanished, but whether he was the Lord of Death or a devil, who can tell?

THE YERAKALA LANGUAGE.

BY THE REV. J. CAIN.

Whilst staying a few days in Râjamahendrivaram (Rajahmundry) in 1879, I was asked to help in drawing up a vocabulary of the E r a k a l a language to be sent to the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. Two of the Assistant Masters of the Provincial College did most of the work, my part being chiefly that of suggesting the line of questioning the intelligent Yeraka brought to us. These two Masters afterwards drew up an interesting paper, which was sent to the Dir. Pub. Instr., Madras. Probably the information we gleaned on that occasion may be of use to some of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. For other notices of these people see vols. III. p. 151, V. p. 188, and VIII. pp. 106, 219. They must not be confounded with another class—the E l a k a l a v a ṇ ḍ l u, a people who eat rats, hence their name; *elaka* = a rat; although the Erakalavaṇḍlu will not disdain the flesh of the mangoose and cat.

Amongst themselves they call each other 'Kuluvaru,' but the Telugu people call them Erakavaru or Erakalavaru, and this name has been derived from the Telugu word *eruka*, which means knowledge or acquaintance, as they are great fortune-tellers.

English.	Erakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
Father	Tâpan	Tagappan	
Mother	Tâi	Tâi	
Father (familiar term)	Âva	Appan	
Mother (familiar term)	Amma	Ammai	Amma
Elder brother	Anna	Aṇṇan	Anna
Younger brother	Tembi	Tambi	Tammaḍu
Elder sister	Akka	Akkâḷ	Akka
Younger sister	Tevise	Tengachchi Tangai	
Wife	Pondu	Peṇḍâṭi Peṇḍu	Peṇḍlamu
Husband	Monâgam		Mogadu
Grandfather	Tâtam	Tâtan	Tata Tatayya
Son	Moganu	Magan	
Daughter	Mogulu	Magaḷ	
Brother-in-law	Mechchunu	Machchinan	
Father-in-law	Mama	Mâman	Mama
Son-in-law	Merumoganu	Marumagan	
Daughter-in-law	Merumogulu	Marumagaḷ	
Grandson	Pêtam	Pêran	
Grand-daughter	Pêti	Pêṭṭi	
Uncle	Soṭṭam		
Sister-in-law	Nanga	Nangai	
Person	Keruvu	Pêr	
Boy	Guṇṭam		
King	Karagada		
Ear	Kâdâna	Kâθu	
Eye	Kan	Kaṇ	Kannu
Mouth	Vâi	Vâi	Vai (Noru)
Nose	Mûkana	Mûkku	Mukku
Hand	Kei	Kai	Kai (Cheyyi)
Leg	Kâl	Kâl	Kalu
Tongue	Nâk	Nâkk	Naluka
Tooth	Pelu	Pal	Pallu
Head	Onḍu		
Finger	Êlu		Velu
Neck	Kegan		
House	Úḍu	Vîḍu	Viḍu (a city)
Entrance	Vâsali	Vâśal	Vakili
Ox	Mâḍu	Mâḍu	
Sheep	Âḍu	Âḍu	
Pig	Pandri	Panḍri	Pandi
Cat	Pûne	Pûnai	
Fish	Mina	Mîn	Minamu
Crane	Kokku	Kokku	Konga

English.	Erakala.	Tamiḻ.	Telugu.
Crocodile	Modala	Modalai	
Dog	Nâi	Nâi	
Moṇgoose	Kiri	Kari	
Squirrel	Ani	Aṇi	
Rat	Eni	Eli	Elika or Eluka
Bird	Kunzu	Kurruvi	
Snake	Tôna		
Hair	Mogaru	Mayir	
Stone	Kellu	Kallu	Kallu (Rai)
Tree	Maram	Maram	
Leaf	Ela	Ilai	
Branch	Kommu	Kombu	Kommu
Unripe fruit	Lêtakapanamu		Leta (*young*)
Fruit	Pagam	Paṛam	
Bark	Beraḍu		Beraḍu
Toddy	Oḍu		
Palmyra tree	Panjeḍi Panamaram	Panaimaram	
Grass	Gaḍḍi		Gaḍḍi
Rice	Erise	Ariśi	
Rice(boiled)	Sôru	Sôru	
Cholam	Chôḷam	Chôlam	
Ragi.	Kôvuru	Kevuruku	
Plough	Nagali		Nagali
Salt	Nonan		
Knife	Kolle		
Sun	Proddu	Poṛudu	Proddu
Sunshine	Oga		
Moon	Nela	Nilâ	Nela
River	Âr	Âṛu	Eru
Tank	Éri	Êri	
Well	Genḍra	Kinḍru	
Water	Tanni	Taṇṇîr	
Earth	Terra	Tarai	
Footstep	Aḍugu	Aḍi	Aḍugu
Mountain	Konḍa	Kundra	Konḍa
Stream	Nâg		
Rain	Maga	Maṛai	
Mat	Tsâpa		Tsâpa
Sweetness	Tîpu	Titippu	Tîpu
Sour	Puli	Puḷi	Puli
Bitter	Kechchu	Kaśappu	
Whiteness	Valapu	Veḷuppu	Vali (Tella)
Black	Kar	Karu	Kar (Nalla)
Great	Beru	Peru	Peru (Pedda)
Small	Chiru	Chinna	Chiru(chinna)
Yellow	Manza	Manzaḷ	
Red	Erra		Erra
Male	Avala	Âḷ, âṇ	

Nouns.

Plural number.

The plural terminations resemble the plural terminations of Tamiḻ nouns far more than those of Telugu nouns. The principal plural endings are *galu*, *g*, *lu*, *maru*, and *ru*. *Galu*, *g*, and *lu* seem to be pluralising particles of the neuter and *maru* and *ru* epicene pluralising particles.

Keyan, *adu*, *kapanam*, and *madu* all form their plural by the addition of *golu*. [Tamiḻ *gaḷ*].

Uḍu, *kunzu*, *modala*, *nal*, *pellu*, *onḍu*, *elu*, and *kalu* by the addition of *g* only. [In common Tamiḻ the *ḷ* of *gaḷ* is little heard.]

Kei vai, *pune*, *panḍri*, *ar*, *er*, *vasili*, *kari*, *ani*, and *eni* by affixing *lu*, as in Telugu.

Tapan, *ava*, *tembi*, *annam*, *tatam*, *appa*, *akka*, *teriśe*, *ponḍu*, *monagam*, *maganu*, and *magalu*, by the epicene pluralising particle *maru*.

Gender.

There seems to be "no mark of gender inherent in, or inseparably annexed to the nominative of any noun." The prefix *avali* is used to denote the masculine gender.

Case.

"All case-relations" seem to be "expressed by means of postpositions or postpositional suffixes." With the exceptions of *keili*, *kori* and *madu* most of these suffixes are the same as used in Telugu. This may perhaps be due to local influence, and further south other forms may be used. One paradigm is given :—

Nominative.	Seḍi.	
Accusative.	Śeḍive.	
Instrumental.	Śeḍikeili.	
Conjunctive.	Śeḍiṭoti.	[ôḍu. *Tam.*]
Dative.	Śeḍiki.	[ku. *Tam.*]
Ablative of motion.	Śeḍinunchi.	[nindu. *Tam.*]
Genitive.	Śeḍimuḍu.	[uḍaiya. *Tam.*]
Locative.	Śeḍikoli.	[uḷ *Tam.*]
Vocative.	Śeḍí.	

The neuter demonstrative gentives are *ad* and *ayyalu*. As will be seen below *ad* is he, and *ayyalu* they.

The Adjective.

The two Assistant Masters above mentioned thought that "adjectives generally appear to be formed by adding *a* and *i* either to the crude form or the crude form modified by doubling the final consonant, or by adding some inflexional increment as *ttu*." But I think I should prefer seeing a larger vocabulary of adjectives before coming to a decided opinion.

The Numerals.

English.	Erakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.	Canarese.
One	Ondu	Ondru	Oka Ondu	Ondu
Two	Rendu	Irandu	Rendu	Eradu
Three	Mudu	Mûnru	Mudu	Muru
Four	Nalugu	Nâlu	Nalugu	Nalku
Five	Anju	Eindu / Añju	Eidu	Eidu
Six	Aru	Âru	Aru	Aru
Seven	Ogu	Eru	Edu	Elu
Eight	Ottu	Ettu	Enimidi	Entu
Nine	Onbadu	Onbadu	Tommidi	Ombhattu
Ten	Pottu	Pattu	Padi	Hattu
Twenty	Iruvadu	Irubadu	Iruvai	
Thirty	Muppadu	Mûppadu	Muppai	
Forty	Naluvadu	Nârpadu	Nalabhai	

The Pronoun.

English.	Yerakala.	Tamil.	Telugu.
I	nenu	yân, nân	nenu
My	nanga	en	na
Me	nanna	enne	nannu
We (exclusive)	nangal	nâm	memu
(inclusive)	nangal	nângal	manamu
Our (exclusive)	nambar	nammadaiya	ma
(inclusive)	nambar		mana
Us (exclusive)	nangalva	namme	mammunu
(inclusive)	nengalva	nengalai	
Thou	ninu	nî	nivu
Thy	ninga	unnodaya	ni
Thee	ninna	unnai	ninnu
You	ningal	‘nîngal	miru
Your	ningal	ungalodaya	mi
You	ningalpa	ungalai	mimmunu
He	ad	avan	vadu
His	asaga	avanudayya	vani
Him	atta	avanai	vani
They	ayyalu	avar, or avargal	varu
Their	asaga	avarudayya	vari
Them	asal, or asalgalna	avarai	varini

The Demonstrative Pronouns are *ad* and *id*, the Interrogative *ed*.

The Verb.

To see.

Present Tense.

English.	Yerakala.
I see	nenu patikkere
Thou seest	ninu patikatikkira
He sees	ad patiketikkiru
We see	nangal patiketikkiro
You see	ningal patiketikkiranga
They see	ayyalu patiketikkirum

Past Tense.

English.	Yerakala.
I saw	nenu pate
Thou sawest	ninu pata
He saw	ad patchu
We saw	nangal pato
You saw	ningal patanga
They saw	ayyalu patchum

Future Tense.

English.	Yerakala.
I will see	nenu pakke
Thou wilt see	ninu pakka
He will see	ad pakoku
We will see	nangal pakko
You will see	ningal pakkanga
He will see	ayyalu pakakum

To eat.

Present Tense.

English.	Yerakala.
I eat	nenu unduketikkire
Thou eatest	ninu unduketikkira
He eats	ad unduketikkiru
We eat	nangal unduketikkiro
You eat	ningal unduketikkiranga
They eat	ayyalu unduketikkirum

Past Tense.

English.	Yerakala.
I ate	nenu unde
Thou atest	ninu unda
He ate	ad undchu
We ate	nangal undo
You ate	ningal undanga
They ate	ayyalu undchum

Future Tense.

English.	Yerakala.
I will eat	nenu unke
Thou wilt eat	ninu unka
He will eat	ad ungaku
We will eat	nangal unko
You will eat	ningal unkanga
They will eat	ayyalu unkakum

The Infinitive seems to be formed by adding *a* to the root, and the verbal noun by adding *tam* or *dam* to the infinitive, as in Telugu.

Having seen = *pati*; seeing = *patiketi*.

The similarity of the termination *ikkir* to the Tamil cannot but strike the most careless listener. The addition of *k* to the root in forming the future is said to be not unknown in some old Tamil words. It is not—*alla*; there is not—*illa*. [In old Tamil, *ungu*—‘I shall eat,’ *ungum*—‘we shall eat’.]

The Adverb.

This is generally formed as in Telugu by adding *ga* to adjectives and nouns.

Probably vocabularies gathered from districts farther south might give slightly different results.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 95.*)

II.

Having discarded the earlier part of the genealogy of the Mongol Imperial house as really belonging to the Turks, we will resume our story at the point where we showed there was an actual break in the legendary descent. As we have seen the Saga makes Dobo Mergen marry Alun Goa.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* goes on to say that once when Dobo was hunting on the hills Tokhochakh,[1] he met a man of the district Uriangka,[2] who was cooking a stag which he had killed. Dobo having asked him for some of it, he detached the offal for his own use, and presented his guest with all the rest. Dobo tied it on his horse, and wended homewards. On the way he met a poor beggar with his son. The former said he belonged to the tribe of Makhali Bayau. He asked him for the deer, offering his son in exchange for it. This was agreed to by Dobo, who accordingly took the boy home with him, and brought him up in his house as his attendant. Ssanang Setzen, who mentions this boy, calls him Makhali of the race or tribe Bayagod.[3] The Bayagod are elsewhere named by him.[4] They were doubtless the Bayaut of Rashidu'd-dîn, who says they were divided into two sections, the Jida Bayaut living on the river Jida, doubtless the tributary of the Selinga so called, and the Kehrun Bayaut living on the steppe or plain.[5] Abulghazi has corrupted Kehrun into Mekrin.[6] The Bayaut were very probably a Turkish tribe. According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, after the death of Dobo Mergen, Alun Goa had three sons, named Bukhu Kataghi, Bukhatu Salji, and Budantsar—the Bughu Khataki, Bughu Saljigho and Budantsar Mong Khan of Ssanang Setzen.[7] This posthumous birth aroused the suspicions of Belgetei and Begontei, her older sons, who began to talk together, and to suggest that their guest, the boy Makhali, might know something of the paternity of the new arrivals; whereupon their mother, who was cooking some hard-frozen mutton, summoned them to her, and explained how during several nights a man of a blonde complexion had entered her *yurt* or tent through the hole in its summit, and that a ray of light which came from him penetrated her womb, after which he disappeared in the sunlight in the guise of a yellow dog. "It is quite plain," she added, "that the three boys are of divine origin, and you cannot compare them to ordinary people. When they become kings and princes you will recognise this." Then telling them all to cling together, and relating to them the world-famous parable of the bundle of faggots, which when tied together could not be broken, while each individual stick was exceedingly frail, she died. This is the story as told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. The story, it will be seen, makes Budantsar, who is treated as the stem-father of the Mongol Imperial house, the son of Alun Goa, and a divine father, and clearly establishes the fact which we argued in the former paper that the Dobo Mergen and his ancestors are really strangers to the pedigree of the Mongol Emperors which begins *de novo* with Alun Goa. The story of the supernatural birth of her sons has its parallel in several other Eastern tales. The Siamese story of Sommonasodom, who was born of a maiden who had been fertilised by the sun, is a case in point. Elsewhere we have in the sagas of the origin of the royal dynasties among the northern frontagers of China several parallels. Tan-che-ho-wi, the leader of the Siaupi, was conceived by a widow, into whose open mouth a thunderbolt entered while she was gazing upwards. Apaokhi, the founder of the

[1] Probably some part of the Kentei chain.

[2] This name merely means 'woods'. The name Uriangkut or 'woodmen' was however specifically applied to certain tribes, one of these, to which the famous Mongol leader Subutai Behadur belonged, was the guardian of Chinghiz Khân's tomb. According to Rashidu'd-dîn this tribe was descended from those who came out of Irgench Kun (Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 195) by which, as we have seen, he means the Turks, and to this day the Turks of the Chulim are called Uriangkhai by their neighbours, from living in woods, but the people referred to in the passage we are discussing were probably the southern Samoyedes or Soyots, called Uriangkut-Pisheh by Rashidu'd-dîn, and Uriangkhai to this day by the Chinese. They live between the Sayanian mountains and the Khanghai and Altai chains on the river Tes, which flows into lake Ubsa, and the Bachkus which falls into the Altan or Telezkoi lake.—*Asia Polyglotta*, pp. 146 and 224.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 59.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 89, 183, and 251.

[5] *Kehreh* means a plain; Erdmann, *Vollstandige Uebersicht, etc.* p. 155.

[6] *Op. cit.* Ed. Desmaisons, p. 60.

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 59.

Khitan dynasty, was the outcome of a virgin who had been impregnated by a ray from the sun.[8]

Similar stories are told about Aishin Giyoro, the reputed founder of the present Manchu dynasty, but the legend which has the most analogy with the one we are discussing, and from which the latter was probably derived, is that referring to the early history of the Uighurs, the dominant Turkish race in Eastern Asia, in the earlier half of the ninth century, and who, as I have shown, were identical with the nation called Bede in the Mongol legends. Of this legend we have two rescensions, one of them is derived from an inscription discovered during the reign of Ogotai Khakan, the successor of Chinghiz Khân on the site of Karakorum as reported by Rashidu'd-dîn. This inscription ran as follows: "At a place called Kumlanju situated at the junction of the rivers Tula and Selinga, which rise in the Karakorum mountains, there were two trees close together, one of them a fistuk tree, resembling a pine, evergreen like a cypress, and with cone-like fruit; the other, a wild pine. Between these two trees a hillock appeared, upon which a stream of light descended from heaven; whereupon the hillock began to grow, and marvellous things were seen about it. Just after the lapse of the period of a woman's pregnancy, the hillock opened, and five hillocks resembling tents were seen. In each tent was a little boy; and to these boys the people paid the greatest respect. The youngest of them, called Buku-tegin, was very intelligent, and subsequently the Uighurs made him their Khân."[9]

The other rescension of the Saga is preserved in the biography of the Uighur chief Barchu as given in the *Yuan-shi*. In this we read that there was in the country where the Uighurs originally lived a mountain called Ho lin,[10] from which the two rivers Tula and Selinga take their rise. It happened once in the night-time that a stream of light fell from heaven upon a tree standing between the two rivers, whereupon the tree began to swell like a pregnant woman, and in nine months and ten days gave birth to five sons. The youngest received the name of Buko Khân; he was afterwards elected king, and subdued the neighbouring countries.[11] The mound or tree which became pregnant when struck with a sunbeam, and bore five sons, is assuredly the prototype of Alun Goa and her five sons, a conjecture which becomes almost a certainty when we find that two of these sons are given the name of Bukhu or Bughu, which was the very name borne by the stem-father of the Uighur kings.

The two sons whom Alun Goa had by Dobo, I believe to be an importation into the legend. They were perhaps evolved by some mistake out of Belgetei and Bekter, brothers of Chinghiz Khân, to whom we shall refer presently.

The whole tale therefore crumbles into legend directly we apply criticism to it, and the only part of it of any value is the fact which it apparently attests that the Katakins, Saljiut, and Mongols were the three senior tribes of the Mongol confederacy, and that the Mongols claimed a divine origin for their race, whence the name of Niruns or Naranu, *i.e.* children of light or of the sun, applied by Rashidu'd-dîn to all the true Mongols who traced their mythical descent from Alun Goa. Rashid treats her as an historical person, and she also heads the genealogy of the Mongol Khâns given in the *Yuan-shi*. The former argues that from the history of Chingiz Khân preserved in the Imperial Treasury,[12] and from the evidence of very old witnesses she lived four centuries before his time, and during the domination of the early Abassides and Samanis.[13] It is more interesting to turn to the Mongol reports as to her origin. Rashidu'd-dîn states more than once that she belonged to the tribe of the Kurulas, but he does not name her father or grandfather.[14]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* gives more details. It says that in former times the ruler of Kolbarkuchin, Bargudai Merdan, had a daughter called Bugoljin Goa,[15] whom he gave in marriage to Khorilartai Mergen of the horde Khoritu Madun called Khoritai Mergen of the Khoyar Tumed tribe by Ssanang Setzen. Their daughter was Alun Goa. It having been forbidden to capture sables in the district of Khoritu,

[8] Erdmann, *Temudschin der Unerschütterlichte*, p. 537 note.

[9] Bretschneider, *Notices of Mediæval Geography, &c.* p. 126.

[10] *i.e.* the Chinese form of Karakorum.

[11] Id. pp. 120 and 121.

[12] *i.e.* from the *Altan Defter*.

[13] D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, tom. 1, p. 24 note.

[14] Abulghazi, ed Desmaisons, p. 64, note 8.

[15] The Baraghojin Goa of the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen.

Madun Khorilartai had moved with his family to the neighbourhood of the Burkhan mountains, where he had heard they were plentiful, and where the ruler was called Shinchiboyan. Let us now try and analyse this statement. Kolbarkuchin or Gol Barkuchin, *i. e.* the river Barkuchin, was a famous feeder of lake Baikal, and is still known under the name of Barguzin or Barkujin, giving its name to the town of Barguzinsk, while from it the country south-east of lake Baikal is still known as Bargu or Barakhu.[16] It is called the plain of Bargu by Marco Polo,[17] and is called Bargujin Tugum by Rashidu'd-dîn.[18] Georgi in describing the river Barguzin says it is so called by the Buriats and Tunguses, who are thinly scattered along its banks. It springs from a small lake in the mountains. These mountains also give birth to the Maslen, a feeder of the Angara and the China which falls into the river Witim. The river and its tributaries water a district, part of which is very fertile, and is called the steppe of Barguzin. The district, especially on the banks of the Chirkan and Koluktei, two small feeders of the Barguzin, is covered with traces of ancient agriculture and with graves similar to those on the Argada and Karga. These graves are marked by stone mounds. In these are found weapons, stirrups, etc. The remains of fields shew the Barguts to have been agriculturists. Small ploughshares of cast iron are still found in them, and there is a tradition that they could make cloth out of birch trees. These primitive inhabitants who inhabited the district before the Tunguses are called Barguts in the local traditions.[19] This agrees with the statement of Rashidu'd-dîn, who calls the inhabitants of this district Barguts, and devotes two paragraphs to them,[20] apparently making two distinct tribes out of them. I have little doubt that they were the ancestors of the Bargu Buriats, one section of whom, according to the Chinese geographical work translated by M. Hyacinthe Bituriski, and appended to Timkofski's Travels by Klaproth, lives on the right bank of the Amur (the Argun) in the country of the Solons,[21] while another lives to the north of lake Baikal and on the Lena. This latter speaks a rough dialect, and is still Shamanist, and ignorant of writing, according to Schmidt.[22] The Bargu Buriats are in fact very pure and unsophisticated Mongols. Rashidu'd-dîn links with the Barguts in one passage the Kurluuts, or as Von Hammer reads the name Kurolewauts or Kolowrats,[23] while in Abulghazi the name appears as Kurlut or Kurlat.[24] This again is a name which has been duplicated by Rashidu'd-dîn, and no doubt connotes the same class as the Kurulas, a division of the Kongurut. In the notice first cited where he calls them Kuuluuts, he says they lived near the Kongurut, the Ijigins[25] and the Bargut. These tribes were allies, and had the same *tamgha* or seal.[26] This notice is very curious, and it seems to follow that the Turkish race of Kongurut was at this time divided into two sections, one living, as I shall shew afterwards, near the Khingan mountains, and the other in the country of Barguchin. The passage from the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* therefore means that a chief of the Kurulas, having married a daughter of the chief of the Bargut, became the father of Alun Goa. She was therefore in the legend the daughter of a Turkish father and a Buriat mother. As I said, Alun Goa is made the ancestress of the Mongol Khâns in the official history of the house contained in the *Yuan-shi*. We must now devote a few more lines to this work, laying Dr. Bretschneider under contribution for the purpose. According to the *Ming-shi* or official history of the Ming dynasty, the *Yuan-shi* was composed in the year 1369, the year after the Mongols were expelled from China, in which year the records of the thirteen Yuan emperors were brought together, and the composition of the history commenced under sixteen scholars superintended by Sung-lien and Wang Wei. The work was finally completed in the 6th month of 1370.[27] Dr. Bretschneider says the work was very carelessly composed. Several editions of the *Yuan-shi* appeared during the domination of the Ming dynasty, while three have appeared during the domination of the Manchus, one in 1659, another in the middle of the last century, and a third during the present century. The second of these was

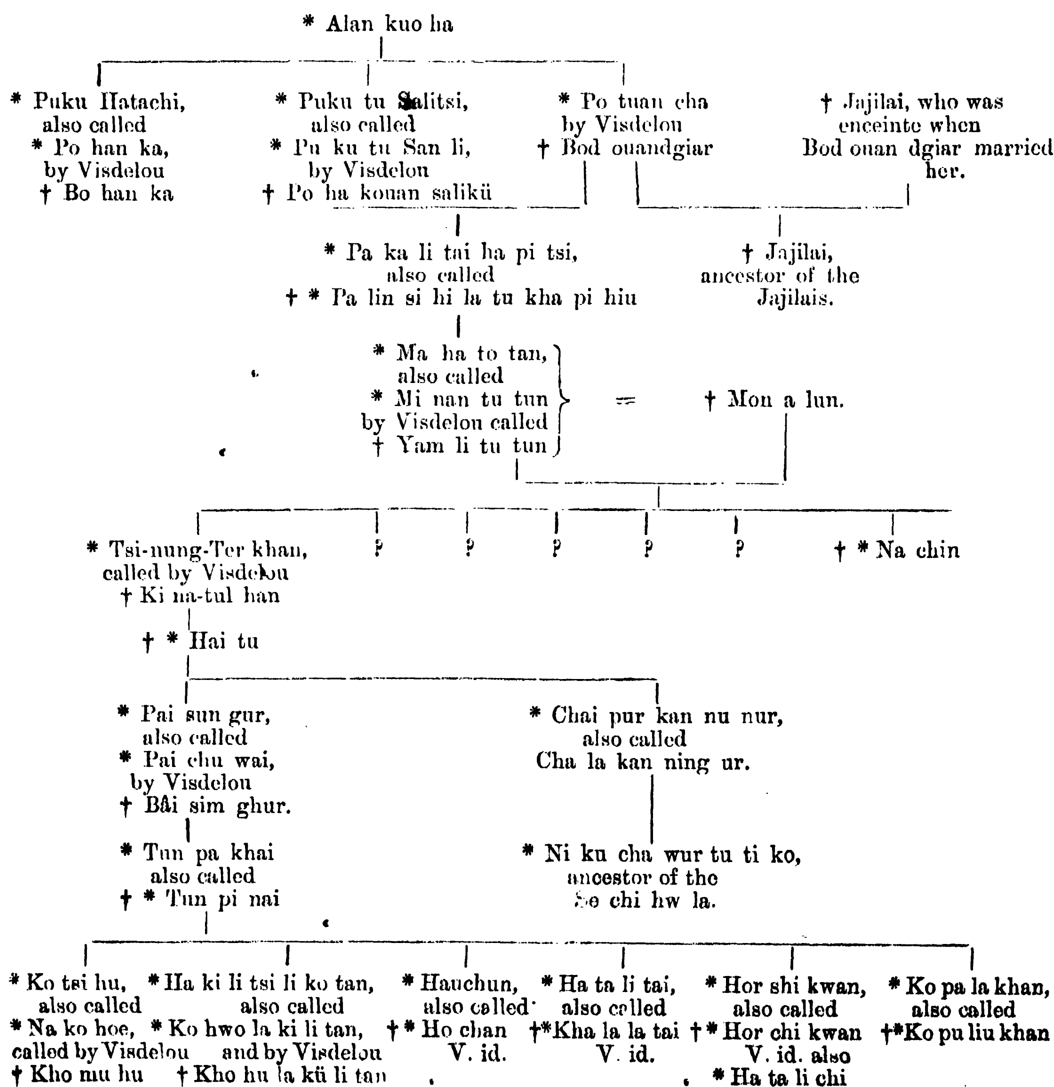
[16] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 189, note 4.
[17] Marco Polo, Yule's ed. vol. I., p. 261.
[18] Erdmann, *Volst. uebersicht*, etc. p. 121; Abulghazi, p. 46, note 2.
[19] Georgi, *Reisen*, vol. I. pp. 123, 127-8.
[20] Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 59 and 119.
[21] Timk. *op. cit.* vol. II. p. 242.
[22] Ritters, *Asien*, vol. II. p. 116.
[23] Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 56.
[24] *Op. cit.* p. 60.
[25] A section of the Kunkurats.
[26] Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 56.
[27] Bretschneider, *Notices of Mediæval Geography*, p. 4, 5.

composed during the reign of K'ien-lung, and was in the nature of an eclectic text. Upon it Dr. Bretschneider makes the following remarks :—

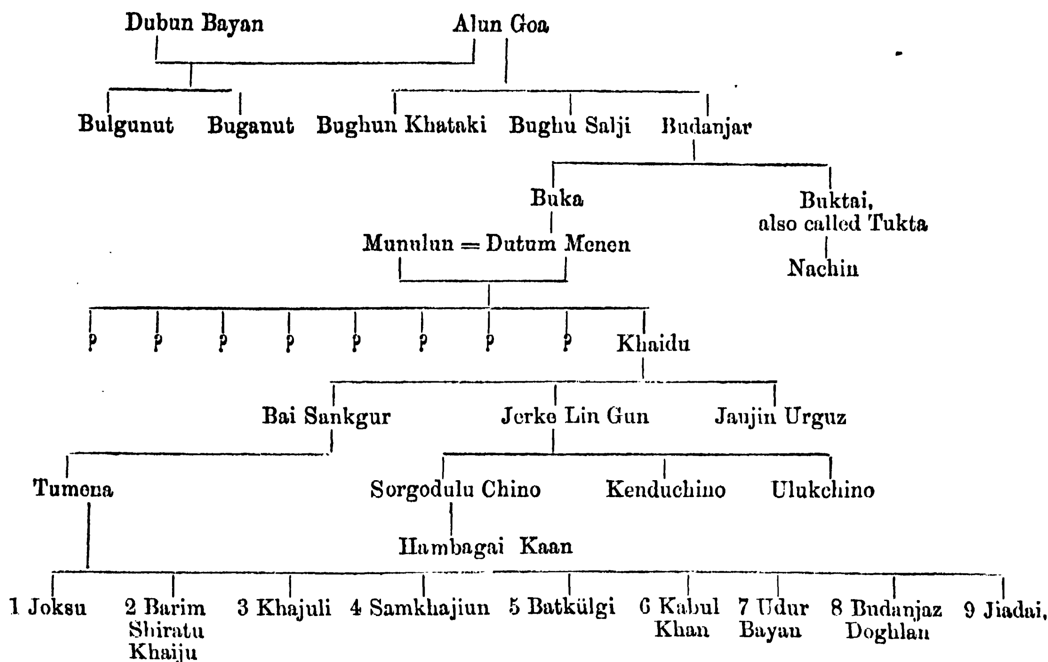
"A learned committee consisting of Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Western Muhammadans, etc. was appointed by the emperor K'ien-lung to revise the *Yuan-shi*, and especially the foreign names of men, places, etc., occurring so frequently in that book. These savants, in their reformatory zeal, proceeded on the idea that all the proper names had been incorrectly rendered in the official documents of the Mongols, and had to be changed. They pronounced the same verdict with respect to the histories of the Liao and the Kin. Thus in the new editions of the histories of the Liao, Kin and Yüan, all the original proper names without exception disappeared, and were replaced by names of a new invention which generally have little resemblance to the original."

My friend Mr. Douglas has kindly extracted from the 107th chapter of the *Yuan-shi* a portion of the genealogical table there given. This contains the names in duplicate, one no doubt in its original form and the other as revised by K'ien-lung's commission. Visdelou apparently had access to this table, or to one similar to it, and he refers to it in his notes to D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Oriental.*

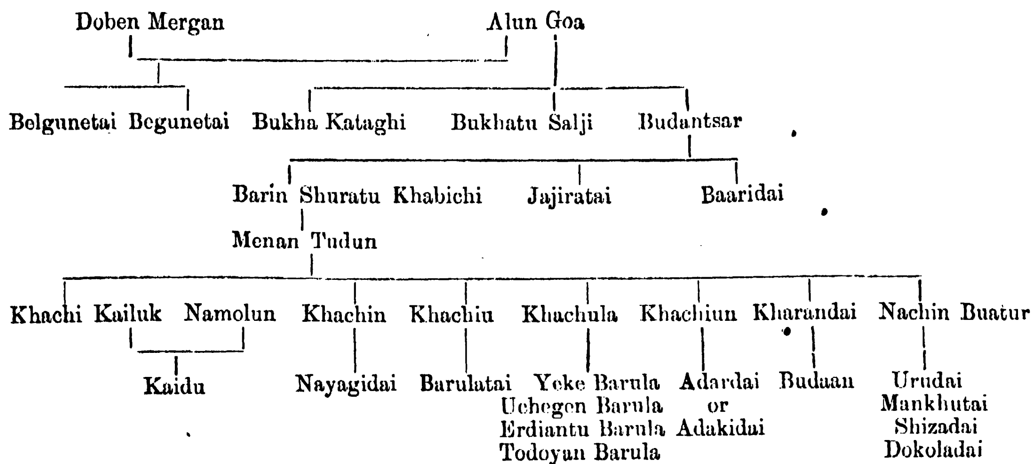
In the following table I have given the names as contained in the Museum copy of the *Yuan-shi*, which I have marked with an asterisk ; the variants as given by Visdelou I have given with a dagger :—



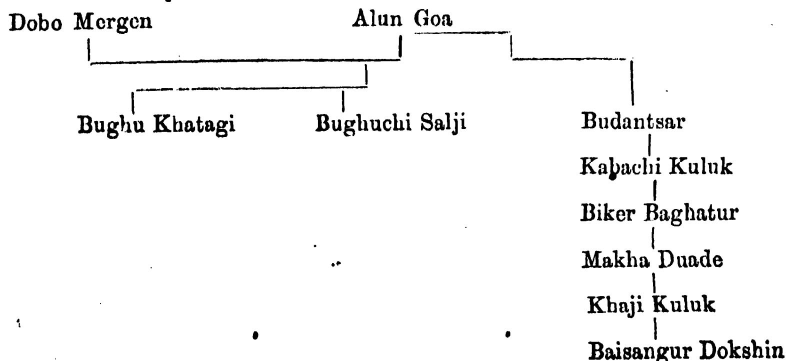
I will now give the table as reported by Rashidu'd-dîn, taking the names as read by M. Berezine :—



The genealogy as given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* :—



Genealogy in the *Altan Topchi* :—



Genealogy as given by Ssanang Setzen :—

- Dobo Mergen — Alung Goa
  - (Dobo Mergen and Alung Goa)
    - Belgetei
    - Begontiei
  - (Alung Goa)
    - Bughu Khataki
    - Bughu Saljigho
    - Budantsar Mong Khan
      - Bagharitai Khân isaghortu
      - Khabichi Baghatur
        - Biker Baghatur
          - Makha Todan
            - Khachi Kûlûk
              - Shingkhor Dokshin.[28]
      - Wajirtai, whose mother was a concubine named Budan.

The variations of these tables prove that the list is an artificial one, and when we criticise it closely, we shall find that it is a mere ethnographic table giving a conspectus of the various tribes deemed of pure Mongol blood, and has no further value. The oldest and most reasonable rescension of the story is contained in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, while that reported by Rashidu'd-dîn, which is generally followed, is full of inconsistencies. Let us now continue the story. On the death of Alun Goa her four elder sons, who looked upon Budantsar as a weak person, divided the heritage between themselves. He having philosophized on the old text of "vanitas vanitatis," mounted his tawny horse with a galled back and naked tail, which is called Godun Shagali in the *Altan Topchi* and Uruk Sussuk by Ssanang Setzen, hied along the river Onon, and eventually arrived at Baljuna.[29]

There he saw a hawk which had seized a quail; Ssanang Setzen says a *kara khuru*;[30] the *Altan Topchi* says a Goa-maral (*i.e.* a fair hind). Having made a noose with hairs from his horse's tail, he caught the hawk, which he trained to hunt for him. He also secured wild animals which had been driven near him by wolves, and appropriated the carcases of such as the latter had killed. In the winter and spring he flew his hawk at the geese and ducks which abounded there, and killed a large quantity of them. He is said to have lived in a thatched hut. Beyond the mountain Duilyan was the river Tunggeli,[31] there there lived a tribe to whom Budantsar sometimes repaired to obtain mare's milk, meanwhile his brother Bugha Khataki set out to try and find him, and made inquiries from the people of the Tunggeli, who said they did not know where he lodged, but that when the north-west wind blew, it sent feathers of geese and ducks

[28] Pallas in his list, obtained from a Kalmuk MS., gives the descents in very corrupt form as follows:—

Egemtu Alan
Kamala
Bauza Munkhan
Sabagai
Sabagar
Makhatodon
Genedügen
Barshig Tordong Shing.

Saml. Hist. Nachrich, p. 7.

[29] Baljuna the Palitun Alan of the Chinese, is a lake between the Onon and the Ingoda, from which the Tura, a feeder of the Ingoda, springs. Pallas describes it as being very extensive, and bordered by marshy places. It is situated on a wide grassy plain of considerable elevation, surrounded by mountains. Near the lake, and especially on its eastern side, are a great number of ancient tombs made with dressed stones, which Pallas in the evening mistook for the herds of the Buriats.—Pallas, *Voyages*, t. IV. p. 276. He mentions that similar tombs of a square shape, surrounded by *dados*, abound on the Chikoi, the Jida, the Shilka near lake Baikal on the Selinga, the Uda and the Ingoda (Id. pp. 268, 269 note). They doubtless belonged to the early Mongols, and may be compared with those mentioned above as found by Georgi on the Barguzin.

[30] *i. e.* a steppe antelope.

[31] The former name is no doubt the Duligun Buldagha near the Onon of Ssanang Setzen where Chinghiz Khân was born, written Tie-li-vun-pan-ti by the Chinese. Hyacinthe, quoted by D'Ohsson, vol. I. p. 36, note 1. The place is still known by the same name, and is mentioned by a Russian trader called Yurinski, a native of Nertschinsk, who calls it Dilun Boldak, and says it is situated on the right bank of the Onon, seven versts higher than the island Yeke aral (*i. e.* great island) and three versts from the Kochuefshian guard house.—Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 572. D'Ohsson says that Bolduk in Mongol means a hill (*op. cit.* vol. I, p. 36 note), and Wolff explains the whole name as meaning a molehill.—Wolff. *Gesch. des Mongolen*, p. 33. The river Tunggeli here means probably the Ingoda, one of whose head streams is still called Tanga. (Pallas, *op. cit.* vol. IV. p. 226.) It is very curious that the Ingoda, which was the very focus of the Mongol country, and which is called Aujida by the Buriats, is never mentioned *eo nomine* so far as I know in any of the Mongol histories, and I am disposed to identify the Tunggeli of these notices with the Ingoda. It is possible however that the Tunggeli may have been one of the head streams of the Kerulon.

like snow towards them, and they inferred he must live in that direction. Presently Budantsar himself appeared. As he and his brother were on their way home, he remarked that "it was a good thing when there was a head on a man's trunk, and a collar on his coat." On being asked what he meant, he replied that the people on the Tunggeli had no chief, and that it would be easy to subdue them. On reaching home his brothers put Budantsar at their head, and together they returned and conquered the people on the Tunggeli. We are still clearly in the land of mere legend. Budantsar, according to Munshi, the author of the *Tarikhi Mekim Khâni*, who calls him Buzenjir, means in Mongol a rhinoceros, and he argues that the prince was actually changed into that animal.[32] Whatever the value of this etymology, it seems probable that the stories about his being fed in an abnormal manner during his exile were altered from the same Uighur saga, whence his miraculous birth was derived, where we read that "the reign of Buku Khân was very prosperous, and he was marvellously assisted by three ravens sent by Heaven. They knew all the languages of the world, and brought him news whencesoever it was required."—Bretschneider, p. 127. If the Buku Khân of the Uighur legend be the same as the Pi-kie-ko-han of the Tang Annals, he lived about the middle of the 8th century A.D.[33] That we are still in the land of legend is best proved by the discordant testimony of the authorities as to the children of Budantsar. Rashidu'd-dîn says he had two sons Buka and Buktai. The latter name is given as Tuka by Abulghazi;[34] the former is another repetition of the name of the stem-father of the Uighur chiefs. The genealogy in the *Yuan-shi* gives Budantsar but one son, whom it calls Pa-ka-li-tai-ha-pi-tsi, which Hyacinthe gives as Bagaritai Khabichi. DeMailla's authority gives the name as Capitsi Culup Patura.[35]

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls him Barin Shuratukhabichi. The *Altan Topchi* calls him Kabachi Kuluk, and gives him a son Biker Baghatur, while Ssanang Setzen calls him Bagharitai-khân Isaghochi, whom he makes the father of Khabichi Baghatur.

These two authors therefore introduce an extra generation into the pedigree not warranted by any of the other authorities, and we shall be most safe in following the Imperial list as published in the *Yuan-shi*, and making Khabichi the successor of Budantsar and the father of Makha Todan.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* gives Budantsar two illegitimate sons. It says that when he conquered the people of Tunggeli he seized a pregnant female, who said she belonged to the tribe of Jarjium Adankha[36] Uriangka.

Having made her his wife she bore a son Jajiratai, who was the ancestor of the tribe of Jadar. He was the father of Tugu-udai, the father of Buri Bulchiru, the father of Kara Kadaan, the father of J a m u k a, who ruled the race Jadal. This illegitimate son of Budantsar, Wajirtai, seems to be the same one who is called a little later in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, Jauradai, and who, we are told, was legitimised by his father, and allowed to share in the family sacrifice to the shades of the ancestors. He is called Wajirtai by Ssanang Setzen, who tells us he was the ancestor of the family Wajirtai. These various names are no doubt equivalent to the Juriat or Jajerat of Rashidu'd-dîn, who were the subjects of J a m u k a as above mentioned, but he makes the race descend from a son of Tumeneh Khân, to whom we shall refer presently. The meaning of the genealogical puzzle probably is that the Juriats or Jajerats were treated by the Mongols as of doubtfully genuine Mongol blood, and we are in fact told that on their father's death Jauriat was driven out of his house as illegitimate by Budantsar's successor Khabichi.

By a second side-wife Budantsar, according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, had another son called Baaridai, who was the ancestor of the tribe Barin. Baaridai's son was called Chedukulbok, who had many wives and children, from among whom was formed the tribe of Menian-barin. Rashidu'd-dîn, although he names the Barins among the Nîruns or children of light, does not trace them to any eponymos like he does so many of the other Mongol clans, and it would seem from this entry in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that they were not deemed of pure descent.

Buktai, the second son of Budantsar, according to Rashid, is not mentioned by the other authorities unless his name be a mere corruption of Bagharitai. The Persian author makes him

[32] Senkofski, *Suppl.* pp. 76 and 77.
[33] *Op. cit.* note 237.
[34] Abulghazi, p. 66 and note 4.
[35] *Op. cit.* ix. p. 5.
[36] Adankha is perhaps the mountain Adakhai north of Urga, whence the head streams of the Karagol flow.

marry a Mongol, and become the father of Tajin, whom he in one place makes the ancestor of the Taijut. Elsewhere he confuses this Tajin with Nachin, the uncle of Kaidu. He says however that in the *Altan Defter* the Taijut are made to descend from a son of Kaidu Khân,[37] which is in accordance with the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, and there can be small doubt that the former statement is founded on a mistake.

Let us now proceed. The genealogy in the *Yuan-shi* makes Bagharitai Khabichi be succeeded by Makha Todan, who is so called also by De Mailla, the author of the *Altan Topchi*, and Ssanang Setzen. In the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* he is called Menan Tudun. Hyacinthe gives the name as Minen Dudun, and Rashidu'd-dîn calls him Dutum Menen.[38]

According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* and the Chinese authorities Menan Tudun had seven sons. Rashidu'd-dîn gives him nine, which is no doubt a mistake. Their names, according to the first of these authorities, were—1, Khachi Kuiluk, the Kachi Kuluk of Ssanang Setzen, called Tsi-nung Terkhan in the genealogy in the *Yuan-shi*. 2, Khachin, who had a son named Nayagidai, so called because he liked to dress like a nobleman. He was the stem-father of the Nayakins. 3, Khachiu, who was called Barulatai, because he was big as a child, and ate his food with avidity. He founded the tribe of the Barulas. 4, Khachula, whose sons had a similar failing, and were respectively called Erdiamtu Barula and Todoyan Barula, *i.e.* Great and Little Barula, the ancestors of tribes so named. 5, Khachiun, who had a son called Adardai or Adarkadai, who loved trials and litigation, whence his name. He was the ancestor of the tribe Adarkin. 6, Kharandai, who used to seize upon the food belonging to others, whence his name of Budaan, and that of his tribe Budaat. 7, Nachin Baghatur, who had two sons named Urudai and Manghutai, the ancestors of the Urut and Manghut. He had two other sons named Shizadai and Dokoladai.[39]

It is very curious that when we compare this list with those given by Rashidu'd-dîn and in the *Yuan-shi*, we should find such a marked discrepancy. The latter authorities mention the names of these worthies, but they make them the great-great-grandsons of Menen Tudun, and not his sons. There is also a considerable variation in the details. They omit the eldest son Khachi-kuiluk. Rashid calls Hachin—Jaksu, the *Yuan-shi*—Kotsihu. The former author makes him the stem-father of the Nyakins, of the Uruts and Mangkuts. Hachin, Rashidu'd-dîn calls B a r i m S h i r a t u K a i n j u, mixing up his name apparently with that of his ancestor Barin Shiratu Khabichi as given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. To him he assigns no descendants. He is not named in the *Yuan-shi*. Khachula, is called Ha-ki-li-tsi in the *Yuan-shi*. Rashid makes him the ancestor of the Barulas. Sam Khajiun, Khachiun of the above list, is called Hauchun in the *Yuan-shi*. Rashid makes him the ancestor of the Hederkins, *i. e.* of the Adardai or Adarkidai of the same list. The Kharandai of the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* is called Ha-la-la-tai in the *Yuan-shi*; Rashid calls him Bat Kulgi, and also makes him the leader of the Budats. He does not name Nachin at all. The *Yuan-shi* calls the 5th son of Tumena Kor-shikwan. Rashid calls the 6th brother Kabul Khân, the Kôpala Khân of the *Yuan-shi*, the ancestor of the Kaiats, the 7th Udur Bayan the ancestor of the Jajerats or Juriats.[40] The 8th Budanjar Doghlan, the chief of the Doghlats; and the 9th Jiatai, the leader of the Yissuts, or, as it is read by Erdmann, Baisuts. These three last sons are not named in the *Yuan-shi*. Again, while the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* makes Kaidu Khân the son of Khachi Kuiluk, and therefore the grandson of Menen Tudun, a relationship confirmed by the *Yuan-shi*, Rashidu'd-dîn makes him his son,—in which variations I have no doubt the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* preserves the earlier and more trustworthy legend. There is another variation involved in this adjustment, which is interesting. The mother of Kaidu seems to have been a somewhat truculent person. She is called Monalun in the *Yuan-shi*, in the Kangmu, and by Rashidu'd-dîn, while in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* she is called No-ma-lun. The former is probably the correct form of the name, and may be compared with Altalun and Tumalun, the daughter and sister of Chinghiz Khân.

Monalun was the heroine of a story which is related both by the Chinese authors and by Rashidu'd-dîn, but not in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.

[37] *Vide infra.*
[38] D'Ohsson, vol. I. p. 26, note 2.
[39] Nachin is the Mongol name for a bird of prey (D'Ohsson, vol. 1, p. 28 note).
[40] *Vide ante.*

Rashid tells us that on the death of her husband, Monalun, who was very rich in horses and cattle, lived in a place whose name is doubtfully read as Nush Argi, also known as the Black Mountain, which was very fertile and thickly strewn with cattle. At this time the Jelairs, who lived along the Kerulon, and consisted of 70 guraus or 70,000 families, were often at war with the Khitans, who then dominated over Northern China. The Khitans having sent a powerful army against them, the Jelairs, who were separated from the invaders by the river, and thought themselves safe, took off their caps, spread out their coats, and threw ironical jibes at the Khitans, bidding them go over and carry off their horses and families. The latter thereupon collected faggots and twigs, and made rafts on which they crossed over, surprised the Jelairs, and punished them severely, not even excepting the children. The survivors fled and sought refuge in the district where Monalun lived. There driven by hunger they proceeded to dig for the roots of a plant called *sudusun* for food. This M. Berezin identifies with the Mongolian Sudu the *sanguisorba carnea*, whose roots are used as a substitute for tea.[41] In digging for these roots the fugitives disturbed the ground where the sons of Monalun were in the habit of exercising their horses. Monalun, who according to the *Yuan-shi* was of a truculent and irritable disposition, reproached them bitterly. She drove her horses furiously over the trespassers, and killed several of them, and injured others. The Jelairs accordingly made a raid on the horses of her sons, and harried them. Thereupon they went in pursuit without waiting to put on their armour. When Monalun heard of this, she told her daughters-in-law to put the armour in carts, and to follow after their husbands, but it was too late. They had already fallen victims to their temerity and been killed. The Jelairs followed up their victory, and killed Monalun and such of her family as they could lay their hands upon. There only escaped—Kaidu, the infant son of her eldest son, who was hidden away, according to Rashidu'd-dîn in a skin for making *kumis* in, and according to the *Yuan-shi* in a bundle of faggots,—and Nachin, Monalun's youngest son, who was then living among the Bargut, where he was married. When the latter heard of what had happened, he returned to his mother's *yurt*, where he found Kaidu and a few women. Determined to revenge himself, he caught a horse which had been carried off by the Jelairs, and had twice escaped, and mounting it went in pursuit of them disguised as a herdsman. On his way he met two men—father and son, who were hawking and some distance apart. Seeing his brother's hawk on the fist of the younger Jelair, he asked him if he had seen a herd of horses led by a big boy pass that way, he replied he had not, and inquired in turn if Nachin had met with any wild ducks or geese. Nachin replied that he had, and offered to conduct him to them. When they had rounded the bend of a river, and were out of view of the elder hunter, Nachin fell upon the younger one, and killed him. Then tethering his horse and hawk to a tree, he went to meet the father, whom he also slew. Going on again, he came across a herd of horses in charge of some Jelair boys, who were amusing themselves by throwing stones at a mark. Having drawn near them he killed them also, and carried off the horses, with which and the hawks he once more went home. He now took the young Kaidu and the women to his own *yurt* in the country of Barguzin, being the country of the Bargut already mentioned.

(To be continued.)

CHAMPANIR AND PAWAGADH.

BY EDWARD B. EASTWICK, C.B.

The reason why these two most interesting places are so seldom visited by Europeans, is probably the excessive badness of the road from Baroda to them, and the impossibility of getting supplies along it. The direct distance to Champanir from Baroda is 31 miles, but by the road it is about 38 miles. The stages are, first, Ayahgâra, which is 10 miles; then second, Jerôl, which is called 8 miles, but is more nearly 10 miles; third, Kengarî, which is 10 miles, and Champanir, which is as nearly as possible another 10 miles. The road at first passes nearly due east, by the European soldiers' quarters at Baroda, and then by the sepoys' lines.

[41] See Erdmann, *Temudschen*, &c. p. 541, note 1.

After this the road turns to the north, and becomes a mere village path full of deep ruts and holes, very narrow and passing between thorn-bushes. The first village passed is called Samma, and then the Mâhi river is crossed by a bridge. Cultivation is abundant up to the third stage, when jungle commences and grows gradually thicker up to the ruins. About a mile from Champanir the road passes under an archway, on either side of which is a wall of the fort, which has been carried up the hills, but is now broken down in many places. Several ruined mandirs and other buildings, one or two of them Maqbarahs of pîrs, are passed before reaching the archway. After passing it the road has been paved, but is now in such a ruinous state that a traveller by *gâri* is shaken to death. On the left hand side of the road beyond the archway is seen an inner wall of the fort at from 50 to 100 yards, strongly built, about 25 feet high, and with bastions, but broken down in many places. After a mile from the archway, turn to the left through a double gateway, the first arch of which is 18 feet high. The walls are adorned with the lotus, carved in the stone, and there is an Arabic inscription. Beyond this gateway, turning to the left is the camping ground at Champanir, with some fine trees, and a dharamśâla not fit for Europeans, to the south. The miserable village which still exists at Champanir is to the north of the camping ground, as is also, what is called, the Jûma Masjid. This is the principal thing to be seen, and it is indeed well worthy of examination. It is about 250 yards from the camping ground, and is clearly a Hindû temple which has been converted by the Muslims into a mosque. A very handsome dharamśâla was included in the wall which surrounds the mosque, but this wall is now broken down in parts.

The dharamśâla is to the east of the mosque, and has a large dome, and four smaller ones, one at each corner like those so common in Upper India. The building is 18 feet high to the base, whence the dome springs. The base is 5 feet high, and the dome itself is conjecturally 15 feet more, so that the total height would be 38 feet. The court of the mosque is separated from the dharamsâla by a wall. This wall has 8 arches, a large one 8 feet broad and a small one 5′ 5″ broad alternately. The court of the mosque measures 187 feet from north to south, and 122 feet from east to west. The principal entrance to the mosque is in the eastern face, and has two minârs of stone, one on either side the door. Each minâr has seven storeys, if the cone at the top be reckoned as one. The lowest storey is handsomely carved, with the flower pattern. The second and third storeys have projecting ruins at top, as has the fourth, but it is much wider. The fifth and sixth storeys have ruins supported by the plantain bracket, so common at Bijanagar, only that it has a twist. To the top of the fifth storey is $76\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and above that to the top of the cone is 19 feet, making $95\frac{1}{2}$ feet for the total height. The carved base of the minârs projects from the wall of the mosque with a semi-circle of 21 feet. The entrance arch is 14′ 10″ wide. The hall of the mosque has 88 pillars of Hindû architecture on either side, and the roof is surmounted by seven large cupolas, besides several smaller ones. There can hardly be a doubt that it is one of those halls in Hindu temples, called "halls of a thousand pillars," though in no one case is that exact number to be found. The hall measures 169 feet from north to south, and 79′ 10′ from east to west. In the western face are seven alcoves or niches, handsomely carved. The central one is of white marble, the others of masonry. There is no *mimbar* or pulpit, and the lotus ornament is carved in relief in the niches. Innumerable bats roost in the cupolas, and the floor below is covered with their deposits. The hall very much resembles that of the temple of Kâlchand at Kalbarga, but is smaller. There is no inscription. In the court is the tomb of a so-called pîr, Jahân Shâh. It should be added that the central cupola of the hall has three storeys from which galleries extend along the roof.

The ascent of the mountain of Pawagadh is the next thing to be done, and it must be made on the north-east side. The height is 2,800 feet, and the summit will hardly be reached under three hours. After leaving the gate close to the encampment, the road from the archway is crossed, and a dense jungle is at once entered upon, which is said to contain many tigers and panthers and a few bears. After crossing a succession of ridges, by a path resembling the bed of a mountain torrent, and paved with jagged pieces of rock, the first gateway is reached

in from 20 to 30 minutes according to the ability of the climber and the mode he chooses to ascend. A clever pony has ascended and cows have been driven up but with great difficulty. In about 20 minutes after passing the first gateway, a natural scarp 20 feet high is reached, which is surmounted by a wall 12 feet high, crenellated in the usual style. Trees, long grass and creepers grow from this wall in a most picturesque manner. In one place a silvery grass hangs down 8 feet at least from the wall in a thick mass. The scarp is crossed and ascended by gate No. 2, called *burhiya*. On the left of this gateway is a small pool of good water which drops from the wall on the left. Above to the left are seen two semicircular bastions, about 70 feet in diameter, but only 12 feet high. At this place there are 99 steps cut in the rock in tolerable repair, while many others have been broken. At the end of these steps is a third gateway, above which, at a distance of about 80 yards, is gateway No. 4, and here the jungle ends for a short space and then begins again, but with larger and handsomer trees. The path now leads between two walls, that on the left being 30 feet high. After a hundred yards the fifth gateway is reached, and at the same distance the sixth gateway. No. 7 is a quarter of a mile beyond this. On the left is a ruined house of Sindhia's time in which three policemen and their families live. They say they never see or hear wild beasts. After this the path becomes much more steep, and the usual mode of ascent is in a *mâṅchi*, which is simply a cushion supported by two long bamboos, with a bit of dirty cloth on which to rest one's feet. There is no support for the back, consequently, the traveller must cling to the bamboos, or risk falling out backwards. The path rapidly becomes more difficult, but the Bhîl bearers, small, thin, wiry men, spring from rock to rock with incredible agility. In some places the sides of the mountain are very precipitous, but the jungle veils the chasm. Above gateway No. 7 are three granaries, called *mathai kothars*. They are domed, and measure 30 feet square. Their walls are 5 feet thick, and they are used as offices by the English officials who go up to reside on the mountain. Below them are reservoirs for water, and you cross the roofs of these to enter the *kothârs*. A long way above them to the right of the road are nine smaller *kothârs*, called *nau lâkhas*. They are the same as the lower ones in all respects except being smaller. They are used by Europeans as residences, but the wind blows with such force as to render them very uncomfortable. To the right of the *kothârs* is the Champâvati palace, consisting of a series of apartments on different terraces descending a long way and commanding fine views. As the first syllable in the name of this palace is pronounced decidedly short, there seems good reason for thinking that it ought to be pronounced short in the word "Champanir" also. It is true that in the *Râs Mâlâ* and other works it is written as if long, and a story is told of the name being taken from a minister named "Châmpâ" or "Jhâmpâ." But considering how often such stories are invented by the Hindus, and how unusual the name is for a man, it may fairly be supposed that this story also is a fiction. "Champa" is a common name for a place, and unless the word should be found written with the long *a* in very old writings, the fair supposition is that the city was called from the jasmine plant which was common in the locality. No. 8 gateway is called the Makai Kothâr gate, and beyond it is a wooden bridge which leads to gateway No. 9, called the Pattanpur gate, at which two-thirds of the ascent are finished. According to the bearers the whole ascent extends two *kos*, and from the Pattanpur gate to the summit is one *kos*. After about 50 minutes more the tenth gateway is reached, and this opens upon the great platform, above which is the scarped rock which contains the temple of Mahâkâlî. There is here a small tank about 100 feet by 80 feet, on the edge of which are some temples in ruins. One however is roofed, and has lately been repaired or rebuilt by Hindu merchants. So far, according to the Brahmans, tigers are known to come, but they do not ascend the steps which lead to the top of the rock on which is Mahâkâlî's shrine.

The ascent to this crowning plateau is by stone steps, very steep, and consisting of the following flights:—$113 + 8 + 6 + 12 + 10 + 19 + 3 + 4 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 11 + 11 + 3 + 7 = 220$. The first great flight has a siding $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad of stone. The last flight leads to gate No. 11, after passing which the temple of Mahâkâlî is seen on the left. This temple is $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet

from east to west, 18′ 4″ from north to south, and 17′ 2″ high. Over the *vimâna* is a sort of chamber 7 feet high, which is said to be the shrine of a Muhamadan pîr. This holy man was called "Sajjan," and also "Mâula Salam," and is said to have been a converted Rajput. There is a female Muslim who attends on the shrine. In the Mahâkâli temple there are generally two Brahmans present who break up the cocoanuts offered, and receive money from the pilgrims. These Brahmans live in small cottages to the east of the shrine. The shrine itself consists of a room with eight pillars, and paved with marble, where votaries assemble. To the left is a small recess where there is no image but a painting of the goddess. To the west of the temple there is a precipice of about one thousand feet, and on the brink of this is a pillar for lamps, the light of which must be seen at a very great distance. At this point there is a magnificent view. The scarped platform on which stands the temple of Mahâkâlî looks as if it were formed by nature to have a citadel built upon it. The scarp is quite 200 feet high, and in the old time when the fortifications were entire, and well garrisoned, the place ought to have been impregnable.

STORY OF THE MERCHANT WHO STRUCK HIS MOTHER.

BY THE REV. S. BEAL.

"I remember in years gone by, there were 500 merchants in Jambudwîpa, of whom a certain one was the chief, his name was Mâitri (*Sse-chè*). On one occasion, these merchants all assembled together, and began to consult how they might best embark on some expedition for the purpose of getting gain. Having agreed upon a voyage in a certain direction, and settled all preliminaries as to freight and provisioning the ship, they separated for a time, returning to their homes, to take leave of their wives and families.

"Now at this time, Mâitri went to see his mother, to get her permission and blessing ere he set out on the expedition contemplated. At this time his mother was living in retirement in the upper portion of the house, exercising herself in religious discipline [laws of purity and self-restraint].

"Mâitri approaching her, addressed his mother thus: 'Honoured mother! [or, honoured 'parent'] I am about to undertake a voyage by sea for the purpose of getting much profit. I hope to return home with gold, silver, jewels of every kind, and so be able to minister in every way to your comfort, and also to that of the members of my family [give me then your permission and blessing].'

"Then his mother began to expostulate with him, and to say, 'Dear son! why venture your life at sea? Surely you have wealth enough at home, and every comfort and necessary without stint. You can easily afford to give what is necessary in religious charity; there is no impediment in the way of your happiness (*merit*). Darling son! dear son! the sea is full of perils, boisterous winds, hungry and cruel monsters (*fishes*), evil spirits, Râkshasîs, and ghouls; dear son! darling Mâitri! all these dangers infest the ocean; and now I am getting old, and if you leave me now, although as you say you want to return a rich man to minister to my necessities, still the day of my death is so near, that all your pious intentions may be of little use to me; stay, then, dear son! stay, to be the comfort of my old age! [And so she entreated him three times.]

"Then Mâitri answered: 'Yes, dear mother, but still I must go! think of the wealth I shall bring back, the gold and silver and jewels! think how I shall be able to nourish and cherish you in your old age, and what gifts I can bestow in religious charity.'

"Then his mother arose from her seat, and threw her arms round his neck, and embraced him as she cried: 'Darling son! dear Mâitri! I cannot let you go; I cannot give you leave to risk your life on the ocean just to seek for gain! We have money enough, we have all we need at home! I cannot let you go!'

"Then Mâitri thought thus:—'My mother is cross with me, and does not want me to prosper, and so she forbids me go this voyage,' and then he got angry, and pulling his mother to the ground, he slapped (*kicked*) her head, and rushed out of the house.

"Then the merchants having assembled on the coast, and offered their worship to the Sea-God, selected five men to superintend the various departments (as before), and set sail. But sad to say! their ship was soon overtaken by a storm, and broke to pieces, and all the merchants ex-

cept Mâitri were lost. But he, having clung to a plank, after tossing about on the waves for a long time, was at length thrown on the shore of an islet called Vaisvadîpa [North island or islet]. So Mâitri, having refreshed himself with some wild seeds and medicinal herbs growing on the shore, at length recovered his strength, and began to explore the neighbourhood of the spot where he had been cast ashore. At length, as he went on, he came to a southern division (*fork*) of the island, and there he saw a path leading right before him. Following the track, after a short distance he saw, from a slight eminence, a city immediately in front of him, shining like silver, extremely beautiful and glorious! it was full of towers and palaces, surrounded by a lofty wall, and in every respect perfectly adorned [with lakes, woods, censers, flags, etc., etc.] and calculated for the unbridled indulgence of love and pleasure. In the centre of the city was a charming palace (called 'Merry-joy,') built of the seven precious substances, and most exquisite to behold!

"And now, from the inside of the city there came forth four beautiful women, adorned with jewels, and every ornament calculated to please. Approaching the spot where Mâitri was, they addressed him as follows:—'Welcome, O Mâitri! let us conduct you within yonder city, there is no one there to interfere with us, and there is an abundance of every necessary for food and enjoyment. See yonder beautiful palace, called 'Joy and Pleasure,' constructed of the seven precious substances! It is there we four live, we rise up and lie down as we like, with no one to molest us! come then, oh Mâitri! enter there with us and enjoy our company without interference, we will nourish you and cherish you with fondest care.' So entering into that pleasant hall, Mâitri enjoyed the society of these women, with no one (*man*) to dispute possession with him. Thus passed many, many years; nothing to interrupt the current of his happiness. At length, after a long lapse of time, these four women addressed Mâitri, and said, 'Dear Mâitri; remain here with us, and go not to any other city.' Then Mâitri began to doubt about the matter, and he thought 'What do those women mean when they talk about other cities? I will wait till they are asleep, and then go and explore in every direction, and see whether there is good or bad luck in store for me.' So when they had dropped off to slumber, Mâitri arose, and leaving the precious tower, and passing through the eastern gate, he entered the garden which surrounded the city, and then leaving this by the southern gate, he struck into a road, along which he pursued his way. At length he saw before him at some distance a city of gold, most beautiful to look at, and in the middle of it a lovely palace called 'Ever Drunk,' made of the seven precious substances and beautifully adorned. Now whilst he gazed, lo! eight beautiful women came forth from the city to the place where he stood, and addressed Mâitri as follows:—'Dear Mâitri! come near and enter this city in our company, there is a beautiful palace which we occupy, with no one to molest us, there is no lack of any comfort or necessary within its walls; come, then, and enjoy our society, whilst we nourish and cherish you without intermission.' So he went with them, and enjoyed their company for many years, till at last, when they began to talk to him about going to any other city, his suspicions were aroused as before, and he resolved when they were asleep to explore further, and find out what other cities there were. [And so he discovered two other cities, one built of crystal, the other of lapis lazuli, the first with sixteen, the other with thirty-two maidens, who invited him to use their company as before.] On receiving similar hints from these, in succession, he went on further discoveries, till at length he saw an iron city, that appeared to him quite desolate, only he heard a voice constantly crying out 'Who is hungry? who is thirsty? who is naked? who is weary? who is a stranger? who wishes to be carried?' On hearing this voice, Mâitri began to consider with himself: 'At the other cities I found agreeable companions, but here I see no one, but only hear this doleful voice. I must search into this.' Accordingly he entered the city to see whence the voice proceeded. No sooner had he passed through the gate, than it shut behind him, and he felt that he was alone within the walls and all escape cut off. On this he was filled with fear, his limbs trembled, and the hairs of his body stood upright. He began to run to and fro in every direction, exclaiming, 'Woe is me! I am undone! I am ruined.' At length, as he ran here and there, lo! he saw confronting him a man, on whose head there was placed an iron wheel,

—this wheel red with heat, and glowing as from a furnace, terrible to behold. Seeing this terrible sight, Mâitri exclaimed: 'Who are you? why do you carry that terrible wheel on your head?' On this, that wretched man replied: 'Dear sir! is it possible you know me not? I am a merchant chief called Govinda.' Then Mâitri asked him, and said, 'Pray then tell me, what dreadful crime have you committed in former days that you are constrained to wear that fiery wheel on your head?' Then Govinda answered, 'In former days I was angry with and struck my mother on the head as she lay upon the ground, and for this reason I am condemned to wear this fiery iron wheel around my head.' At this time, Mâitri, self-accused, began to cry out and lament; he was filled with remorse in recollection of his own conduct, and exclaimed in his agony, 'Now am I caught like a deer in the snare.'

"Then a certain Yaksha, who kept guard over that city, whose name was Viruka, suddenly came to the spot, and removing the fiery wheel from off the head of Govinda, he placed it on the head of Mâitri. Then the wretched man cried out in his agony, and said, 'Oh, what have I done to merit this torment?' [The *Gâthas* are to this effect.] To which the Yaksha replied, 'You, wretched man, dared to strike (*kick*) your mother on the head as she lay on the ground; now, therefore, on your head you must wear this fiery wheel, through 60,000 years your punishment shall last; be assured of this, through all these years you shall wear this wheel.'

"'Now, Bhikshus! I was that wicked Mâitri, and for 60,000 years I wore that wheel for disobedience to my mother; so be ye assured that disobedience to your religious superiors will be punished in the same way.'"[1]

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PROF. WEBER AND BABU RAJENDRALÂLA MITRA.

1. *Letter published in the Academy, Nov.* 15, 1879.

"To Babu Râjendra Lâla Mitra, Calcutta.

"Ritterstrasse, 56, Berlin, S.W.: Oct. 27, 1879.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your beautiful work on *Buddha Gayâ*, and my attention has naturally been drawn first to your polemic against my ideas on the influence of Greek, &c., art on India. I shall not attempt to defend them here, as our points of issue are so very different; but I venture to call your attention to a gross mistake which you have committed on p. 178 note, when you say: 'Pr. W. erroneously calls the mother Devakî, who never had an opportunity to perform the maternal duty of nursing her child. According to the *Harivanśa* and the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, the child as soon as born was taken away from her prison abode and left with Yaśodâ, who reared it up. . . . *Hindus in this country would never so grossly falsify the story as to make Devakî nurse her son.*' Now, my dear Sir, you certainly cannot have read at all my paper on the Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî as it stands translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. (1874) pp. 21 *ff.*, vol. VI. (1877) pp. 281 *ff.* For there you will find

"(1) the distinct statement that at the festival of Kṛishṇa's birthday he is to be represented as 'drinking at his mother's breast': *Devakîstanaṁdhaya*, (*śrîkṛishṇapratimâ*) *Devakîstanaṁ dhavayantî* (better *dhayantî*): see vol. VI. 286 *ff.*; and

"(2) at p. 285, vol. VI,[2] you will read the following statement:—'Here, again, is something very surprising about this representation. For while the legend throughout informs us that at Kṛishṇa's birth there was danger in delay, that his father, Vasudeva, had to carry the newly-born child immediately away to escape the dangers that threatened him, the above representation, which shows us the mother and child (the former, too, "joyfully moved") slumbering beside each other on a couch, presents a picture of undisturbed repose, and stands, therefore, in such direct contrast to the legend that it is difficult to suppose that both representations have grown up on the same ground. The representation in this place appears *as foreign as* the difference discussed above (p. 283) in reference to the locality of Kṛishṇa's birth.' The passage quoted here runs thus:—'It is highly surprising, first of all, that, according to these statements, the *sûtikâgriham* (house for a woman in childbirth) is to be set up like a *gôkulam*. For the legend itself is quite consistent throughout in stating that Devakî gave birth to Kṛishṇa in prison. Evidently a transference has here taken place to Devakî of those circumstances in which

[1] From *the Oriental*, Oct. 9th, 1875, also reprinted in *The Romantic Legend of Śâkya Buddha*.

[2] In the *Academy* this was misprinted 'VII'; the Babu, in his reply (*Academy*, Feb. 28), appears not to have remarked this, and speaks quite earnestly of his having failed to find in vol. VII. anything about the nativity of Christ.—A. W.

Y a ś o d â, who received the newly-born child immediately after his birth, on her part gave birth to her own child, that magical girl who is exchanged with him. The reason of this, indeed, can only be that, *from the beginning, the celebration of the Janmâshṭamî festival* stood in close relation to the representation of Kṛishṇa's growing up among cowherds, and consequently this conception entirely preponderated over the other, according to which he was a prince born in prison.'

"(3) These differences between the ritual of Kṛishṇa's birthday and between the legends of his birth are the very keystone of my theory of the *foreign* origin *of the first*. Thus you read in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III. (1874), p. 21:—'The most difficult point in connection with the festival of the birthday of Kṛishṇa, as we now have described it, lies clearly in the description, and particularly in the pictorial representation, of him *as a suckling* at *his mother's* breast, and in the homage paid to the mother, represented as lying on a couch in a *cow-house*, who has borne him, the lord of the world, in her womb. Such a representation of the god is a strange contrast to the other representations of him—to that of the epos, for example, in which he appears as a warrior hero—and is, moreover, the only thing of its kind in India [mark the note]. Again, the pictorial representation of the festival differs in various details from the usual legends about Kṛishṇa's birth in a way which it is difficult to explain. The enquirer is therefore not surprised if *external* grounds present themselves in explanation of this unique phenomenon, which give probability to the supposition that we have in this festival something *transferred* from *outside*, and retained, in spite of the incongruities it has given rise to, in the form in which it was received. And such grounds are, as a matter of fact, sufficiently numerous. . . .'

"Professor Albr. Weber."

2. *To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.*

Not having seen *The Academy* of 28th February till a few days ago, I was not aware that Babu Râjendralâla Mitra had replied to my letter of 27th October last. This may account for the delay of this; but I think it my duty not to let his statements pass without necessary correction. And as the *Ind. Antiquary* brought out the English version of my original paper, I hope you will not refuse to produce in its columns this complement to it.

The Babu is fully entitled to call the mother in the picture in question (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 350, from Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*) by the name of Y a ś o d â, for, in the legend, *she* is the nurse of Kṛishṇa, (see also my remarks on "Yaśodâ lactans" in my paper on the *Saptaśatakam* of Hâla, p. 208); but he has no right whatever to say that I have "erroneously" called her D e v a k î, or as he now puts it that I have "deliberately substituted Devakî for Yaśodâ," for in the *ritual* D e v a k î too is described as Kṛishṇa's nurse. With reference to the picture, therefore, *both* names are *à priori* equally justifiable—the one not more than the other. Nor do I lay any special stress on the title attached to it in Moor's work,—not by me,—as may be seen from my remarks (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 350, 351): "no direct reference to the special accounts of the manner in which the infant Kṛishṇa is represented at the festival of the Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamî is found in it; he is neither represented as 'asleep drinking at the breast,' nor 'pressing,' &c." And when I continue "of the identity of the persons, however, there can be no reasonable doubt," I refer to those doubts only which I discuss in the sequel, viz. of Niclas Müller, Creuzer, Guigniaut—who on their part conceive the mother to be B h a v â n î or M â y â. If therefore the Babu prefers to call the mother represented in that picture Y a ś o d â rather than D e v a k î, he is quite welcome to do so. Whether she be the one or the other matters nothing in the end, and does not in the least affect the results arrived at in my paper, which are quite independent of the question *about this picture*.

My reclamation against him, the "gross mistake" with which I charge him, refers to the arguments by which he tries to support his own view of it. For when he states: 2, that "Devakî had no opportunity to perform the maternal duty of nursing her child," as, 3, "*According to the Purâṇas* Kṛishṇa was, as soon as born, taken away from his mother," I beg on the contrary to maintain, or rather to repeat, that this is a mere begging of the question. I never questioned at all that such were the legends of the *Purâṇas*, but I shewed that the *ritual prescriptions* for the festival of Kṛishṇa's birthday had a *different* aspect in view; and it is just this very difference of the two representations which serves as the basis of my theory of the *foreign* origin of the latter. Now Dr. Râjendralâla may be quite correct in saying that "to the Vaishṇava there is no scriptural authority higher than the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*," as undoubtedly he is, when he says that "it entirely contradicts" my position; but he fails to take into account two things—1, that I am fully aware of this incongruity, and have repeatedly noticed and commented upon the fact that the *Bhâgavata* does not mention *this* sort of festival (see *e. g.* pp. 170, 171, 179), and 2, that we European scholars are not bound to swear by the authority of his scriptures and

go our way without being fettered by so curious a specimen of human credulity as the *Bhâgavata* appears to us to be.

It utterly astonishes me how he can still maintain, and that too as requiring no commentary, the truth of his fourth statement;—"That Hindus in India would not so grossly falsify the story as to make D e v a k î nurse her son." From this daring assertion of his, I concluded that he "certainly could not have read at all my paper" on the festival in question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. III. and VI.[3] He now maintains that he had read it, but even at present I venture to say he has *not* done so. Surely he can only have cast a cursory glance over its contents, but he has entirely failed to understand it or apprehend its purport. Otherwise, how could he, after alluding to the fanciful decoration of the lying-in chamber, and to the scenes which are to be presented there, proceed to add—"had you referred to these, you would have given a correct account of the ceremony"? Now the very things which he demands here, any one who looks into the paper at the pages referred to by himself (vol. VI. pp. 285 ff.) will there find; for it was the very object I had in view in the paper, to collect so many of the ritual texts on the festival as to give a most detailed and minute description of the different stages of it. And so far as I know, I have fairly succeeded in doing so, for till this I have not found much further to add. But, to return to Dr. Râjendralâla's fourth statement as given above: it is in distinct contradiction to it, that these ritual texts collected by me prescribe that Krishṇa is to be represented at this festival as an infant child lying on the same couch with his mother Devakî and drinking at her breast: thus 1, *O. C. Śa. K.—paryañke s t a n a pâyinam*, 2, *B. m â t u r utsañge s t a n a-pâyinaḥ*; 3, *Ud. Śri Krishṇapratimâṁ D e v a k î-s t a n a m dhâvayartîm* (*dhavantîm* ?). Are the authors of these works—the *Bhavishya* (*i. e. Bhavishyottara*) *Purâṇa*, the *Nirṇaya Sindhu*, the *Vratârka*, the *Dharmasindhasâra*, the *Janmâshṭamîvratodyâpana*, not "Hindus in India?" And when the Babu opposes to them his personal family traditions as a Vaishṇava, and repeats that neither he nor his coreligionists believe in Krishṇa's having been nursed by D e v a k î, I beg to ask him how he intends to account for these ritual prescriptions? I have to add, moreover, that they are fully corroborated by that excellent standard work on the Vaishṇava faith—the *Haribhaktivilâsa* of Gopâlabhaṭṭa, a copy of the Calcutta edition of which (Śaka 1787, A. D. 1845, pp. 716, 4to) I received a few years ago (1875) through the kindness of my learned friend Dr. R. Rost, with whom I had seen it during my last stay in London (1874). There we not only find on p. 532 the first of the above quotations with the remarkable various reading moreover in the scholium of *prasnutâ*, explained by *ksharitastanî*, but at p. 538 we read still more distinctly of Devakî as lying on her couch with oozing breasts (*snutapayodharâm*) and of Krishṇa as "sucking at them" (*tadutsaṁge s t a n a ṁ dhayam*); and lastly at p. 536 we have Devakî again giving the breast to her son, who while drinking presses the nipple with his hand,—*dadamânam tu putrasya stanam | pîyamânaḥ* (read *onaṁ*) *stanam so 'tra kuchâgre pâṇinâ spriśan.*

I do not doubt in the least the accuracy of the Babu's testimony that at present "the pictorial representation is not deemed an essential part of the ceremony, nor is it anywhere produced in Bengal on the occasion of the fast," but, testimony against testimony, there *was* a time when this was otherwise, and even that time cannot be very remote, for the ritual texts contain abundant testimony to the contrary. Local and provincial habits can never silence the voice of literary documents.

Moreover, the first of the passages quoted above appears to be known to the Babu also from some source independent of my paper; for after quoting it he proceeds: "had you not stopped short in your quotation, you would have added that the child should be four-handed, holding a mace, a discus, &c." and then he adds: "the words of the text: *Śanuhachakragadâ. . . .*" Now I would remark that the sources from which I drew the passage do not contain this verse, as he might have easily perceived himself by comparing p. 286, where the text of my sources breaks off at the first hemistich of v. 33 with p. 289, where it continues with the second hemistich of the same verse: there is no room left for his verse between these two halves. He must therefore have taken it from some other source not used by me.[4] And this being so, he ought certainly to have expressed himself in other terms, for those used by him imply an accusation of my having left out something that might have been opposed to my purpose. This is a very serious insinuation, as in his opinion "the correct account of the ceremony" as contained in this verse and in the other details which he desiderates in my paper, whereas they are described in it with all possible minuteness, "would have seriously interfered with the analogy between the nativity of Krishṇa and that of Christ," which I

[3] § 1 in vol. VI., pp. 161—180; § 2 in ib. pp. 281—301; § 3, in vol. III., pp. 21—25 and 47—52; and § 4 in vol. VI., pp. 349—354.

[4] By the bye the *Haribhaktivilâsa* has his verse at p. 532, but with a various reading: *mahâpûrṇam*, for his *mahâpuṇyaṁ*.

"undertook to establish." With regard to this latter point, and particularly to this very 'interference,' our views on the subject are really so entirely at variance that it is better I should stop short here.

Berlin, 25th April 1880. A. Weber.

THE REMNANT OF THE ORIGINAL ARYAN RACE.

It is said that Major Biddulph, stationed on the Kashmir boundary, has prepared a report upon the customs, the languages, and the folklore of the singular communities among whom he has been residing for a long time. From Major Biddulph's peculiar advantages and opportunities may be expected, says the *Pioneer*, a complete account of people who are a survival of the old Âryans from whom all civilized mankind of the present day is probably descended. Surgeon-Major Bellew, meanwhile, has been examining a few men from the cantons on the south-west of Dârdistân, peopled by a similar race, who in one respect are still more interesting, for their country has never yet been visited by a civilized traveller. But in appearance and language they closely resemble the Dards, and, unlike them, have not embraced the creed of their Muhammadan neighbours. The tongues spoken in all these hills are, for the most part, Âryan; not descended from Sanskrit, and, indeed, of earlier origin than that classical language. On the northern slopes of the mountains Parsî words prevail; in the southern cantons some of the words resemble Greek, some Latin, some those of modern Europe. They make (and freely consume) grape wine, something like a crude Burgundy. Those who are not Musalmans believe in one God, but employ the intercession of minor powers, represented by images. They also occasionally canonize great men whom they have lost by death. They are usually monogamous, opposed to divorce, and strict defenders of the chastity of their unmarried girls. These latter have blue, grey, or hazel eyes; black hair is the exception amongst them; and when young, they are of such remarkable comeliness as to be in great demand in the slave markets of adjacent countries. Authentic information concerning these interesting races cannot but be anxiously awaited by all who realize the nature of the questions involved.—*Globe*, April 17.

Ancient Arabian Poetry.—Mr. W. A. Clouston, of Glasgow, intends issuing by private subscription a limited edition of *A Treasury of Ancient Arabian Poetry.* It will include specimens from Amrulkais, Tarafa, Zohair, Lebeid, Antara, Amru, and Hareth, besides a selection from the well-known Bedawin Romance of *Antar*, by Asma'î, who was one of the stars of the Court of Harun-al-Raschid. The most striking passages of the *Moällakât* which have been rendered into English verse by various translators will be given in the appendix. Professor G. F. Nicholl, M.A., of Oxford University, and King's College, London will furnish some critical notes on obscure passages of Sir William Jones' English text of the *Moällakât*, and Mr. J. W. Redhouse, the eminent Orientalist, will contribute an original translation of the celebrated Poem of the Mantle, by Ka'b, son of Zuheyr, son of Abû Sulmâ, with critical notes.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. Proper Names.—With reference to Mr. George A. Grierson's letter in the *Indian Antiquary*, ante p. 141, I beg to state that in the Mysore Province the custom of boring the right side of the nostrils of the children whose elder brothers or sisters died soon after their birth prevails. Such children are called

Gunda—rock.	*Hucha*—madman.
Kalla—stone.	*Tippa*—dunghill.

The last name is given after some rubbish from a dunghill has been brought in a sieve, and the child placed in it.

I learn that this custom prevails in the Madras Presidency also, and that the names given there are *Gundan*, *Kallan*, *Kuppan* (*Kuppai* being the Tamil word for dunghill), and *Vemban* or the Margosa tree. It does not appear that the mother herself changes her name as in Bengal.

As the district in which I now live is close to the Southern Marâtha Country, it is probable that the custom prevails there also.

Nârâyan Aiyangâr.

Shimoga, 23rd May 1880.

With reference to Mr. Grierson's request at p. 141 of the current volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, I may mention that the custom of calling a new-born child (after the parent has lost a first-born or more in succession) by an opprobrious name, is common amongst many castes in Southern India—including even Muhammadans.

Any one well acquainted with the customs of the natives could add much to Mr. Grierson's information on the subject.

Kuppasvâmi (= Sir Dungheap) is one of the commonest names for such children, and they have the distinguishing mark of a pierced nostril and ear (on the right side) with a knob of gold in it. Other names are *Challhupullai* and *Ghurumiyân*.[1]

Madras. B. R. B.

[1] Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 238; vol. VI. p. 168.

3. BRAHMANÎ DUCK.—What is the origin of the term "Brahmanî Duck"? It is applied to the bird usually known to natives as Chakwâ and Chakwî, scientific name *Anas casarca* or *Casarca rutila*. The term Brâhmanî as used to qualify this bird is quite unknown to the natives of the Panjâb, who can make no conjecture why it should have come to be used by the English. On what grounds is the bird held sacred?

Ferozepore. R. C. TEMPLE.

4. INDIAN ARMS.—No country in the world can vie with Hindustan either for splendor or variety in the production of implements of war, as any one will see by paying a visit to the collection of Arms exhibited at the India Museum. The Hon. W. Egerton, M.A., M.P., has compiled a "Handbook" of this collection; it is illustrated by coloured engravings of the choicest arms in the collection, and has an introductory sketch of the Military History of India. The thanks of antiquaries are due to Mr. Egerton for compiling this catalogue, and thus bringing together in one volume, matter that forms an important Indian Historical Monograph.

5. NÂGA FIGURES.—Friar Jordanus, (cir. 1325) in the 4th chapter of his *Marvels*, in speaking of Western India, says—"There be also venomous animals, such as many serpents, big beyond bounds, and of divers colours, black, red, white, and green, and parti-coloured; two-headed also, three-headed, and five-headed. Admirable marvels!"

Col. Yule remarks on this,—that "two-headed and even three-headed serpents might be suggested by the appearance of a cobra with dilated hood and spectacles, especially if the spectator were (as probably would be the case) in a great fright. But for *five* heads I can make no apology."

The Nâga stones to be seen in every village in the Konkan represent principally three and five-headed snakes. May they not have given rise to Jordanus's polycephalous marvels? But if so, what gave rise to the Nâga figures having so many heads? There is one at Banavâsi with five heads and a Pâli inscription in the 12th year of King Satakanni Haritîputa.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XII, part i. (Jan. 1880) commences with an article by Mr. Redhouse on "The Most Comely Names"—that is, on the various epithets applied by orthodox Muhammadan writers to their god. The author gives a list of 552 such epithets compiled from various previous lists, explaining each epithet, with references, where necessary, to the Kurân. It is abundantly evident, therefore, that the number of "the most comely names" has by no means been confined to any sacred number, such as 77, 99, 101, or 1,000, in spite of the frequent references to the "ninety-nine names of God." In Mr. Redhouse's notes to each so-called name will be found several interesting points of Muslem superstition. The next article is by Sir Henry Rawlinson. It is—"Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great." In it he gives a transliteration and translation of a highly interesting inscription, together with a useful historical introduction. The cylinder records in effect an edict issued by Cyrus after his conquest of Babylon and of the reigning king, Nabu-nahid (the Nabonidus of the Greeks). The record gives the genealogy of Cyrus in the order stated by Herodotus, viz., 1, Akhæmenes; 2, Teispes (Sispis); 3, Cyrus (Kurus); 4, Cambyses (Kambujiya); 5, Cyrus (Kurus) the Great.

Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., follows with a note on Hwen Thsang's account of Dhanakacheka, and Mr. Fergusson gives expression to the doubt with which he—very rightly, as it seems to us—regards Mr. Sewell's proposed explanation. M. Sauvaire completes, from a newly discovered MS. at Gotha, his translation of the interesting treatise on Weights and Measures by Mâr Eliyâ, Archbishop of Nesibe.[1] The number closes with a lengthy discussion as to the age of the Ajanta Caves, consisting of a paper by Râjendralâla Mitra, Rai Bahadur, followed by a note by Mr. Fergusson. Dr. Râjendralâla argues that certain inscriptions in the caves are in an alphabet that assimilates to that of "the Gujarât dated plates, which belong to the 2nd century A.D.," and therefore these inscriptions fall between the 3rd century B.C. and the 2nd A.D. But no scholar now holds that any of the dates on plates from Gujarât are earlier than the 5th century, and they come down at least to the 7th. Arguing exclusively from the age he thus assigns to inscriptions in certain caves, he concludes that the paintings in others are from 1800 to 2000 years old. Mr. Fergusson trusting rather to architectural style and details in determining the age of the monuments, where the evidence of the inscriptions is so unsatisfactory, concludes that the paintings in Cave No. 1 may be of as late a date as the first half of the seventh century A.D.

Part ii. (April) opens with Max Müller's paper on Sanskṛit texts discovered in Japan, which has also been printed separately.[2] The next consists of Extracts from an Official Report to the Government of India on the islands and antiquities of Bahrein, by Captain Durand. To this are added valuable and suggestive notes by Sir H. Rawlinson, con-

[1] *The Academy*, April 24, 1880, p. 310.

[2] See Book Notice, p. 233.

taining much new and interesting matter relating to the Persian Gulf accumulated since Vincent and Heeren conducted their investigations.

This is followed by "Notes on the Locality and Population of the Tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers," by the late G. H. Damant, M.A. The paper is accompanied by tables of comparative vocabularies.

"On the Śaka, Saṁvat, and Gupta Eras"—a supplement to his paper "On Indian Chronology," (N. S. vol. IV. pp. 81–137), by J. Fergusson, D.C.L., &c. takes up, first the dates of the Indo-Scythian inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva, &c. which the author regards as dating from the Śaka era established, he believes, "by King Kanishka, who himself was a Śaka king." This is supported by the fact of Gondophares, in the first century, being anterior to Kanishka, and coins of the time of Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian, being found with those of Kadphises, Kanishka, and Oerke in a tope in Afghanistan. Secondly, the Kshatrapa coins, he contends, do not date from the Vikrama Saṁvat, but from the Śaka era, and overlap the earlier Guptas, and that the Vikrama Saṁvat was not in use till about the year 1000, when it was introduced and dated from 600 years, or ten cycles before the battle of Karur, assumed to have been fought in A.D. 544, in the time of Harsha Vikramâditya; and at the same time the Harsha era, dating 1000 years before the same event, or 456 B.C., was proposed and partially established. The Guptas he regards as dated from A.D. 318-19, and that the "foreign invaders" who overthrew them were the White Huns whom Kosmas Indikopleustes mentions as a powerful nation in the north of India, early in the sixth century.

"The Megha Sûtra" by C. Bendall, follows and gives the text and a translation of this late *Sûtra*[3] of the Mahâyâna school, from the Nepalese MSS. at Cambridge.

The next article is "Historical and Archæological Notes on a Journey in South-Western Persia, 1877-78," by A. Houtem-Schindler; and the last in this number is on the "Identification of the '*False Dawn*' of the Muslims with the Zodiacal Light of Europeans," by J. W. Redhouse. This is a continuation of a paper on the same subject in vol. X.

The third part, for July 1880, contains a second paper by Mr. E. L. Brandreth on the Gaurian compared with the Romance languages, in continuation of the first in vol. XI. In this interesting paper the author carefully developes many striking analogies existing between the forms in which Sanskrit has broken up into the various modern Prâkrits, and the way in which Latin broke up into the various Romance languages of modern Europe. These analogies are not only very marked and extend to many details as between one Prâkrit and one Romance language, but what is more strikingly curious even, we find one Prâkrit following the precise analogy in its derivations from Sanskṛit that Italian does in its derivations from Latin, whilst another is in as close analogy to French. Take as examples Sansk. *nar-as* 'man'; Sindhi, *nar-u*; Hindi, *nar*; and compare Lat. *ann-us*, Ital. *ann-o*, Fr. *an*; or Sans. *jihv-â*, Sind. *jibh-a*, H. *jibh*, with Lat. *ros-a*, It. *ros-a*, Fr. *rose*; or, again, San. *bhittis*, Sind. *bhitt-i*, Hind. *bhît*, and Lat. *turr-is*, It. *torr-e*, Fr. *tour*; &c. The next paper is by Arminius Vambéry, "On the Uzbeg Epos," a poem in 74 cantos containing upwards of 4,300 distichons in the metre of the *Mejnun u Leila* of Jâmî. It is from a MS. in the Imperial Library of Vienna, and bears date upon the last page of 916 A. H. (1510 A. D.), and must have been written shortly after the death of its author, Prince Mehemmed Salih, the son of Mir Said, formerly ruler of Kharezm. The poem celebrates the glories of his master the great Uzbeg Chieftain, Sheibani Khân, and from its length, the historical events related are brought before us in such detail, and with such episodes, as neither Baber nor Mirkond, nor the *Târîkh-i Rashîdi* used by Erskine, and still less the little *Sheibani Nâmeh* edited by the Russian Orientalist K. Berezin, in 1849, can supply us. The narrative commences with Sheibani's first march upon Samarkand, then governed by Baki Terkhân; then follow his engagements with the Mirzas (as the Timurides are called) in Transoxiana, in which Baber plays a prominent part, particularly in the account of the siege of Samarkand, and of the troubles which the founder of the Mogul dynasty in India had to suffer at the hands of his triumphant rival. After the expulsion of Baber and the downfall of the Mirzas, which led to the defeat of the Mongol auxiliaries of Baber, Sheibani crosses the Oxus (called Öküz or Üghüz by the author), and enters upon the long war with the children of Mirza Husein Baikara, and with Khosru Shâh, the lord of Ruhistân—comprizing in those days Badakhshan, Khatlan, Dervaz, Roshan, and Shignan. After the defeat and death of this Turkish prince, Sheibani concludes the war against Kharezm, where Chin Sofi, the chief of the great Ada-Turkoman tribe, made a vigorous resistance, and inflicted heavy losses on the Uzbegs, who had to besiege the capital of the said country for eleven months, and only reduced it through the indomitable perseverance of Sheibani. Here the poem

[3] See Beal's *Catena*, p. 416 ff.; *Asiat. Res.* vol. XX., p. 529.

comes to close about 1505 A.D. before the capture of Herat in 1507, and only five years after Sheibani's first appearance before Samarkand in 1500.

The next paper is a translation by Dr. Kern of the two separate edicts of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugada, to which we shall have occasion to refer elsewhere.

This is followed by a "Grammatical Sketch of the Kakhyen Language" by the Rev. J. N. Cushing, of the American Baptist Mission, Rangoon. Kakhyen is the Burman name for the Singpho or Chingpau people occupying the mountainous tract stretching from Upper Asâm across Northern Burma into the Chinese province of Yu-nan.

The last paper is "Notes on the Libyan Languages" by Prof. F. W. Newman.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for February, March, April 1880, M Clermont Ganneau continues his notes on "La Coupe Phénicienne de Palestrina et l'une des sources de l'art et de la Mythologie Helléniques."—M. Maspero gives the first part of a study of certain pictures and Egyptian texts relating to Funerals.—M. C. de Harlez gives his fifth paper on the "Origines da Zoroastrisme," treating of the *Fravashis*; the inferior evil genii—*Ydtus*, *Pairikas*, *Kayadhas*, *Kagaredhas*, *Jahis*, and *Ashem-oghas*; Mazdean eschatology; and Zoroaster and the legends.—M. Sauvaire publishes the first part of his Materials for the History of Musalman Numismatics and Metrology.—M. le Marquis de Vogüé has an interesting note on the form of the tomb of Eshmûnazar, king of Sidon, whose inscribed sarcophagus is one of the most valuable remains preserved in the Louvre, with an attempt to translate the Phœnician legend engraved on it. This is followed by the first part of a masterly study by M. Senart on the inscriptions of Piyadasi, to which we shall refer at length at a later page. The number closes with the Proceedings and Book Notices. In the number for May-June, M. Maspero concludes his study on Egyptian funerary paintings; M. Sauvaire continues his 'Materials'; and M. Senart his inscriptions of Piyadasi; while M. St. Guyard gives his fifth series of Notes on Assyrian Lexicography. The Proceedings are followed by translations of the Van inscriptions by M. Guyard and several Babylonian records by M. Oppert.

BOOK NOTICES.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE GAUDIAN LANGUAGES, with special reference to the Eastern Hindi. By A. F. R. Hoernle. (Trübner & Co.: 1880.)

In vols. XLI. to XLIII. (1872—4) of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Dr. Hoernle brought out a series of essays on the Gauḍian (*i. e.*, Sanskritic) languages of N. India, which attracted a great deal of attention among oriental philologists. These essays were subsequently expanded and completed by the author, who by a continued and more matured study of the subject was enabled to introduce a number of modifications, corrections, and additions. The book at the head of this notice is thus the outcome of many years' labour in this particular field of enquiry, and not only contains within a comparatively small compass a vast amount of information, but also shows the trained philologist by the scientific method and the spirit of incisive research by which it is pervaded. Dr. Hoernle rightly lays great stress on the dialectical varieties of the spoken languages and on the forms of speech exhibited by them, and claims a full share of importance for the fact that "in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly that the determination of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute." As the work was originally intended to be a grammar of Eastern Hindi, this language has been allowed to remain the centre of the author's researches round which the other languages have been grouped under each subject in separate paragraphs headed "affinities" and "derivation," an arrangement which does not in the least detract from the merits of the book as a Comparative Grammar of all the Gauḍian languages. As regards the important linguistical results of Dr. Hoernle's investigations, we must forbear following him through the laborious processes and ingenious combinations by which he has been enabled to formulate them. The historical development of the languages is briefly summed up as follows:—"Four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mâgadhî tongue in some form was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Śaurasenî tongue existed there beside the Mâgadhî, the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gauḍian, and the E. and S. Gauḍian. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gauḍian languages. The last period is that now prevailing." Concerning their philological classification, Dr. Hoernle has arrived at the following conclusions:—"Since Bangâlî and Oriya are accounted separate languages from Eastern Hindî, and Panjâbî, Gujarâtî and Sindhî from Western Hindî, *à fortiori* Eastern Hindî and Western Hindî must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as

dialects of one and the same." And further, "the languages divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the Eastern half of North-India and comprising Eastern Hindî, Bangâlî and Oriya; the other covering its Western half and including Western Hindî, Panjâbî, Gujaratî, Sindhî." To the former group must also be added Marâthî as representative of the Southern Gauḍian speech, and to the latter Nepâlî as representative of the Northern Gauḍian. By endeavouring to trace the growth of these languages through its successive stages, be it of development or decay, back to the earlier Prâkrits, the author has had to grapple with a most difficult problem. While, however, some of his views may perhaps appear hazardous and open to controversy, no one will for a moment question that his work is of sterling value as a solid contribution to Prâkrit philology in its widest sense, trustworthy alike for the linguistic materials it communicates, and for the sound principles it applies in analysing them.

R. R.

THE VINAYAPIṬAKAM. Edited by Dr. H. Oldenberg. Vol. I. The Mahâvagga. 1879. Vol. II. The Cullavagga. 1880. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

Dr. Oldenberg did well in selecting the *Vinayapiṭaka* for publication in preference to any other portion of the sacred canon of the Southern Buddhists. No part of it had ever been published, and but few fragments were known from Gogerly's and Coles' translations. The *Vinayapiṭaka* besides, is important not only as containing the ecclesiastical code of the Buddhists, but also as furnishing an excellent insight into the state of Hindu society and civilization in the early centuries of Buddhism upwards of 2200 years ago: and for the history of that period it supplies more complete and more valuable data than may be found anywhere in the wide range of Buddhistic literature. The Editor defines, in the Introduction to the first volume, the peculiar character of the *Vinayapiṭaka* as distinct from the *Suttapiṭaka*, or ethical code, and discusses the leading questions as to the origin and historical position of the work. The result at which he arrives as to the date of its final revision is that that must have taken place some time before the council of V e s â l î, or about 400 B.C. His remarks on the school to which the existing Vinaya text belongs, and on the original seat of the Pâli language, are certainly full of interest, and if his reasoning does not in every case carry conviction with it, it certainly leads on towards an eventual settlement of the various important questions under discussion. The work is to be completed in five volumes, two of which, comprising the *Mahâvagga* and the *Chullavagga*, have appeared. The various Indices, added to the second volume, are most valuable: and the care with which the text has been edited reflects the greatest credit on the promising scholar who is making these authentic records of an ancient priestly organization available to his fellow-students.

R. R.

"ON SANSKRIT TEXTS DISCOVERED IN JAPAN." By Prof. F. Max Müller, 1880, pp. 36 and one plate (facsimile).

This new pamphlet by Prof. Max Müller is a separate impression (from vol. XII., N. S., of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*) of a lecture lately delivered before the Society, and of which more or less incorrect notices appeared in the papers at the time.

It had long been known that Chinese pilgrims had, in the earlier centuries A. D., taken Sanskrit books to China and the farthest East, but all enquiries seemed fruitless, and the discovery now announced is entirely due to Prof. Max Müller's unwearied exertions: a Japanese pupil at last got him the text now published. All must hope that this is merely the first, and that many others will follow.

The text is of a *Mahâyâna-sutra* termed '*Sukhâvatîvyûha*,' and belongs to that later stage of Indian Buddhism when the early simple and grand ideas of that religion had been modified after the usual Indian pattern. It is a mixture of frigid exaggeration with an Indian pretence at exactness, and contains a childish account of a heaven called S u k h â v a t î, which the Buddhist is supposed to reach by persistent and heartless formalities, and to live there for ever. This twaddle is, then, of no value, and every one will agree with Prof. Max Müller in hoping that the Japanese Buddhists will now begin to "purify and reform their religion, that is to bring it back to its original form, . . . a work that must be done before anything else can be attempted."

Thus, the interest attaching to this tract depends on secondary inferences which may be safely drawn from it: these are important in their way.

The first is: that these Buddhist treatises, even the latest, existed in recensions of very different lengths, as is the case with a large number of Hindu books even now. But this particular recension, recovered from Japan, seems not to exist now in Nepâl.

Secondly, it may be inferred that in all probability it will be possible to find older MSS. in China and Japan than in India. It may safely be said that no MS. written one thousand years ago is now existent in India, and that it is almost impossible to find one written five hundred years ago, for

most MSS. which claim to be of that date are merely copies of old MSS. the dates of which are repeated by the copyists. The *Sukhavatî-vyûha* is written in a northern form of Nâgarî which belongs to a comparatively recent period, but many of the letters have not been copied exactly, and it is impossible to fix the date satisfactorily.

Any one who will take the trouble to compare the *facsimile* plate with the corresponding text on p. 30 will not fail to admire the admirable way in which Prof. Max Müller has restored this almost illegible and very corrupt text.

In the notes (pp. 24, etc.) the Professor has discussed and cleared up the meaning of a number of difficult words which perpetually occur in Buddhist texts, and many of which are of great interest to Sanskṛit students.

On p. 7 the Professor identifies Koṅkaṇapura with the western coast of the Dekhan, but the presence of a forest of the Borassus palm there is decisive against this, as it only grows in large numbers in dry places; Koṅkaṇapura is surely Koṅkaṇahaḷḷi, a former chief town in the Mysore territory.

A. B.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS RELATING TO INDIAN SUBJECTS, by Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq., F.R.S., late B.C.S., &c. 2 vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

These two volumes of Messrs Trübner & Co.'s 'Oriental Series' contain a number of papers contributed principally to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* between the years 1847 and 1853, and relating chiefly to the languages and ethnology of the aboriginal tribes of India, with some other essays of a more general character. The first Essay on the Kochh, Bôdô and Dhimâl tribes appeared separately at Calcutta in 1847, the tenth and eleventh on the Route of the Nepalese Mission to Pekin, and on the Route from Kâthmândû to Darjiling, with the twelfth, on the Systems of Law and Police in Nepâl, were published in the *Selections from the Records of Bengal*. The short paper on the Native Method of making the paper called 'Nepálese,' is from the *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*; and the Letters on Vernaculars, with which the second volume concludes, are reprinted from the *Friend of India*, 1848.

"Almost all the papers," says the editor, Dr. R. Rost, "more especially the longer Linguistical Essays, have been reprinted from copies revised and annotated by the author himself, who has earned a fresh and lasting title to the gratitude of all students of Indian glossology and ethnology by allowing the rare and valuable Papers comprised in these volumes to be made generally available."

And whilst the great field of Mr. Hodgson's labours lay in Nepâl and along the northern frontier of India, it must not be forgotten that those essays are by no means restricted to that zone: the fifth and sixth sections of these volumes is on the Aborigines of the Eastern frontier, and the Indo-Chinese Borderers in Burma, Arakan, and Tenasserim, while the ninth is on the Aborigines of Central India, the Eastern Ghâṭs, the Nilagiris, and Ceylon. Thus to students of ethnology and glossology in all parts of the Indian empire these essays will be of interest.

The few lithographs that illustrated the original papers have not been reproduced (except a Map) with these reprints, but a greater defect is the want of an Index of some sort to make the work more convenient for reference.

We have already (vol. IV. p. 89) noticed the reprint of Mr. Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepál and Thibet*: we could only wish that they were re-edited with the same care as these volumes, and issued as a third one.

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1. VIE OU LÉGENDE DE GAUDAMA le Boudha des Birmans, et Notice sur les Phongyies ou Moines Birmans. Par Monseigneur P. Bigandet, Evéque de Ramatha, vicaire apostolique d'Ava et Pegou. Traduit en Français par Victor Gauvain, Lieut. de vaisseau. Paris: E. Leroux, 1878. (8vo. pp. viii. and 540.)
2. THE LIFE OR LEGEND OF GAUDAMA, the Buddha of the Burmese, with annotations; the ways of Neibban, and notice of the Phongyies or Burmese Monks. By the Right Rev. P. Bigandet, Bishop of Ramatha, &c. in 2 vols. London: Trübner, 1880.

Bishop Bigandet's invaluable work on Buddha and Burmese Buddhism first appeared in a single volume (324 pp.) printed at Rangoon in 1858, and was favourably noticed in the *Calcutta Review* in June 1859. A second edition revised and much enlarged (538 pp.) appeared at the same place in 1866. Both these editions were out of print when Lieutenant Victor Gauvain prepared his very excellent French translation of the second edition, which brought the work again within the reach of European scholars in a convenient form and clear type.

Messrs. Trübner & Co. now reproduce the same work in a faithful reprint of the second English edition[1] in two handy volumes, which will be welcome to English students. Buddhism in Burma, as in Ceylon, differs markedly from the religion which passes under the same name in Nepâl, Tibet, and China: it knows nothing of the Bodhisattwas, Jñâna Buddhas, Śaktîs, Devîs, and the multitudinous pantheon of the Mahâyâna sects, and on this account alone deserves a special study. And no work founded—rather translated—from original sources presents to the Western student

[1] Only too faithful: for it reproduces even the misprints,—*e.g.* 'Illahabas' in the note vol. II. p. 265. Gauvain (p. 480) has not overlooked such errata.

a more faithful picture than that of Bishop Bigandet.

To the ordinary reader unacquainted with the Burmese representations of Indian names they will at first be somewhat confusing: 'Thoodandana' for Śuddhodana, 'Pounha' for Brâhmaṇ, 'Radzagio' for Râjagṛiha, 'Kathaba' for Kaśyapa, 'Dzewaka' for Jivaka, 'Wethalie' for Vaisali, 'Dzetawon' for Jetavana, 'Adzatatha' for Ajâtaśatru, 'Manh' for Mâra, 'Manta' for Muṇḍa, 'Nagata-saka' for Nâgadâsaka, 'Tsandagutta' for Chandragupta, &c. are examples of these Burmese forms. Might it not have been worth while either noting the Sanskrit equivalents in footnotes, or giving a table of them? The want of an Index is a great defect of these otherwise valuable volumes.

1. SELECTIONS FROM THE KUR-ÂN. By Edward William Lane, Hon. Dr. Lit. Leyden., Cor. Inst. Fr., &c. A new edition, revised and enlarged with an Introduction. By Stanley Lane Poole. (London: Trübner & Co. 1879.)

2. EXTRACTS FROM THE CORAN in the original, with English rendering. Compiled by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D. (London: Trübner & Co. 1880.)

These two works are similar, though of very different pretensions. Sir W. Muir's very modest little volume of 64 pages contains thirty-five short extracts in Arabic with English versions. They are arranged according to the existing order of the *Korân*, and are of that class which exhibit "arguments drawn from Nature and Providence, with a view to prove the existence of God as the Supreme Ruler, and enforce His sovereign claim on the obedience and gratitude of mankind. The retribution of good and evil in the world to come, the obligation to follow virtue and eschew vice, the duty and happiness of the creature in worshipping and serving the Creator, and such like topics, are set forth in language of beauty and vigour, abounding often with real poetry." "Passages like these," the author considers, "can hardly be obnoxious to the professors of any faith; and there is much in them that should be welcome to all." The collection intentionally avoids the special tenets of Islâm, and may thus be useful "as affording a certain basis of agreement and common thought, for those who come into contact with the Muslim world." They might be useful in schools in India, and for the student of Arabic the selection may be found very serviceable. The Arabic type is that of Stephen Austin of Hertford, and is very clear and legible.

Mr. Lane's volume is of a very different character: partly a reprint of his *Selections* published in 1843, the book has almost been recast by his nephew. The extracts, which occupy the second half of the volume, are given only in English, and are arranged under distinctive heads,—the first part (consisting of about a fourth of the whole) sets forth the doctrines of Islâm; the second presents Muhammad's versions of the history of the patriarchs and other personages of the Jewish and Christian writings. To the first Mr. Poole has added considerably, while he has also largely freed it from the commentary with which, in the first edition, it was interwoven.

The original introduction, however, which had been abridged from Sale's Preliminary Discourse, has been discarded, and for it Mr. Poole has substituted an essay of 100 pages giving a sketch of the beginnings of Islâm in four chapters—(1) The Arabs before Muḥammad, (2) Muḥammad, (3) Islâm, and (4) The Kur-ân—well written and instructive. The volume is completed by two excellent Indexes.

METRICAL TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT WRITERS, with an introduction, prose versions and parallel passages from classical authors. By J. Muir, C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D. (London: Trübner & Co. 1879.)

This volume of Trübner's 'Oriental Series' is the work of a well-known and conscientious scholar whose services to the cause of Oriental learning will not soon be forgotten. These 218 *Metrical Translations*, which fill the first 196 pages of this volume, have partly appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*,[1] partly also in *Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers*,[2] and in three collections of versified translations printed for private circulation. They include also a reprint of the metrical pieces from the author's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vols. II. and V.

Besides occasional footnotes the author adds to his metrical renderings an Appendix of 142 pages, containing faithful prose translations of all the passages versified, so that the freedom of the metrical version can be at once judged of; and these latter are interspersed with references to interesting parallel passages in the Greek and Roman Classics, especially the Greek Dramatists. In addition to this, a further supplement of 39 pages more of further references is added, including a new version of the splendid hymn of Kleanthes, of which Cudworth remarks that "it breathes throughout a spirit of true piety and just knowledge of divine things."[3] Though not

[1] *I. A.* vol. III., pp. 170, 241, 335ff.; vol. IV., pp. 199ff. 269ff.; vol. V., pp. 152ff. 311ff. 340ff.; vol. VII., pp. 137ff. 203ff. 232, 292, 808; vol. VIII., pp. 86ff. 152, 204f. 321, 338ff.; vol. IX., pp. 29, [illegible], 87, 141. A notice of the first small collection of those versions was given in vol. IV., pp. 118ff.

[2] Published by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 1875, and noticed *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 118.

[3] Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, p. 432; conf. Sir A. Grant's Aristotle, 3rd ed. vol. I. p. 327f.

so literal as Dr. Muir's, Newman's translation of this hymn is so spirited, but so little known that we give it here:[4]

"Almighty alway! many-named! Most glorious of the deathless!
Jove, primal spring of nature, who with Law directest all things!
Hail! for to bow salute to Thee, to every man is holy.
For we from Thee an offspring are, to whom alone of mortals,
That live and move along the earth, the Mimic Voice is granted;
Therefore to Thee I hymns will sing, and always chant thy greatness.
Subject to Thee is yonder sky, which round the earth, for ever
Majestic rolls at Thy command, and gladly feels Thy guidance—
So mighty is the weapon, clenched within Thy hands unconquered,
The double-edged and fiery bolt of ever-living lightning.
For Nature through her every part beneath its impulse shudders,
Whereby the universal scheme Thou guidest, which, through all things
Proceeding, intermingles deep with greater lights and smaller.
When Thou so vast in essence art, a king supreme for ever.

. . . . .

Nor upon earth is any work done without Thee, O spirit!
Nor at the æther's utmost height divine, nor in the ocean,
Save whatsoe'er the infatuate work out from hearts of evil.
But Thou by wisdom knowest well to render odd things even;
Thou orderest disorder, and the unlovely lovely makest;
For so hast Thou in one combined the noble with the baser,
That of the whole, a single scheme arises, everlasting,
Which men neglect and overlook, as many as are evil;
Unhappy, who good things to get are evermore desiring,
While to the common law of God nor eyes nor ears they open,—
Obedient to which, they might good life enjoy with wisdom.
But they, in guise unseemly, rush this way and that, at random;
One part, in glory's chase engaged with ill-contending passion,
Some, searching every path of gain, of comeliness forgetful,
Others, on self-indulgence bent and on the body's pleasure,
While things right contrary to these their proper action hastens.
But, Jove all bounteous! who, in clouds enwrapt, the lightning wieldest,
Mayest Thou from baneful ignorance the race of men deliver!
This, Father, scatter from the soul, and grant that we the wisdom
May reach, in confidence of which Thou justly guidest all things,
That we, by Thee in honour set, with honour may repay thee,
Raising to all Thy works a hymn perpetual, as beseemeth
A mortal soul: since neither man nor God has higher glory,
Than rightfully to celebrate Eternal Law all-ruling."

As an introduction to this volume, Dr. Muir has given a very careful résumé of the opinions of European scholars, especially Lassen, Weber, Windisch, Böhtlingk, M. Barth, and Monier Williams, on the question whether the ideas and doctrines of the *Bhagavad Gîtâ* are derived from, or have been influenced by, the Christian Scriptures,—a question suggested[4] by the publication in this Journal (vol. II., pp. 283—296) of a translation of the Appendix to Dr. Lorinser's *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*.

We heartily welcome the issue of these Translations, &c. in a collected form. They are the moral gems picked out of the vast and often impure stores of Sanskrit literature,[5] and indicate that, though the moral darkness of ancient India was dense, there were occasional glimpses of a light given to individuals, which may have helped some to struggle against the natural progress of corruption, and handed them on to times of purer light. They were foundations, as it were, in thought and in language for a better ethical superstructure; soil for better seed; a προπαιδεία for the reception of the highest truth.[6]

[4] Part of this introduction appeared also in this Journal, vol. IV., pp. 77ff.

[5] Dr. Muir characterises the Hindu moral and religious ideas as represented in their literature in the words of the Greek poet,—πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δέ λυγρά. "Many good (things) and many bad mingled."

[6] Clemens Alexandrinus gives much prominence to the importance of such moral ideas in the old religions: See *Strom.* i. 5, and 17; and 20; vi. 8, 15, and 17; vii. 3; &c.

VALABHÎ GRANTS.

EDITED BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

(*Continued from vol. VII. p. 86.*)

No. XV.—A GRANT OF ŚÎLÂDITYA I., DATED SAMVAT 290.

THE plates on which the subjoined grant is written were found some years ago at Ḍ h â n k, in Kaṭhiavâḍ, and are now preserved in the Rajkote Museum. Through the kindness of Colonel L. Barton and Major Ch. Wodehouse, they were lent to me for a few days, and then sent to the Government Photozincographic Office, Puṇâ, where the accompanying facsimile was prepared.

The preservation of the plates is excellent, and the seal which shows the usual emblem and inscription is still attached to them. The letters, which exactly resemble those of the plates published in the *Jour. R. A. Society*, vol. XI, p. 360 seq., are deeply and well cut. The number of clerical mistakes which occur is not greater than on other plates of the same dynasty. One, *laddha* (Pl. I, l. 2) for *labdha*, appears to be owing to the substitution of a Prakrit form for its Sanskrit original.

The wording of the first or genealogical part of the grant is almost identical with that of Śîlâditya's earlier Śâsana of Saṁvat 286, and contains, therefore, no new information. The kings of Valabhî who are mentioned, are 1, B h a ṭ â r k a; 2, G u h a s e n a, 3, D h a r a s e n a II.; and 4, the donor Ś î l â d i t y a I., *alias* D h a r m â d i t y a. It is only to be noted that Ś î l â d i t y a is the first ruler, who omits B h a ṭ â r k a's four sons. The reason probably is that the plates used by his ministers were too small to admit the full list of kings, together with the obligatory eulogy of each. In other respects the grant offers various interesting points.

Firstly, it is dated (Pl. I, l. 1) *vijayaskandhâvârâd Valabhîpradvârahombavâsakât*, "from the camp of victory pitched in or on the *homba* situated in the open space before the gates of Valabhî." Here it is the curious term *homba*, which looks like a Deśî word, that offers some difficulty. I have not met with it in any other grant, and I have not been able to learn anything about its precise signification by inquiries at Valâ. From the context it appears, however, that it must have been either a cantonment or a garden in which the king had pitched his tents.

Secondly, the donee *Balavarmânaka-Vaṭapadrasvatalanivishṭa-Harinâthakârita — Mahâdevapâdâḥ* (Pl. II, ll. 2-3), "Worshipful *Mahâdeva*, dedicated by H a r i n â t h a, and dwelling within the precincts of B a l a v a r m â n a k a-V a ṭ a p a d r a," is very interesting. For, though we possess a full score of decipherable and deciphered inscriptions of the Valabhî kings, who with two exceptions call themselves *paramamâheśvara*, or 'ardent devotees of M â h e ś v a r a,' this is the first grant in which the family deity is mentioned as the recipient of a royal bounty. All the others record donations to Brahmans or to Bauddha Saṁghas. Our grant affords proof that the devotion of the Valabhîans to Ś i v a went beyond mere words. The place where the Linga, dedicated by Harinâtha, apparently a Brahman, stood, I am unable to ascertain. *Vaṭapadra* corresponds with a modern Varodrâ or Baroda. The map of Kâṭhiawâḍ unfortunately contains more than a dozen places bearing this name, and none of them is surrounded by villages called B h a d r â ṇ a k a, P u s h m i l a n a k a, B r a m i l a n a k a, and D î n n â n â k a, which appear in our grant (Pl. II, l. 6-9). It seems that in ancient times too the name V a ṭ a p a d r a was a common one. For the word *Balavarmânaka* prefixed to V a ṭ a p a d r a in our grant, which I explain to mean either 'belonging to or founded by Balavarman' (apparently a Kshatriya), can only serve to distinguish this particular village from other homonymous ones.

The passage specifying the objects granted runs as follows, (Pl. II, l. 4—10) :—*Vaṭapadrasvatala evottarasîmni vâṇija-Ghosha-(saska)-[satka]vâpyâ aparatah tathâ Balabhata-satkavâpyâ dakshinâtaḥ tathâ Chandrabhata-satkavâpyâ[ḥ]pûrvataḥ Vaṭapadrâderottarataḥ panchaviṁśatpâdâvartaparisarâ Yamalavâpî ; tathâpara-sîmni Bhadrâṇaka-grâmapathâddakshiṇataḥ Vîlakhaṭṭâyâ[khaṭṭâyâ a] parataḥ Dinnânâka-grâmapatha[thâ] duttarataḥ Baraṭakamaryâda[dâ]purvataḥ [pâdâvartaśataṁ sârdhaṁ tathâ dakshiṇasîmni âdityadevapâdîya vâpyâ[ḥ]pûrvataḥ Kâkinnikimbi ?]-mûvaka [mûchaka ?] satkakshetrâduttarataḥ[to]Bramilanakagrâmapathadakshiṇataḥ Pushmilânaka-*

grâmasîmni[ny]aparataḥ [*ta*] *evametatsaha va*[*vâ*]*pyâ pâdâvartaśatadvayaṁ pânchanavatyâ-*[*tya*]*dhikaṁ.*

"The Yamalavâpî, covering twenty-five square feet and situated just within the precincts of Vaṭapadra, on the northern boundary, west of the well of Vâṇia Ghosha, and south of the well belonging to Balabhaṭa and east of the well belonging to Chandrabhaṭa; moreover (*a field*) one hundred and fifty square feet (*in size*) on the western boundary, south of the road to the village of Bhadrâṇaka, west of Vîtakhaṭṭâ, north of the road to the village of Dinnâṇâka, east of the boundary of Baraṭaka; further [*a field one hundred and twenty-five square feet in extent*],[1] on the southern boundary, east of the well belonging to the worshipful deity Âditya, north of the field of the shoemaker (?) Kâkinni (Kâkimbi ?), south of the road to the village of Bramilanaka, west of the boundary of the village of Pushmilânaka; thus, including the well, these two hundred and ninety-five square feet (*of land*) . . . . . . [*have been given*].

The purpose for which the grant is made is the usual one, viz., to provide for the temple-worship and for the repairs of the building.

More interesting than these details are the name of the *Dûtaka*, probably the executive officer of the district in which Vaṭapadra lay, and the date of the grant. The *Dûtaka* is called Kharagraha, and we know from the later plates that Kharagraha I. was the younger brother and successor of Śîlâditya I., who during the latter's lifetime carried on the government. I have no hesitation in identifying the *Dûtaka* with the king, and to assume that his employment in this responsible position eventually led to his obtaining the real power in the State, and to "his carrying, solely intent on fulfilling his (*brother's*) commands, like a well-broken bullock (*carries the yoke*), royal fortune on his shoulders, though (*that fortune*) might have been desired by his most respected elder brother, who resembled (*Indra*) the elder brother of Upendra (*Vishṇu*)."

The date of our inscription is Saṁvat 290, while all the other known inscriptions of Śîlâditya I. are Śaṁvat 286. The new date reduces the gap between Śîlâditya's and the second Dhruvasena's grant of Saṁvat 310 to twenty years, for which we have two more kings, Kharagraha I. and Dharasena III. It is therefore very probable that our grant was issued towards the end of Śîlâditya's reign, and that he was shortly afterwards dethroned.

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्वलभीप्रद्वारहोम्बवसकात्प्रसभप्रणतां मित्राणामैत्रकाणामतुलबल[2]

[2] संपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसृक्तप्रहारशतलद्धप्रतापात्प्रतापोपानतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरा

[3] गादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशान्माता

[4] पिकृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषाकल्मषः शैशवत्प्रभृतिखड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगज

[5] घटस्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणताराति चूडारत्नप्रभाससाक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहतिस्सक

[6] लस्म्रितिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरन्जनान्वर्त्थराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यधैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्य

[7] बुद्धिसम्पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानश्शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया

[8] तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल प्रात्थनधिकात्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचरीव सकल-

[9] भुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः . परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृत

[1] The measurement of the second field has not been mentioned, probably in consequence of a slip of the engraver. It may, however, be ascertained by deducing the other two figures from the total given below.

[2] L. 1, read ओं; °वास°; °प्रणतामित्राणां. L. 2, read °संसक्त°; °लब्ध°; °पोपनत°. L. 4, read °पितृ°; °प्रविधौताशेष°; °शैशवात्प्र°. L. 5, read °संसक्त°. L. 6, read °स्मृति°; °रञ्जना°; °शब्दो. L. 8, read °फल°; °प्रार्त्थनाधि°; °पादचारीव.

[10] जाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकाल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानूसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाशृतस्स[3]
[11] रभसमाभिगामिकैगुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापितंखिलबलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपातिसम
[12] तिसृष्टानामनुपालयित धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवाणां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्व
[13] त्योरेकधिवसस्य संहतरातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपारिभोगदक्षविक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः पर
[14] ममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातस्सकालाजगदनन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगतिसम
[15] ग्रदिग्मण्डलस्समरशतविजयशोभासंनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्सपीठोदूढगुरूमनोरथमहा
[16] भरस्सर्व्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयप
[17] रितोपः समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूत
[18] कृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्तिर्द्धर्म्मनुपरोधज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवा
[19] निरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्य×कुशली सर्व्वानेव युक्तकविनियुक्तकद्रा

Plate II.

[1] ङ्गिकशौल्किकचौरोद्धरणिकचाटभटकुमरामात्यादीनन्यांश्च यथासम्बद्ध्यमानकान्समाज्ञाप[4]
[2] यत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मतापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय बलवर्म्मानकवाटपद्रस्वतलनिविष्टहरिनाथ
[3] कारितमहादेवपादानं पूजास्नपनगन्धधूपपुष्पमाल्यदीपतैलाद्यव्यवच्छित्तये चाद्यगीतनृत्याद्यु
[4] पयोगाय देवकुलस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसस्करय पादमूलप्रजीवननिमित्तय वटपद्रस्वतल एवोत्त
[5] रसीम्नि वाणिजकघोषसस्कवाप्या अपरतः तथा बलभटसत्कवाप्या दक्षिणतः तथा चन्द्रभटसत्कवाप्या
[6] पूर्व्वतः वटपद्रादेवोत्तरतः पंचविँशत्पादावर्त्तपरिसरा यमलवापी तथापरसीम्नि भद्राणक
[7] ग्रामपथाद्दक्षिणतः वीतखट्टायापरतः दिन्नानाकग्रामपथदुत्तरतः बरटकमर्य्यादपूर्व्वतः
[8] पादावर्त्तशतं सार्द्धं तथा दक्षिणसीम्नि आदित्यदेवपादीयवाप्या पूर्व्वतः काकिन्निमूवकसत्कक्षेत्रादु
[9] त्तरतः ब्रमिलनकग्रामपथदक्षिणतः पुष्मिलानकग्रामसीम्नि अपरतः एवमेतत्सह वप्या पादा
[10] दावर्त्तशतद्वयं पंचनवत्याधिकं सोद्रंगं सोपरिकरं सवातभूतप्रत्ययं सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं सद
[11] शापराधं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वप्रत्तब्रह्मदेयवर्ज्जितं
[12] भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनं धर्म्मदेयतया प्रतिपादित यतोपरिलि
[13] खितस्थित्या भुज्यमानं न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वानित्यान्यै-
[14] श्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामन्यं च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपा
[15] लयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः य
[16] स्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलं–यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि[5]
[17] निभुक्तमल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत=षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भू
[18] मिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ दूतकश्चात्र श्रीखरग्रहः=लिखितं सन्धिवि-
[19] ग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिचन्द्रभट्टिना ॥ सं. [२९०] भद्रपद ब ८ स्वहस्तोमम

[3] L. 10, read °कल्मषः°; °वाश्रित° L. 11, read °कैर्गुणै°; °स्तखिल; dele बल °नरपाति°. L. 12, read °पालयिता. L. 13, read °रेकाधिवासस्य; °संहताराति°; परिभोग°. L. 14, read °सकलजगदान°. L. 15, read °सनाथ°; °रांस°; °गुरुम°. L. 16, read °भारस्सर्व्व°; परापर°. L. 17, read °तोषः. L. 18, read °द्धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरी°. L. 19, read °नेवायुक्तक°.

[4] L. 1, read कुमार°; L. 2, read माता°. L. 3 read °पादानां; वाद्यगीत°. L. 4, read °संस्काराय, °निमित्ताय. L. 5, read घोष °सत्क चन्द्रभटसत्कवाप्याः. L. 7, read °पथादुत्तरतः; °दापूर्व्वतः. L. 8, read °वाप्याः; perhaps काकिम्बिमूचक. L. 9, read पथाद्दक्षि°; वाप्या. L. 10, dele दा in °दावर्त्त°; °त्यधिकं°; °प्रत्यायं. L. 12, read °पादितं; यत उपरि.° [5] L. 16, read भूमिस्त°. L. 17, read निर्भुक्तमाल्य°. L. 19, read भाद्रपद.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p. 221.*)

III.

Abulghazi tells us that it was the fashion among the Turks, the Tajiks,[1] and other races to ascend no higher than the 7th generation, and that in giving any one's pedigree the Turks were wont to say—"we have been smiths as far back as my seventh ancestor," or "seven of my ancestors have lived in this country," etc.[2] The 7th ancestor of Chinghiz Khân Menen-tudun was probably the first of his line of whom we can safely affirm that he was a real personage, and was not borrowed from the traditions and history of other races. The 7th ancestor was called Dutakun by the Mongols according to Rashid and Abulghazi. This is perhaps a corruption of *dolakhun*, which in Mongol means seven.

The Persian writers make Kaidu Khân the son and successor of Menen-tudun, and not his grandson as the Chinese do, and they tell us that as the 6th ancestor he was called Murti.[3] The word is also read *yurti*, *burki*, *murti* and *murki*.[4]

Kaidu is a well-known Mongol name, and was borne by a grandson of Ogotai Khân, who became a rival of Khubilai Khân. The Sagas apparently assign to Kaidu the son of Menen-tudun, the foundation of an independent community. I have mentioned how his uncle Nachin carried him off to the country of Barguchin Tugun, where he became famous for his prowess and skill.

When he grew up his uncle made him the chief both of the Bargut and of the Cheges or Tsekors,[5] by which name the people living on the Chikoi, a tributary of the Selinga, are probably meant. He then determined to revenge himself on the Jelairs. When he marched against them the latter tribe, afraid of his vengeance, agreed to surrender those who had been guilty, and it was found they were 500 in number, who were given up to Kaidu Khân with their wives and children to do what he liked with them. He then summoned a family council to decide what should be done. At this it was urged that to exact a blood penalty from them would not be judicious, since they were of such inferior rank to those whom they had killed, and it was determined that Kaidu should make slaves of them, and that they should remain in perpetual servitude to his family. They increased largely in numbers, and as was customary took the name of their patrons, *i.e.* Kiat Mongol. They remained in this condition of servitude till the days of Chinghiz Khân's great-grandson, and each prince of the Imperial stock had 20 or 30 Jelair families in his service.[6]

This condition of servitude is what Rashid calls *Utgubughul*.[7] It applied only to one section of the Jelairs, the ancestors probably of the present tribe Jelaid. The greater part of the race remained free, and eventually moved westward into the Kazak steppes. Rashid tells us that Kaidu founded in the country of Barguchin a ferry for the convenience of travellers, which from him was called Kaidu Chunlum.[8]

The *Yuan-shi* which refers to this fact calls it a bridge, and tells us it was built over the "little Black river" in the country of Bargu.[9] Black river is Kara-gol in Mongol, and it is probable that the Kara-gol, a well-known tributary of the Orkhon, is here meant. It is curious that one so prominent in the Mongol genealogy as Kaidu should be altogether ignored both by Ssanang Setzen and in the *Altan Topchi*. In the list given by Pallas from the *Bhodhimer*, he is replaced by Genedugen, answering no doubt to Genigesy, the grandson of Kaidu as given in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*.

Let us now proceed again. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Kaidu had three sons, Boshinkhor Dokshin, Karakhailinkhu and Jaujin Ortagai. Rashidu'd-din calls them Baisangkur, Jerki Liu Gun and Jaujin Urdeki.[10] In the *Yuan-shi* which says Kaidu left but two sons, the first of them is named Pai-sung-khur and the other Cha-la-ka-ning-ur. The latter of whom is there said to have married his brother's widow, and by her to have had Ne-ku-cha-wur-tu-te-ko, who was the ancestor of the Se-chi-

[1] *i.e.* the Persians.
[2] Abulghazi, 74.
[3] Id.
[4] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 543, note 3.
[5] *Yuan-shi*, Douglas, p. 8; Hyacinthe, p. 7.
[6] Abulghazi, 62 and 63.
[7] Erdmann, 543.
[8] Id.
[9] Hyacinthe, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[10] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

hwu, *i.e.* the Sijiut. The *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen only name the first son, the former calls him Baisangkur Dokshin and the latter Shingkhor Dokshin. As I have said, both of them omit the name of Kaidu, and make Baisangkur the son of Khachi Külük. We will revert to Baisangkur presently.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Karakailinku, *i.e.* Jerki Lin Gun had a son Sankunbilge who had a son Anbakhai, who had a son Khadan Taishi. Having married the widow of his elder brother, he also had by her a son Besutai, who was the ancestor of the Besut or Baisut. According to Rashidu'd-dîn they were the descendants of Jiadai, whom he makes the 9th son of Tumbaghai or Tumeneh Khân.[11] Jauji Ortagai according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* had six sons:—1, Oronar; 2, Khuankhotan; 3, Arulat; 4, Sunit; 5, Khabturkhakhu or Khaturkhasi; 6, Genigesi. These are merely eponymous names, the father the eponymos of the Urtagans, and according to Rashidu'd-dîn of the Sijiut; Oronar, the stem father of the Urnaut; Khuankhotan of the Kunegkiat; Arulat of the Arulat; Sunit of the Sunid; Khabturkhakhu of the Kabteruns, and Genigesi of the Chinos.

Let us now contrast this story with that told by Rashid. He calls Kaidu's second son Jerki Lin Gun, and tells us Lin Gun, which was corrupted by the Mongols into Liku, was a Chinese title meaning Great prince. On his brother Bai Sangkur's death he married his widow, by whom he had two sons, Kendu-chino and Uluk-chino, *i.e.* the male wolf and the female wolf. Their descendants, we are further told, were called Chinos and also Nokuz, and he distinguishes them from the Nokuz who came out of Irgeneh-kun.[12] By another wife Rashid tells us Jerki Lin Gun had other sons, the eldest of whom was Surghodul-chino who was the father of Ambaghai Khân, of whom we shall have more to say presently. Kaidu's third son according to him was called Jaujin Urguz, and he was the ancestor of the Sanjiut and Arikans or Ertigans.[13] We will now revert to Bai Sangkur, the eldest son of Kaidu Khân, who in his capacity as fifth ancestor was entitled to the style of Budakur.[14] Apparently no facts are recorded about him.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us he had a son, Tunbenai Setzen. The *Yuan-shi* calls him Tunpa-khai, the *Altan Topchi* Tonbenai, Ssanang Setzen Tumbaghai Setzen, and Rashidu'd-dîn Tumeneh Khân. As fourth ancestor he was styled Budutü. Tunbenai Khân according to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* had two sons Kabul Khakan and Sinshili. The *Yuan-shi* gives him six sons, namely Ko-tsi-ku, Hai-ke-le-tsi-ko-tan, Ho-chun, Ha-ta-le-taî, Hos-shi-kwan, and Ho-po-lu Han, the last of whom is of course Kabul Khâkan. Rashidu'd-dîn gives him nine sons, whom he calls respectively—Jak-su, Barin Shir-batu, Khaiju, Kajuli, Sam Khajiun Batkulgi, Kabul Khan, Udur Bayan, Budantsar Doglan and Jiadai. That is in the main the same eponymous ancestors of various tribes who in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* are made sons of Menen Tudun. This variation in the genealogy as given by the three principal witnesses shows we are still in the region of artificial names introduced to explain ethnographic relations, and it is probable that the only names of actual persons in the list are those constituting the main line of descent of the Khanate. Let us now turn to Kabul or Khubilai Khân, who as third ancestor was entitled Elenjik. We are indebted to Rashidu'd-dîn for preserving us a curious *saga* about him. He tells us that his prowess and that of his sons having reached the ears of the Altan Khan, *i.e.* of the Kin ruler of China, he sent envoys to summon him to his presence. He accordingly set out, and was received with due honours, and was given a grand feast, but afraid of treachery to which the Chinese were much addicted, and that the meat and drink might be poisoned, he withdrew for a while on the plea that he wanted repose, and then returned. Presently when the air was cooler, he again withdrew to refresh himself, and went to bathe in a neighbouring stream. He now returned again, and being satisfied of the good faith of the Chinese, began to eat and drink voraciously, and without showing any signs of suspicion. His immense appetite astonished his hosts, who declared that God had chosen him for a great ruler, since meat and drink seemed not to satisfy or make him drunk. Presently, however, the drink began to affect him. He approached the Altan Khan, and laid hold of his beard, and gave him a box on the ear. The Altan Khan's minister,

[11] *Vide infra.*
[12] Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 217—219, 545; Abulghazi, 63.
[13] Erdmann, u. s. p. 544; Abulghazi, 68.
[14] Abulghazi, 74.

who was witness of this, was greatly angered, and was for punishing him then and there, but having become somewhat sober, Kabul apparently apologized, saying that it was his hand which was to blame, and not himself, for his will had not followed his hand.[15] According to D'Ohsson's reading he demanded to be punished.[16] The Altan Khân who thought that if he exacted punishment he would bring the revenge of his people upon himself, dissembled his anger, and having selected from his treasury a silken garment embroidered with gold threads, a crown, a gold decked girdle and other presents, presented them to him on his departure. His minister argued, however, that he had not done well in letting him thus go. He thereupon sent a messenger to recall him, and as he refused to go, a second messenger with a *posse* of troops was sent to compel him. When they arrived at his camp he was not at home, but one of his wives promised that on his return he, with his sons and daughters, would comply with the emperor's wish. As the messenger was returning home he encountered a man attended by some slaves whom he recognized as Kabul, and thereupon seized him and carried him off. *En route* they put up at the house of a Saljiut, who was a friend of Kabul Khân's. He supplied the latter with a horse which he said was as swift as the lightning or the wind. On this he mounted and fled, and was pursued by the messenger of the Altan Khân, who did not overtake him however till he reached home. There Kabul treated his pursuer with marked hospitality, gave him a beautiful new tent to live in, where he was waited upon by his young wife Meti. Meanwhile, however, he summoned his dependents, his sons being away, and told them that he had become weary of life since he had been pursued by the Chinese messenger. He called upon them to kill him, saying that if they did not do so he would commit suicide. Thereupon they fell on the Kin messenger and slew him. Kabul Khân soon after fell ill and died.[17] Nothing of this appears in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. On turning to the Chinese annals dealing with the Kin dynasty we find certain obscure notices which apparently refer to these events. In the *Ta-kin-kwochi* we are told that during the reign of the Emperor Tai-tsung, whose Tungusic name was Ukunai, and whose reign was in the interval 1123—1137, a great number of the Mongku became subject to him, but in the next reign, *i.e.* 1138—1140, they became rebellious.[18] De Mailla, who translated the *Kang-mu*, states that about 1135 the Mongols began to be very powerful and a menace to the Empire. We are told they could see by night as well as by day, and that they wore cuirasses made from the hides of fish which were proof against arrows. Towards the end of that year the Kin Emperor sent his General Hushaku against them.[19] Hushaku was not successful but had to retire. His retreat was the signal for the advance of the Mongols who captured many of his people, and followed him as far as the district of Hailing, where, having ventured on an engagement, his army was cut in pieces. Another and more formidable army was sent against them. This was apparently in 1139.[20] These extracts probably refer to the reign of Kabul Khân and to the feud he had with the Kin Empire. According to Rashidu'd-dîn, Kabul Khân married Goa Khuaku, meaning the Fair Khuaku, who belonged to the Turkish tribe of the Kongurut, of which we shall have much to say presently. By her he says he had six sons, who were called Kiat. Abulghazi says the Mongols call a torrent which comes down from a mountain *kian*, which word originally meant rapid or impetuous. The plural of *kian* is *kiat*,[21] and we are told the sons of Kabul Khân were so called because of their impetuosity. The name Kian or Kaian, however, was doubtless of much older date, and designated in the old legends one of the two primitive stocks of the Turks. One of the two brothers who ruled them in their primitive home in Irgenehkun was called Kian, and his descendants Kiat. Kiat was the special name of the family of Chinghiz Khân.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that Kabul had seven sons, in which it is followed by the *Yuan-shi* and Ssanang Setzen. These agree generally with the names recorded by Rashid, and are as follows:—Ukin Barkhakh, Bartan Bâghadur, Khutukhu Mungur, Khutula Khakan,

[15] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 551.
[16] *Op. cit.*
[17] Erdmann, pp. 551—553.
[18] Schott, *Aelteste Nachrichten von Mongolen und Tataren*, 17.
[19] De Mailla, vol. VIII, p. 518.
[20] Id. p. 529.
[21] Abulghazi, 71.

Khulan, Khadan[22] and Todayan Uchigen.[23] In the *Yuan-shi* the names are given as 1, Ughin-pa-la-gha-gha; 2, Par-tan; 3, Hwa-tu-lu-mi-niur; 4, Hwa-lu-la-khum; 5, Ho-tan Patur; 6, To-tuan-wo-chi-kin; 7, Hwo-lan-pa-tur. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that although Kabul Khân had so many sons, he did not leave his Empire to any of them, but left it to An-ba-khai, the chief of the Taijut. This doubtless refers to the "Imperatorship," to coin a phrase; the Mongols proper no doubt remained subject to their own royal stock.

It was about this time that the long feud commenced between the Mongols and Tartars which had such serious consequences later on.

The Tartars here mentioned, to whom the name Tartar properly belonged, were, it would seem, formerly the suzerains of the Mongols, who were in consequence sometimes referred to as Black Tartars, *i. e.* subject Tartars. They consisted according to Rashidu'd-din of about 70,000 families, who lived in the neighbourhood of lake Buyur in North Eastern Mongolia. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* also places them on the river Orshin which connects the lakes of Buyur and Kulun and on the Olkui further south, and they seem in fact to have held the northern part of the Kingkhan range. I have discussed the orthography of the name Tartar in a long note to the first volume of my work already cited.[24] They are first mentioned by the Chinese historian Gheaou-yang-sieou who lived 1007—1072, and who tells us they were descended from the Mo-ho of whom they were a section, and that their country was situated to the north-east of that of the Hii and Khitans. We are told further that the Mo-ho having been attacked by the Khitans were dispersed; one portion submitted to the Khitans, another sought refuge with the Pohai to the east, while the third took refuge in the In-shan mountains, and adopted the name of Tachô, which was the original form of the name Tartar in the Chinese Annals.[25] The Mo-ho were the Tungusic tribes of Manchuria, from whom the Kin Tartars and the modern Manchus sprang. Hence it follows that the Tartars were in fact very near relatives of the modern Manchus, but we may get even nearer than this to their real affinity. Their name as I have argued is equivalent to nomade, and is probably derived from their dwelling in movable *yurts* or tents. Such a yurt is called *Tatara-bu* in Manchu, and is derived from the Tungusic word *tata* or *tartar*, meaning to drag or pull, and a tent or house shelter is still called *tatan* or *tata*.[26] Now the Daurians, who, so far as we know, sprang from the very country of the old Tartars, and thence overspread the district east of lake Baikal called Dauria, have their name formed out of the same element. They are called *Da*-urs or *Ta*-gori. Da-ur, we are expressly told, means the square hut which prevails with the tribe, and I have small doubt that the Daurians are in fact the descendants of the Tartars proper of early Mongol history. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us they were divided into six divisions, but if this statement is reliable two of the six were probably of subordinate rank, for, as we shall show further on, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* several times refers to *the four hordes* of the Tartars.

We will now turn to the feud which arose between the Mongols and the Tartars. Goa Khuaku Kabul's wife had a brother named Sain Tegin, *i. e.* the Good prince. The latter having fallen ill, a Tartar Shaman or Kam named Jerkil Buduya, was summoned to treat him. The patient died notwithstanding the *hocus pocus* of the Shaman. The latter was sent home, but not long after was put to death by the relatives of Sain Tegin. A struggle ensued at a place called Beran Segdan. (?) In this fight Kedan Baghadur distinguished himself in single combat with the Tartar leader, Motor Behadur, in which the latter was badly wounded, and remained *hors de combat* for a whole year. On his recovery the struggle was again renewed at two places named Ula Ilak (?) and Ker Ilak (?) in which the Mongols had the best of it.[27] These struggles were renewed several times by the sons of Kabul Khân.[28] Meanwhile difficulties arose in another direction. As we read in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* the Khakan An-ba-khai, who was the special chief of the Taijuts, had given his daughter in marriage to a chief of the Tartars, who lived on the river

[22] The Kedan Behadur of Rashid.
[23] The Tudan Uchugen of Rashid.
[24] *Vide History of the Mongols*, vol. I, p. 700.
[25] Visdelou, *Supplement* to D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque*, p. 828.
[26] *History of the Mongols*, pp. 702 and 703.
[27] Erdmann calls these two places Buleh Atangenut and Gera Bolgenut. I have adopted the orthography of Berezine.
[28] Erdmann, pp. 527 and 553-4.

Orshin. As he was escorting her himself he was seized by the Tartars, who doubtless deemed it a good opportunity for revenge, and by them was handed over to the authorities of the Kin empire, who also had a grievance against the Mongols. Rashidu'd-dîn in reporting this event makes out that An-ba-khai had gone to the Tartar country to fetch home his own bride.[29] The former authority says that as he was being carried off he bade a man named Barakhashi of the tribe Baisut, who was returning home, go and tell Kutlugh Khân and his own son Khadan Taishi to revenge him, and drawing his illustrations from the use of the bow, he told him to entreat them that even if they had to wear out all the nails on their ten fingers in the work to do so. Rashid reports this part of the story differently. He says that An-ba-khai, as he was being carried off, sent one of his slaves named Bulghachi to tell the Kin Emperor that it was a base thing to put him to death when he had been treacherously captured and surrendered by others, and that if he did so he would draw upon himself the revenge of all the Mongol tribes. The Altan Khan ruthlessly bade the messenger take post horses, and go and tell his people that An-ba-khai was going to be executed by being nailed down to a wooden ass. He accordingly set out, but when he came to the land of the Durbans,[30] they refused to give him the necessary horses, and paid no heed to his reproaches, so that presently his Chinese horses having broken down, he had to go on foot. When he reached home he reported what had happened.[31] The process of nailing people down to a so-called wooden ass, flaying them, and then hewing them limb from limb, was a well-known punishment of State criminals in China (see Stanislas Julien *l'Orphelin de la Chine*, pp. 127 and 128).[32]

Beside An-ba-khai, Ukin Barkhakh, the eldest son of Kabul Khân, was also put to death in this fashion, and it was the execution of these two chiefs which was made his chief ground for attacking the Kin empire by Chinghiz Khân. Ssanang Setzen has a curious statement that in a struggle which ensued between the sons of Kabul Khân and of An-ba-khai they were all killed save a son of each. I cannot find a confirmation of this story elsewhere, but it is singular that Kutlugh Khân, the son of Kabul, and Khadan, the son of An-ba-khai, are the only two of the many sons of the two chiefs who occur in the succeeding story, and it would seem that their brothers were in fact dead, while it is very certain that there was a rivalry for supremacy between the two families. Resuming our story, we are told in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* that when An-ba-khai was carried off and put to death, the Taijut tribe met together on the banks of the river Khorkhon, and elected Kutlugh as their leader, *i. e.* as Khakan or Imperator. Palladius by this locality understands the low ground on the river Onon, but this is doubtful, for the Onon is very frequently mentioned by its proper name in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*: but we shall hear again of this name. Kutlugh Khân is so called by Rashidud'-dîn. D'Ohsson mistakenly calls him Kubilai.[33] It would seem that his elder brothers were now dead, especially Bardan Baghadur, and consequently according to the Mongol law of succession by which brother succeeds brother he became the heir to the throne. He was directly the ruler of the Mongols, and apparently "imperator" of the forces of other tribes, including the Taijut. Kutlugh was a famous hero of Mongol romance. His voice, we are told, could be heard behind seven hills, and was compared to the thunder in the mountains. His grip was like that of a bear, and when he chose he could break a man with his brawny arms like breaking an arrow. He would haul whole trunks to make up his fire on winter nights, and would lie asleep beside it more or less unconscious with drinking, heedless of the cinders and sparks which fell on his naked body, mistaking the burns for the bites of insects, and turn over to sleep again. At his meals he could demolish a whole sheep and a huge skin of *kumis* or fermented mare's milk, and still was not satisfied.[34] He was in fact the heroic colossus and Hercules of Mongol legend. He headed the army which marched against China to avenge the deaths of his relatives. On this occasion he was accompanied by his nephew Yessukei, the son of Bar-

[29] Erdmann, p. 553.

[30] By the Durbans I believe with Palladius the Tartars are meant. Durban means *four*, and the word doubtless here refers to the four tribes of the Tartars; the Durbans have been made a separate tribe by Rashid by mistake.

[31] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-6.

[32] Erdmann, *op. cit.*, p. 527 note.

[33] *Op. cit.*, vol. I., pp. 32—35.

[34] Erdmann, op. *cit.*, pp. 554-5.

dan Baghadur by Khadan Taishi, the son of Anbakhai, and by Khadan's son Tuda. Rashidu'd-dîn tells us that in this struggle the Mongols won a complete victory, and returned with a great booty. As he was retiring Kutlugh with some of his warriors engaged in hunting, and got separated from his companions. When the Durbans[35] heard of this they went against him, killed his companions, and compelled him and his horse, which had the speed of lightning, to take shelter in a marshy place. In this bog he sank, but springing from his horse's back, and gaining solid ground, his pursuers, it is said, disdained to touch him, remarking "What can a Mongol do without his horse,"[36] and thereupon withdrew. He succeeded however in recovering his horse, which he dragged out of the quagmire by its mane, and went on his way homewards. His people there had made up their minds that he was lost, and Rashidu'd-dîn reports how his nephew Yessukei prepared the funeral meats, and took them to Khadan Taishi and his son Tuda and to Kutlugh's wife. The two former began to wail terribly, but the brave wife on hearing what the cause of their grief was, bade them not distress themselves that he whose voice was like the thunder, and who could hug men like a bear, was not likely to be undone by the Durbans, and he did in fact shortly appear riding on a stallion which he had carried off from the Durbans, and driving a number of their fillies before him. His great boots he had filled with eggs of the wild geese which he found in the steppe, and rode barefoot. The funeral feast was now converted into another kind of festival, and Kutlugh's wife triumphed greatly in boasting that she knew her good man would not be killed by these poltroons.[37]

On turning to the Chinese notices for confirmation of these doings, we find it stated in the *Kangmu*, under the year 1147, that the war between the Kin Empire and the Mongols still continued. The son of Talan who was a Kin general named Chinghoa-tu-lang, and whose country bordered on that of China, incensed at his father's death, deserted the side of the Kin, and joined the Mongols, and increased their power so much that the general Uchu, who on his return from Pien leang was sent against them, was compelled to make peace with them, to cede 27 forts north of the river Si-ping to them, and to undertake to pay them annually a certain number of cattle and sheep and also grain. He wished to give their chief the title of Mong-fu-kue-wang, but he refused it, and himself adopted the style of Emperor of the great Empire of the Mongols, and he was styled Tsu-yuan-wang-ti.[38] The *Ta-kin-kwo-chi* says nothing about these events, but merely reports that the Mongku, having obtained many Chinese and Khitan boys and girls either in war or otherwise, who had coalesced with them, had gradually become accustomed to the use of cooked meats, and become a great nation under the name of Ta-Mongku-kuo, *i. e.* the Kingdom of the great Mongols.[39] These extracts seem to me to clearly refer to the reign of Kutlugh Khân. The Si-ping of this notice was the Kerulon which now became the frontier between the Kin Tartars and the Mongols. It would seem from the Chinese notice translated by Vasilief that the Kin ruler gave up to the Mongols the fortresses he had north of the Kerulon. He says he also agreed to pay tribute. According to Vasilief the title which the emperor wished to confer on Kutlugh was Ao lo Bochielie, which he deems a corruption of Du-Bo-chielie, meaning the great minister.[40]

According to the above passage it would seem further that it was about the year 1147 that the chief of the Mongols first adopted the style of 'Mongol Khân.' What then is the meaning of this name 'Mongol?' Schmidt explained it as derived from Mong, meaning 'brave, daring, bold.'[41] This etymology is acquiesced in by Dr. Schott,[42] and I adopted it in the first volume of my work on the Mongols.[43] But I am not now by any means certain of this view. In a recent number of the *China Review* there is a note by M. Deveria, which is singularly interesting. He quotes a passage from the Chinese work *Liang-pan-tsieun-yu-ngan* in the terms following:—"The expression Mung-kuurh is used in the markets to signify silver (cash).

[35] *i. e.* the Tart[illegible].

[36] Assuredly a [illegible]ntence with a singular local force when applied to this race of Centaurs.

[37] Id. pp. 556—561.

[38] De Mailla, vol. VIII., p. 545.

[39] Schott, *op. cit.* 17.

[40] Berezine, Rashid-ud-din, vol. II., p. 185, note 38.

[41] Ssanang Setzen, p. 380; *Journ. Asiat.* 1st ser., tom III., p. 109.

[42] *Op. cit.* p. 5 note.

[43] *Vide op. cit.* page 27.

In the national language Mungku means silver. It is by contradistinction with the Gold Empire that this title "Silver" was adopted."[44] This is very interesting. There can be no doubt that in Mongol the name for silver is Munggu or Monggu. Now it is singularly curious that the two dynasties which succeeded one another immediately before the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, namely, those founded respectively by the Khitans and the Niuchi or Jurchi gave themselves names derived from two metals. The former styled their dynasty Liao, *i.e.* steel, and the latter Kin, *i.e.* gold, and it would be consistent if the Mongols were similarly to designate their dynasty from the metal silver. There would be even a greater reasonableness in their doing so, for their country was very rich in silver. As Isbrand Ides long ago stated, "the river Zerebrenski, which falls into the Argun about eight miles from Argunskoi is called by the Mongols Monga-gol, *i.e.* the silver river, because formerly about two miles up the stream there were silver mines out of which the Ninccheners, *i.e.* the Kin Tartars and the Mongols, dug great quantities of that metal, and great numbers of pits in which the metal was melted are at present to be seen."[45] The old traveller tells us the mines having been long disused had fallen in, but he took a piece of the ore back with him to Moscow. If he had known of this river it would have strengthened the contention of Banzarof, which I do not by any means adopt, that the word Mongol was derived from *mon-gol*, a river, and, as he contended Saljiut was from a Salja-gol and Olkhonut from Olkho-gol.[46] The silver mines and graves in the old Mongol country are described in some detail by other travellers.[47] These facts make it not improbable that the name Mongol is in fact derived from *monggu*, 'silver,' and that it was applied about the year 1147 as stated in the *Kangmu*. We will now tabulate the genealogies we have discussed as given by the principal authorities.

The-Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi.

Khâidu Khân.

Boshing khor Dokshin | Kharakhai Linkhu | Jaujin Ortagai

Tunbenai Setzan | Sankurbilge | Besutai | Oronar | Khuankhotan | Arulat | Sunit | Khabturkhaku | Genigesy.

Kabul Khakhan Sinshili | Anbakhai Chief of the Taijut

Ukin Barkhakh. Bartan Baghatur. Khutuktu Mungur. Khutula Khakan. Khulan. Khadan. Todayan Uchigen.

The Yuan Shi

Hai du

Pai-sung-khur | Cha-la-ka-ning-ur also called Chai-pur-kan-nu-ur

Tun-pa-khai also called Tun-pi-nei | Ni-ku-cha-wur-tu-ti-ko ancestor of the Sijiut.

1 Ko-tsi-ku also called Na-ko-hor | 2 Hai ki li tsi ko-tan also called Ko-huo-la-ko-li-tan | 3 Hau-chun also called Ho-chan | Hata-le-tai also called Ha-la-la-tai | Hor-shi-kwan also called Ha-ta-li-chi | Ho-pu-la also called Ho-po-lu-han

Hoi-tsin-pa-le-ko also called Ugh-in-pu-la-gha-gha | Par-ta-mu also called Par-tan | Hu-tu-ko-la-ma-naur also called Hwa-tu-lu-mi-niur | Hor-lar-an also called Hwa-lu-la-an | Ha-tan-pa-tur also called Ho-tan-pa-tur | To-to-ngo-che-si also called To-tuan-wo-chi-kin | Hu-lan-pa-tur also called Hwo-lan-pa-tur

[44] *China Review*, vol. VII. p. 232.
[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 47.
[46] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, etc., p. 513, note 3.
[47] Ritter, *Asien*, B. II. pp. 321—338.

Rashidu'd-din
Kaidu Khan

Baisangkhur — Jerki Lin Gun — Jaujin

(Jerki Lin Gun:) Tumeneh Khan — Surghodul-chino — Kendu-chino — Uluk-chino

(Surghodul-chino:) Ambaghai Khan

(Ambaghai Khan:) 1 Juksu — 2 Barin Shir Batu Khaiju — 3 Khajuli — 4 Samkhajiun — 5 Batkulgi — 6 Kabul Khan — 7 Udur Bayan — 8 Budantsar Doghlan — 9 Jiadai

Ukin Barkhakh. — Bartar Baghadur. — Khutuktu Mungur. — Khadan Baghadur. — Khutula Khan. — Tudan Uchigen.

Altan Topchi	*Ssanang Setzen*
Khachi Kuluk	Khachi Külük
Bai sanghur Dokshin	Shingkhor Dokshin
Tonbenai Setzen	Tumbaghai Setzen
Khabul Khakan	Khabul Khakan
Barun Baghatur	Bardan Baghatur

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

As elsewhere, India gave birth to men of wealth and position, and numbers of these people fed, clothed, and even bore hardships on account of their beggars. The result was that he who gave most died leaving behind him the greatest number of beggars.[1] The practice of alms-giving has existed from a very early age, at least from the time of Manu. Nearly a tenth of the population have been beggars, and instead of being ashamed of this, beggary is deemed a condition worthy to be sought after and followed. There are even some among this class of people who will not go to the trouble of seeking charity, because they know they will be provided with the necessaries of life by people who look upon them as having sacrificed themselves for some social end, for—

"Brother, we have become a Gosâvi, and abandoned everything.
Patel build us here a chapel, bring plenty of *bhâng* and tobacco,
Provide daily food for me, and send a sister to serve me."

Thus these worthless and degraded members of society are encouraged in idleness by the ready supply of their wants. What is the use of labour, the beggars say, why work hard and get half a loaf, why not follow beggary as a profession? In Banâras, if a boy is told by his parents to go to school, his reply will sometimes be that, if again told to do so, he will join some of the many alms-houses (*annakshatras*).[2] And when Khanderâo Gâikvâḍ died, an immense number of *faqirs* sat lamenting his death: they said that the Mahârâja had induced them to beg, and now he was dead, and there was nothing left for them whereby to obtain their maintenance.

The Bombay beggars may be divided into two classes, the religious and the non-religious; they may also be subdivided into the Hindu religious and non-religious, the Musalmân religious and non-religious, and others. The Hindu religious beggars are *Vaishṇavas*, *Śaivas*, and the abominable *Śâktas*, adorers of the goddesses. These classes may be distinguished by the kind of rosaries they sometimes carry, and by the marks on their foreheads, temples, arms, chest, and abdomen, which they either stamp with a wooden form for the purpose, or burn the skin with heated metal plates; and the *Śâktas* by the application of red stuff to their foreheads between the eye-brows.

[1] Mr. Gopâlrâo Hari's *Bhikshuks*, p. 17.

[2] Mr. Gopâlrâo Hari's *Bhikshuks*, p. 17.

To give a list, says Beveridge,[3] of the severities practised by the beggars would be to enumerate almost all the imaginable modes of torture; keeping the palms of the hands closed till the nails grow into the flesh on one side and re-appear on the other; creeping along in twisted forms till permanent and unnatural distortion is produced; holding the arms upright till they lose their power of motion and become shrivelled; hanging over slow fires; burying in a living grave with only a small aperture to prevent suffocation; such are only a few of the modes of tormenting displayed by beggars who infest the country and extort alms either by the commiseration which their sufferings excite, or the desire to be rid of their filthy and disgusting presence. Naked bodies smeared with ashes of cowdung; hair hanging in locks matted together with filth; sometimes with living reptiles concealed in them; human skulls filled with filth; and human bones strung round the neck,—are among the devices used by those who are ambitious of the honour and greedy of the profit which it too often commands. The following abstract of an account will show how some of these beggars do penance.[4] 'At ten years of age,' says the narrator, 'I gave myself up to meditation and mortification, at twenty I left my home and lived in a cell doing penance for twelve years. Vermin or worms gnawed my flesh, of which the marks still remain. When the Râja opened the door of the cell, I said 'Either take my curse or prepare for me a bed of spikes,' which the Râja did, and this is the one I occupy. During the four months of winter I travel on this bed, while night and day water is let fall upon my head. For thirty-five years I travel on this bed, which is pulled by my disciples. At Surat, Collector Boddam built a house for me and provided me with something to subsist on.'

Hindu non-religious beggars of all classes are found begging in Bombay—Brâhmans and Śûdras, Mângs, Mhârs, and Ḍheḍas, principally the lame, the blind, the deformed, the leper and the decrepit, who prefer street-begging because their gains are large, and they have liberty to rove about and indulge in the luxuries of life.

The Musalmân religious beggars are known as Jalâls, Madâris, Rafais, Banavas, and Safis. Of these the last two closely resemble their Hindu congeners: they are known by the names of Tarikat, Sharikat, Mârphat, and Hakikat, and their chief is called the Sarguro.[5] They use rosaries of beads, practise *jap tap*, and apply ashes to their persons. Those of them who do not marry are held in high estimation; some marry and have families. The Musalmân non-religious beggars are like those of the Hindus, they follow the profession of mendicants because their gains from it are large. As an instance the following from the *Indian Statesman* well illustrates the fact:—'A curious instance of the life led by some of the Musalmân mendicants was revealed by the researches of the officers of the Small Cause Court, Bombay. It would appear that a bailiff executed a writ of possession against a tenant, a Faqir, by name Sayad Ebrahim Sâhib. The bailiff on entering the room was nearly stifled by the stench arising from filth in the shape of dead rats, dead fowls, a dead dog which was packed in a tin fiddle-case, and heaps of dust and cockroaches, living and dead. Money was found, in bank notes, silver and copper to the extent of Rs. 2,500. Surrounded by all this filth, with about nine or ten dogs for company, he looked on with a sad eye at the cleaning process, and begged to have his dead dog restored to him.'

The Bombay beggars generally start on their business in the mornings, and beg from early morn till one or two o'clock; and in the evenings from three till eleven at night. In the mornings they are given uncooked rice and in a few cases money, but in the evenings money and scraps of food are offered to Mâng, Mhâr, and Ḍheḍ beggars. These, the most wretched of the class, beg only in the evenings, after people have had their meals, for the remains of food. They are not satisfied with what they get by begging, but they also rake up the spots where the dinner plates and fragments of food are thrown, and lick the plates along with dogs and cats; the dogs barking at the beggar and the beggar driving away the dog with one hand and eating with the other. This is a most pitiful sight to look at. These beggars go with baskets and pieces of cloth, in which they collect the remains, and after eating a sufficient quantity

[3] [illegible] I., p. 4

[4] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. V. p. 50.

[5] Mr. Gopâlrâo Hari's *Bhikshuks*, p. 16.

sell the remainder to their more unfortunate brethren. The rice which the beggars collect they either sell to their customers at their houses or in the beggar (*bhikâr*) bazar, where they sit in rows with their goods spread on pieces of cloth in front of them for disposal.

Pârsîs, says a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*,[6] do not allow the infirm, the helpless, the indigent, or even the unfortunate of their community to loiter about the streets or to beg from door to door, but they are cared for by the Pârsîs themselves. No Pârsî knows experimentally the humiliation of asking alms. None deprived of the power to work, none left destitute, has his misery aggravated by the apprehension of being reduced to beggary. However helpless, food and raiment at least, and a place to dwell in, he can always find amongst his own people.

Then there are what may be termed reformed beggars—men, women, and children of all castes and creeds, (of course with the exception of the Pârsîs,) and sometimes termed '*lurks*.' There are the sick-lurk, the fire-lurk, and petition or *arja vâlâs*. There is no law as to who should assume the garb of a beggar. But any one that wishes may follow the profession without restriction. There are young and old, the poor and some that are well off, the diseased and sturdy, impudent, stout healthy fellows who follow this miserable profession with great pride, and if one, says a writer in the *Native Opinion*, has the stump of an arm or of a leg to parade, he does so in the most conspicuous manner, with the idea that the public is bound to feed him. Others will lash their bellies, exclaiming in English, 'Mamma no money, no *khânâ*';—showing their naked stomachs, 'look belly, mamma ; two eye blind mamma ; give poor man one pice papa.' And again, 'Mamma nurse *chhota bâbâ*, mamma nurse blind *bâbâ*.' But of late much of this noisy beggary is put down by the executive police, and there are not to be seen now-a-days, as ten years ago, rows of beggars lining both the sides of the Esplanade road and other public streets. The number of these beggars, says a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*,[7] would inundate Bombay but for the longing which they feel individually or in numbers f visiting their homes. Generally the gains of a season are sufficient to take them to their native village, and maintain them there for some time amongst their relations. Yet for all this, Bombay has a pauper population which contributes largely to swell the number of beggars in her streets. The peculiar views and feelings which the mass of the native community entertain in reference to the virtue or goodness of alms-giving (*dharma*), leads them to the exercise of indiscriminate liberality; the prejudice in favour of such charity being so deep that it can scarcely be eradicated, and hence the attraction of many persons to Bombay from neighbouring and even remote districts. Were it not for the warmth of the climate, the simplicity and cheapness of their diet, this multitude of beggars would often feel such a want of proper clothing and food that they would soon be reduced to conditions of disease often terminating in death. The sum required to support life is so very small that it can usually be obtained with facility by even the aged and infirm. At the Musalman eating houses a wheaten cake weighing more than half a pound may be purchased for half an anna. This cake with a little meat-curry twice a day forms the diet of many a labouring man here,—his two meals thus costing him one anna and a half. The ordinary meal of a poor Hindu is about a sêr and a half of flour, or half a sêr of rice with a little curry, and two such meals a day cost about one anna and a quarter per day. All who seek alms generally obtain as much as this, and so long as a really destitute person can go or crawl from door to door, and make himself heard, he is sure to obtain relief.

Brâhman Beggars.

The Brâhmans, giving up their former thirst for knowledge, lead a life of indolence, adducing as their plea that as their ancestors once begged, and thereby maintained themselves, they now make begging as a profession their birth-right. Hindus, whose great weakness is an inordinate love of praise, are easily induced by Brâhman mendicants, who are apt flatterers, to give as much as they are able ; their house and almost everything they have they will give to a Brâhman, however wicked or wealthy he may be, as they think no *dân* has any other signification than

[6] Vol. IV, p. 267.

[7] Vol. IV, p. 254.

bestowing gifts on Brâhmans, who as a class are designated charity-receiving people,—authorized to receive alms of every one willing to bestow it. Compared with the vast sums showered upon these beggars, the *dharma* a Hindu makes to others is almost nothing. Brâhman mendicants do not, like the other Hindu beggars, go to the houses of others than Hindus for alms, for they are never patronized by them.

ŚÂSTRIBÂVÂS.

Śâstribâvâ—or the expounder of the Śâstras—always a Brâhman by caste, and a well-to-do person, dresses in white clothes, with a shawl over his left hand and another wrapt round his shoulders, and accompanied by one or more followers. One of his followers goes inside a Hindu house, and tells the inmates that the Śâstribâvâ awaits and asks for a seat for him. He then says that the great man is on his way to the holy Banâras on pilgrimage, and requests to be paid to visit Kâśvishveśwar, or the lord of Banâras, and return. This gentleman assumes a grave demeanour, and seeing his pomp he is generally paid in silver.

TELANGAS.

Telanga Brâhmans go about begging, and also offer for sale the sacred thread of the Hindus. They always roll round their waist a woollen cloth (*dhâbli*), which they make use of to take dinner with, if they happen to see a dinner party at which Brâhmans are invited to dine. They go in uninvited, and if they are not allowed to join they will depart, but not before invoking bitter curses on the heads of those who refuse them a share in the feast.

Then there are again others from Telangana, whose dress consists of a waist cloth, and pieces of coloured cloth tied to their arms with the ends hanging loose. They carry a square flat wooden box in which is kept the image of a Hindu god, covered over with a cloth which is removed only when the bearer is to be paid, or the inmates of a house wish him to show it to them. He pretends to foretell future events. He is a very quiet beggar, and asks for alms in a low tone and humble way. He goes away quietly if nothing is given him. He generally gives persons a pinch of turmeric to be rubbed on their brows, or touches their foreheads with it himself.

A third kind of beggars from Telangana are called Kâvadyâs. They carry over their shoulders a *Kâvad*, or a bamboo stick with slings at each end; in these slings are hung bamboo baskets covered over with ochre coloured cloth. They say that on that stick they once conveyed their aged parents to the holy city of Banâras, and as a sign of their having visited Banâras they show a small glass bottle containing water which they say they brought from the sacred Gaṅga. Or they say that they are going to Banâras to bury the bones of their aged parents who died only a short time ago. People believe them, and give them money to defray their expenses on the way thither.

HARIDÂSAS.

These are Hindus, mostly Brâhmans, who deliver sermons (*kirtans*), especially during the Gaṇapati and Râmnavmi festivals. Some of these men are very eloquent preachers, and their manner of delivery is most pleasing. A *haridâs* is always accompanied by a drummer, *mṛidangyâ*, a fiddler, and two or more players on metal cups. Some of these musicians are little boys, and as their voices are sweet and musical, their singing is harmonious and very enjoyable.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

6. LIGHT AND DARK FORTNIGHTS.—Mr. R. A. Proctor, writing on "the Origin of the Week" in the *Contemporary Review* for June 1879, (p. 410), says with reference to the Hindu month; "Flammarion. . . . says, 'the *clear* half from new to full, and the *obscure* half from full to new;' but this is manifestly incorrect, the half of the month from new to full having neither more nor less light by night than the half from full to new." Nevertheless, though Mr. Proctor is right as to the physical fact, Flammarion is right as to the practice. Will more competent persons explain why this is, how the conventional *bright* and *dark* halves of the month do not correspond with the bright and dark halves of the moonlight? Or are bright and dark halves, though very commonly used both in the vernaculars and English,

as equivalents for Śudh and Vadya, only conventional mistranslations after all?

C. E. G. C.

The first half of the lunar month is called the *Śukla-paksha*—the light, bright, or white fortnight, and *Sudi* is used for 'in the clear fortnight,' while the other half is the *Krishṇa-paksha*, or 'dark fortnight,' also called *Vadya-paksha*. The first seems to be naturally enough called the *bright* fortnight, for the simple reason that in the moonlight evenings, especially in tropical climates, people enjoy the moonlight, sitting out of doors chatting, &c. When the evenings are *dark*, the moon of midnight and early morning is not so enjoyed, and the fortnight is regarded as relatively *dark*.

J. B.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

The fifty-seventh *Annual Report* of the Royal Asiatic Society (1880), has been prepared and published by the energetic Secretary, and is replete with information, chronicling as it does the contents of every publication and paper connected with every branch of Oriental Research that has appeared since last *Report*. We extract portions from it :—

During a tour "in the Northern districts of the Madras Presidency, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham paid a flying visit on the 20th Jan. last, to the Tope at Amarâvati. Having sent a working party beforehand, they uncovered, during the Duke's stay there, what appeared to be the foundations of the southern gateway, and a considerable portion of the procession path, that surrounded the monument. During these operations they found also a considerable number of sculptured slabs." Owing to the want of all experience on the part of the excavators it is feared, however, that this rough and ready excavation may have obliterated many traces that would have been of great importance in the eyes of a skilled archæologist :—if so, it must be deplored that the Tope was meddled with under such circumstances. "Meanwhile it is to be hoped, that efficient means will be taken for the protection of the sculptures thus uncovered, as all those that have been hitherto exposed have been removed by the natives for building purposes or burnt into lime." Mr. Sewell has prepared a report 'On the Amarâvati Tope,' and on his excavations there in 1877. The famous Amarâvati sculptures recovered by Capt. Colin Mackenzie and Sir Walter Elliot, and long in the India Office, have been removed to the British Museum, and are being attached to the walls of the chief staircase.

"In the *République Franç* (June 20, 1879), M. Regnaud has printed 'L'Avenir des études Sanskrites';—and in the *Révue Philosophique*, 'Études de Philosophie Indienne, l'école Vedânta.' In the *Academy* of July 5, 1880, is a long and able review by Prof. F. Max Müller, of Kielhorn's '*Vyâkarana Mahâbhâshya*.' In the *Berliner Monatsber* (June, 1879) Prof. Weber has two articles, 'Ueber die Magavyakti des Krishṇadâsa Miśra'—important essays on Mithraic worship, with reference, too, to the Indo-Skythic coins; and in the same, Dr. Bühler has printed 'Eine Notiz über einige Sanskrit MS. aus Kaśmir in der Hof. Bibliothek zu Wien.' In *Mém de la Soc. de Linguistique*, A. Barth has 'Formes irregulières dans le Bhâgavata Purâṇa.' In the *Calcutta Review*, Mr. A. E. Gough has continued his study of the 'Philosophy of the Upanishads.'"

"F. Bollensen has brought out at Leipzig a scholarly edition of the drama *Malavika und Agnimitra* ;—Dr. Böhtlingk has added to the valuable labours he carried out with Dr. Roth, some years since in what is known as the great *St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary*, —the true *Thesaurus* of Sanskṛit—a new and condensed dictionary; which is indeed, not only more than a mere abridgment, but a most important supplement to the former, in that all the *addenda* and *corrigenda* of the former are now incorporated into the new Dictionary. It is to be hoped that an English translation of this most useful work, now in contemplation, may be soon accomplished. Mr. Anundoram Boroogh has issued a second volume of his *Practical English and Sanskrit Dictionary*, but this does not, as was anticipated, complete the work, as it only carries it as far as the word 'oyster.' The author has added to this second volume of his Dictionary a supplementary chapter on what he calls 'Higher Sanskrit Grammar,' or gender and syntax—of nearly 300 pages. The collection of rules and illustrations he has given will be highly appreciated by those who have to teach Sanskrit; but it is to be regretted that he has not thought it necessary to give more complete authorities for his various statements. To say that a word has this or that meaning in Manu or Pâṇini or Sayana is scarcely enough, without the chapter and verse where it occurs. Professor Weber has completed the third volume of his *Indische Streifen*, being reviews of current Sanskrit, Pâli and Prakrit literature, with an index of forty-six closely-printed three-column pages for reference to the three volumes and a classified bibliographical table of contents. The number of authors mentioned or criticized in this third volume is about 330." "Professor Adolf has also published the second part of his *Rigveda, die*

älteste literatur der Inder, ein Wissenschaftliche beilage zum Programm der kantons-chule."

Prof. A. Weber has issued an earnest appeal for the constitution of a 'Sanskrit Text Fund' to take the place of the now moribund if not dead 'Sanskrit Text Society.' "It is to be hoped that his proposal may be successfully carried out, as no country has so large an interest as England in everything connected with Indian literature."

"Prof. R. Pischel has completed his edition of Hemachandra's Páli Grammar." He has also "edited and translated the *Assalâyana Suttam*, the 93rd sutta in the 2nd portion of the *Majjhima Nikâya*. It describes how the Brahmans, irritated by the promulgation of Gautama's doctrine of the equality of castes, persuaded Assalâyana, a young and distinguished scholar, to undertake to overthrow Buddha's arguments—the result being that he was defeated and became a convert to Buddha's views. Reference is made to the state of things existing among the Yonas and Kambojas,"—and, "if, as seems probable, the Yonas of this passage are the Baktrian Greeks, the date when the *sutta* assumed is present form cannot be earlier than the 3rd century B.C." "Dr. Oldenberg has published the *Dipavaṁsa*, an ancient Buddhist historical record." "Also the second volume of the *Jâtaka* and its Commentary, edited by Prof Fausböll, has been published."

German Oriental Society.—The Society has published vol. xxxiii, pts. 3 and 4, and vol. xxxiv, part 1. Among the papers they contain is one by M. Vambéry, 'On the speech of the Turkomans, and on Machdumkuli's Diwan;' Professor Spiegel has a short paper on 'Adar Gushasp;' J. H. Mordtmann has one entitled 'Die Himjarischen Inschriften in Tschinili Kioskh;' Dr. A. D. Mordtmann one 'Zur Pehlevi Münzkunde, Die ältesten Muhammedanischen Munzen;' and another (vol. xxxiv)—his fourth contribution on the same subject, a very long and important paper on—'Die Munzen der Sassaniden,' which has been printed since the author's death. M. Adolf Holtzmann writes on 'Die Apsaras nach dem Mahâbhârata,' and Prof. Aufrecht gives a short paper on 'Eine seltene Verbalform'; J. Klatt has one on 'Dhanapâla Rishabha panchaśika,' of interest as referring to Jaina worship; and Count Victor von Strauss und Torney, one on the 'Bezeichnung der Farben blau und grün in Chinesischen Alterthum'; Prof. Ethé has one on Nâṣir Chusrau's Râsanâinama oder buch der Erlauchtung'; MM. Stickel and Tiesenhausen write on 'Die Weltbezeichnungen auf Muhâmmedanische Münze;' Dr. G. Saleman 'Ueber eine Pehlevisch-Arabische Münze;' and Dr. Fleischer gives a notice of a find of Sassanian coins at Oberlausitz, and suggests that they may have found their way thither by trade from Trebizond.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.—No. 1 of the *Journal* for 1880 contains, first, a "Description of the Great Śiva Temple of Gangai-Kondapuram and of some other places in the Trichinopoli District" by Lieut. Col. B. R. Branfill,—a paper which in another form has already appeared in this Journal (*ante* pp. 117 ff.); second, on "Rude Megalithic Monuments in North Arcot" by the same, which is also, in a more extended form, already in type for the *Ind. Antiquary*. The third paper is on the coins of the Maharâjas of Kâṅgṛa, by C. J. Rodgers. Kâṅgṛa is on a tributary of the Biâs, and the ancient chiefs were called the Râjas of Trigartta—the country of the three rivers, the Biâs, Râvî and Satlej. These râjas claimed descent from Susarma Chandra, governor of Multân at the time of the Mahâbhârata. Mr. Rodgers in his remarks follows closely the information collected by Gen. Cunningham (*Archæol. Rep.* vol. V. pp. 152ff.). The coins seem to be found in great numbers in the Panjâb, and range from the middle of the 14th to the middle of the 17th century A.D. Mr. Rodgers gives a plate of twenty-four specimens.

Major H. S. Jarrett has a "Note on an inscription found upon a stone lying near the ruins of a Masjid on Lanka island, Wular Lake, Kashmîr." The inscription is in Persian, and reads,—

May this edifice be as firm as the foundations of the heavens,
May it be the most renowned ornament of the universe,
As long as the monarch Zayn 'Ibâd holds festival therein,
May it be like the date of his own reign,—"happy."

The date in the chronogram خرم is 847 A. H., equivalent to A.D. 1443—4 during the reign of Zayn-ul 'Aabidîn or Zayn 'Ibâd. This inscription is mentioned in the Persian history of Kashmîr by Muhammad Á'azam, and thus affords Major Jarrett an opportunity to draw from that work an outline of the history of the country from A.D. 1305 to 1443.

The subject of the fifth paper is a more important one,—"Coins of the Sunga or Mitra Dynasty, found near Râmanagar in Rohilkhand:—the property of H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq. Described by A. C. Carlleyle." Râmanagar has been identified by General Cunningham with Ahichhatra[1]

[1] For references to Ahichchhatra, see *Jour. A. S. Ben.* vol. XXX, pp. 197, 198, *J. R. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 86; and Vol. V, p. 295: Wilson's *Vishnu Pur.* (4to ed.) p. 187n., and *Meghadûta* (Rost's ed.), p. 248.

the ancient capital of North Panchâla; and whatever may be the value of this identification, many coins have been found on the old site, and also at Bhuila, the supposed site of Kapilavasta, in the Bastî district. Mr. Carlleyle assumes that "from the numerical proportion in which the coins of various kings are found in a hoard, we can generally make a pretty good guess as to who were the earliest, and who the latest of the series. Thus the king of whom the greatest number of coins are found in a hoard, may be accepted as either the latest, or the contemporary king of the dynasty at the time when the hoard was buried or lost; while the king of whom the fewest and most worn coins are found may be accepted as the earliest, in point of time of the series." This rough rule may be of some help in arranging a hoard buried all at once; but is utterly valueless for collections of coins buried at various times accidentally and otherwise, in which numerical superiority could only indicate the largeness of the mintage of any particular king, and hence, probably, of his greater length of reign. All these coins bear over the legend three symbols, which Mr. Carlleyle describes as the Bodhi tree on the left, two snakes intertwined to the right, and in the middle a punch-marked depression containing a symbol, which in one case he calls 'a Linga,' and in others, 'a linga guarded by two Nâgas which rise on each side of it.' Might not these be the symbols of the Buddha creed—of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha? The symbols on the obverses are generally but poorly preserved in the examples represented, but we can hardly accept them as "Buddha standing, with right hand raised and radiating from his head," and "on a Buddhist railing between two trees."

The series of names represented by these coins are arranged by Mr. Carlleyle as follows:—

Kings.	No. of coins found at Râmanagar.
1. Bhadraghosa	5
2. Sûryamitra	7
3. Anumitra	1
4. Bhânumitra	10
5. Agnimitra.......................	11
6 Phâgunimitra	28
7. Bhûmimitra	34
8. Indramitra	1 + 1?
9. Vijayamitra	
10. Satyamitra	
11. Sayamitra	
12. Ayumitra	

Gen. Cunningham has also a coin of Dhruvamitra, which belongs to the same dynasty. Of the later kings in this list, Ayumitra's name is found on a single coin of Mr. Rivett-Carnac's, and "this king must have been one of the latest of the dynasty, as the letters of the legend belong to the later Gupta period." The coins of Vijayamitra, Satyamitra, and Sayamitra are from other localities and "are of quite a different type." The author places Pushpamitra at the head of his lists, though no coins have been found of his, nor do any of the names derived from his coins, except that of Agnimitra, coincide with those of the Paurânik lists of the Śunga dynasty founded by Pushyamitra.

The last paper is by C. R. Stülpnagel on coins of Ghiâs-ud-dîn and Mu'az-ud-dîn bin Sâm, describing eight dirhems of the two brothers whose names are joined on them, and dated in 596, 597, and 598 A. H. The paper is illustrated by a plate of three specimens.

The Society has also published as an extra part to vol. XLVII., "A Sketch of the Turki Language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan," by R. B. Shaw,—a vocabulary of 226 pages.

BOOK NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. IX.: Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75. By Alexander Cunningham, C.S.I., C.I.E., &c. Calcutta: 1879.

In this ninth volume of his *Reports*, General Cunningham takes occasion to discuss the starting point of the Gupta era. For fixing the epoch of this era he adduces the following data:—(1) the "date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran in the year 165, Thursday 12th Ashâdha sudi"; (2) the "date of Dhruvabhaṭa in Samvat 447, he being presumably the king of that name who was reigning at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 640;" (3) the "date of the Morvi copperplate in the year 585 of the Gupta era, on the 5th Phâlgun sudi, at the time of a solar eclipse," and (4) "the name of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter in five different inscriptions added to the date of the Gupta era." These five are—Mahâ-Vaiśâkha in Hastin's inscription of 156; Mahâ-Aswayuja in another of 173, and Mahâ-Chaitra in a third of the same king dated 191; the fourth Mahâ-Mâgha is on an inscription of Hastin and Sarvanâtha, and the fifth is Mahâ-Aswayuja on one of king Sankshoba dated in the year 209.

General Cunningham points out, as had been done before him by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 80), that if the sixth Śilâditya of Valabhi, who

bears also the name of D h r u v a b h a ṭ a, be the king of the same name visited by Hwen Thsang, then the date on his copperplate of Saṁ. 447 must relate to some era commencing about 190 to 200 A.D. He says—"Of course, Dhruvabhaṭa's inscription may be some 25 or 30 years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit." This we cannot quite agree to, as we have a published inscription of Śîlâditya V., the father of the king in question, dated in Saṁ. 441,—so that 6 years is the utmost limit on one side, and thus the epoch cannot be placed much lower than A.D. 200.[1] He then computes that 12th Ashâdha sudi fell on a *Thursday*, on 24th June (O. S.) 359 A.D., and if this correspond with Budha-Gupta's date in 165, the initial point of the epoch must be in 195 A. D., he also finds that there was a solar eclipse on 14th Magh vadi or 10th February 780 A. D., and considering this as the eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 258), he arrives at A. D. 195 as the 1st year of the Guptakâl. We have had these computations performed, and find that in E. long. 71° and lat. 23° N.[2] (near the position of Morvi), there was a solar eclipse on 10th Feb. 780 A. D. (15 Magh vad), which lasted about 2 hours 50 minutes, the greatest obscuration being at 2h. 21m. P.M. and extending to fully half the sun's diameter at the assumed locality. For the other date, we find the 12th tithi of Ashâdha sudi began 30 *g.* 20 *v.* 35 *p.* after sunrise on 23rd June 359 A.D., but if we follow the rule that when a tithi begins after sunrise, it is held to concur with the following day, we find the date to be *Thursday*, 24th June, as the General states. Too much weight, however, should not be ascribed to this latter coincidence.

The names of the years in the Jovian 12-year cycle do not strengthen the argument; for, if we assume any one of them to be correct, the others must fall into their places. What is wanted to render them of any value for this purpose is distinct and authoritative information as to the use of this cycle and the date from which it starts.

As to the initial date, however, an additional argument might be added. The suggestion we believe is due to Dr. Bühler that the forged grant of D h a r a s e n a II. dated Śaka 400[3] is approximately correct in its date. Now Dharasena must have died beween 272 and 286 of the Valabhi era, and if we assume 284 as the date, and as coincident with the year in which the plates are dated, or A.D. 478-9, we obtain A.D. 194-5 as the epoch. The forgery was fabricated of course later than Śaka 400, but not so late as that the date of Dharasena was not known at least within a few years. The assumption of the round number 400 as the numeral, may itself be due to some slight uncertainty as to the exact date to be fixed upon; but otherwise, if we allow that the forgery was made within a century or so of the date it presents, this plate is corroborative of the theory as to the initial date of the Gupta era which Dr. Bühler first suggested.

General Cunningham then attempts to show that D r o n a s i ṁ h a may have begun his reign as early, according to this reckoning, as A.D. 365 or 370 (that is 171 or 176 of the Gupta era), and so have been contemporary with B u d h a G u p t a. Now as his elder brother reigned before Dronasiṁha, his father B h a ṭ â r k a can hardly, on this supposition, have died before 166, and D h a r a p a t t a, the fourth son of the latter, reigned for some time between 216 and 236. This makes the son survive his father by about 65 years,—which is somewhat unusual. This difficulty is in no way, however, connected with the initial epoch of the Gupta era, for the same thing must occur wherever we fix that epoch. But if we assume, as we may do without any forcing of the ages, that Bhaṭârka lived till 176 or 180, that D h a r a s e n a was Senâpati till about 190, and that D r o n a s i ṁ h a then acquired power, he might still be contemporary with B u d h a G u p t a, during the last year of that king's reign (if he lived to 190[4]), and have been crowned by him. But it is more natural to suppose that he was crowned by B â n u g u p t a,[5] in whose reign we have the date 191 on an inscription at Eran. This clears away the objection which arises from assuming that D r o n a s i ṁ h a had a very long reign.

General Cunningham next assumes that the Gupta kâl dates from the commencement of C h a n d r a g u p t a's reign; but as we have C h a n d r a g u p t a II. dating in 82 and 93, and his son K u m â r a g u p t a from 96 to 129, there seems no necessity for extending the four reigns over 130 years. With an average of nearly 22 years to each king, this period would include the six kings of the dynasty from its rise under Ś r i G u p t a, who would thus be placed 60 years later than General Cunningham assumes.

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[1] In 1878 I was led on the same grounds "to place the initial date of the Valabhi era about A. D. 195," but not regarding the point as sufficiently proved no further use was made of it (*Descrip. Account of the Rock-Temples of W. India*, p. 11); also *Cave Temples of India*, p. 191. —J. B.

[2] This eclipse would be central at noon in about lat. 18° 28′ N. long. 55° 26′ E.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V, p. 110; vol. VII, p. 63; vol. VIII, p. 301; and *Jour. Bo. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII, p. 244.

[4] The latest date we have connected with Budhagupta is 182.

Mr. Newton (*Jour. B. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. VII, p. 11) has read this name Bakragupta; from another very clear example, however, it appears to be plainly Bânugupta. General Cunningham regards Mr. Newton's and Sir E. C. Bayley's readings as *imperfect* renderings of Chandragupta (p 23); the occurrence of the name Bânugupta, with the date 191, however, places this matter beyond dispute.

It is to be regretted that General Cunningham is so sparing in the citation of his authorities: thus, though founding his argument largely for the fixation of the Gupta era on Dhruvabhaṭa's grant and the Morvi plate, he gives no reference to where they are to be found; and one is a little startled to find him referring to "an inscription of the Châlukyas as early as the reign of Mangala, or Mangalisa, the son of Pulakesi before A.D. 550" (p. 101), and the further statement that "the inscription of Mangalisa is dated at full length, but the numeral word is unfortunately doubtful. It was read *chahatawa* by General LeGrand Jacob, but I think it must be intended for *Chaturtha Samvatsara*, the 4th year, which would be about A.D. 533" (p. 102). Now the inscription here referred to is evidently the third Nêrur grant, published in the *Journal Bom. B. R. As. Soc.* (vol. III., pt. ii., pp. 209ff.) and, with a facsimile, in the *Ind. Antiquary* (vol. VI, pp. 161ff.), and the plates being in excellent preservation, there can be no doubt about the word referred to;—the grant is not dated, and both General Sir G. LeGrand Jacob and Mr. Fleet read the whole phrase alluded to as—*svâmi-râjaṁ c h a h a t v â saṁvatsara-pûjyatamâyam kârtikkadvadaśyâṁ*, &c. The only dated inscription we have of M a ṅ g a l î ś a is that at Bâdâmi, of Śaka 500, A.D. 579[9] in the 12th year of his reign, which places his accession in A.D. 567 or about 38 years later than General Cunningham assumes. And the grant in question is evidently later than that of Bâdâmi and may be even 60 years later than the General suggests. Then the dates of the inscription of Pahewa and on a Banâras copperplate of Mahendrapâla Deva are referred, without remark, to "the era of Harshavardhana of Kanauj," whilst no sufficient evidence is adduced or referred to that any such era was really in vogue.

These statements have reference to the principal other chronological point discussed in this volume—the era of the C h e d i dynasty. Now there are eight inscriptions of the C h e d i s, dating from 793 to 928, and General Cunningham sets himself with his usual sagacity to determine the epoch from which they date, from the days of the month and of the week mentioned in each. Aided by these and several approximate synchronisms—some of which, as has just been indicated, may be questioned or modified,—he fixes on A.D. 250 as the initial date, and then finds that in four cases out of the eight the week days would coincide with those of the inscriptions, while in two cases they would fall on the day following, in one on the day preceding, and in one on the second day before. This result is not so satisfactory as he expected, but the difference of a single day in three cases, he regards as "an amount of deviation which is not uncommon in Hindu dates,"—yet the Budhagupta date (p. 17) is regarded as incompatible with the usual Valabhi reckoning because it differs just *one* day from that computed. We think General Cunningham is probably very nearly correct in the important conclusion he arrives at regarding the epoch of the Chedi era, though, to be consistent, he must minimise the value of the Budhagupta date in fixing the Guptakâl era. But the synchronisms given long ago by Dr. Fitzedward Hall (*Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* vol. VI. p. 501) distinctly indicated 250 A.D. as the first year of the Chedi era. The volume is illustrated by thirty plates of inscriptions and drawings.

Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien, von Alfred von Sallet. (Berlin; Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1879.)

On the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B. C., as is well known, his vast dominions were parcelled out among his principal officers. Stasanor, who had been appointed to the satrapy of Drangiana by Alexander himself, retained it after his death, but in the subsequent division at Triparadeisos (B. C. 321), he exchanged it for the government of Baktria and Sogdiana. Here he established himself so firmly that Antigonos prudently left him in undisturbed possession B. C. 316. In India, Eudemus had been left in command of the troops with Pithon, the son of Agenor, and Philip son of Makhatas, as satraps. The latter was murdered in 326 B. C. Pithon was removed to Babylon in 316 B. C., and Eudemus went to the assistance of Eumenes in 317 B. C., and was put to death by Antigonos. Seleukos Nikator, to whom Babylon had been at first assigned, after various changes of fortune, rose to great power, and between 311 and 302 B. C. extended his rule towards the east, and even invaded India, where he formed a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta. Under his grandson Antiokhos Sôter B. C. 261-246, when his kingdom was weakened by his long war with Ptolemy Philadelphos, Arsakes established the Parthian kingdom B. C. 250, and shortly afterwards Diodotus, governor of Baktria, revolted, and made Baktria an independent state. Seleukos Kallinikos (246—226) undertook an expedition against the Parthians, and seems to have entered into an alliance with Diodotos to secure his co-operation, but he was totally defeated by the Parthians.

The successors of these Græco-Baktrian kings are known to us almost solely from their coins;

[9] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 363ff., and vol. III. pp 305ff.

these have been discussed by several authors,[1] and A. von Sallet has done a service to science by the preparation of this modest little work of 232 pages and 7 plates, on the coins known up to the present.

The historical résumé, with which the book opens, occupies about a third of the whole. Plato, who reigned towards the end of the lifetime of Eukratides (cir. 165 B. C.), and of whom there is a unique tetradrachm of the Attic character, had not begun to use Aryan inscriptions on his silver coins, whence the author assumes that the reduction of the monetary standard and the use of the Aryan alphabet in the Baktro-Indian kingdoms (of Eukratides, Heliokles, and Antialkides) must have been introduced after 165 B. C. in the last years of Eukratides, and that his reign must have terminated at latest about 150 B. C. After Heliokles, Plato and Antialkides all certain indications of dates fail us and the author at this point sums up in tabular form the numismatic results obtained thus (p. 29):—

The established dates of Greek rule in Baktria and India.

Alexander the Great coins square copper money in India or Baktria?

Sophytes, an Indian prince and vassal of Alexander the Great, in the neighbourhood of the modern Lahor coins Greek money about the year 306 B. C., imitating the head of Seleukus I. of Syria.

Antiokhos II. of Syria issues (about 256 or 250) Baktrian coins with the name of Antiokhus and national Baktrian type. Diodotos, called Soter by the later kings, about 256 or 250 becomes independent king of Baktria (revolted or was acknowledged by Antiokhus). His son Diodotus II. mentioned by Justin is not proved by the coins and doubtful.

Euthydemus from Magnesia follows him or his dynasty in Baktria—as appears from the coins, peaceably; but—according to Polybius—after setting aside the "grandchild of the rebel." War with Antiokhos III. of Syria. Treaty of peace. Antiokhos promises (and afterwards gives?) his daughter (Laodike?) to Demetrius the son of Euthydemos. Euthydemos dies in old age.

Demetrius, son of Euthydemos, follows him, and extends his dominions as far as India. Bilingual coins appear. Demetrius makes war with—

Eukratides, king of Baktria, who reigns in the time of one of the earliest Arsakidan kings, therefore probably about 200 B. C. A treaty of peace (according to authors the overthrow of Demetrius and occupation of India) with favourable conditions for the victorious Eukratides (?); Demetrius gives his daughter Laodike to the son of Eukratides, Heliokles (?). Coins of Eukratides struck at the wedding of his son Heliokles and Laodike.

Heliokles coins as co-regent (socius regni, according to Justin) with his father.

Euthydemos II., son of Demetrius, a boy, coins (as co-regent with his father?)

These coins of Euthydemos II. are of the same date as those of

Pantaleon Antimakhos (θεός),
Agathokles.

Pantaleon and Agathokles belong to the same kingdom, possibly Pantaleon's is a short reign immediately preceding that of Agathokles. Agathokles and Antimakhos strike the coins of their predecessors: among these, as predecessors on the Baktrian throne are thus honoured:

Antiokhos Nikator (II?),
Diodotos Soter,
Euthydemos Theos.

The following reigns stand side by side.

Demetrius	Eukratides	Agathokles	Antimakhos	Antialkides
Euthydemos II.	Heliokles during the later nominal part of the reign of Eukratides. Plato 165 B. C.	Pantaleon (or in inverted order)	θεός	(perhaps somewhat later)

[1] Bayer, *Historia regni Bactriani* (Petrop. 1738); Mionnet, *Supplement*, vol. VIII. (1837); Lassen, *Zur Geschichte der Greichischen und Indoskythischen Könige* (Bonn, 1838); the same translated by Dr. Roer and H. Torrens in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol IX, pp. 251, 339, 449, 627, and 733 ff; Grotefend, *Coins of Greek, Parthian, and Indoscythian King of Bactria and the countries on the Indus* (Hannover, 1839); H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua* (Lond. 1841), and papers in *Asiat. Res.* vol. XVII, pp. 559 ff., *Jour R. As. Soc.* vol. III, p. 381, *Numismatic Journal* vol. I, p. 144, &c., H. Torrens in *Jour. A. S. Beng.* vol. IX, p. 70; vol. XI, p. 137; vol. XX, p. 137; Cunningham, *J. A. S. Beng.* vol IX, pp. 393, 531, 867, 1008, 1217; vol. X, p. 570; vol. XI, p. 130; vol. XXIII, p. 379; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. VIII. p. 175, also in vol. IX, X, XII, XIII; Tod in *Trans. R. As. Soc.* vol. I, p. 313; J. Bird, in *J. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. I, p. 293, and *Histor. Researches*; M. E. Jacquet in *Jour. Asiatique*, 3ème Sér. t. I. (1836), p. 122; t. II, p. 234; t. IV. (1837), p. 401; t. V. (1838), p. 163; t. VII (1839), p. 385; Longperier, *Rev. Num. Blois* (1839) p. 81; M. Raoul Rochette *Jour. des Savants*, 1834, pp. 328, 385; *Supplement*, 1835, pp. 514, 577, 640, 765; 2me *Suppl.* 1836, pp. 65, 129; 3ème *Suppl.* 1838, p. 736, 1839, p. 89, and 1844, p. 108; Lassen, *Alterth.* Bd. II. SS. 289 ff. Prinsep, *Antiquities* (ed Thomas,) vol. II, pp. 125 ff, Thomas, in *Jour. R. A. Soc.* vol. XX, p. 99, in *J. A. S. Beng.* vol. XXVII, p. 251, *Num. Chron.* vol. XIX, p. 13, and *N. S.* vol. IV, p. 103; W. S. W. Vaux, in id. vol. XVI, p. 108, and *N. S.* vol. XV, p. i. ff.

The reduction of the coin took place in the later years of Eukratides; the change being from the Attic standard hitherto in use.

Eukratides	Antialkides
Heliokles	

From this period all the princes coin according to the reduced standard.

In the later days of Eukratides:	Antialkides's successor, perhaps not contemporary:
Apollodotos.	Lysias
Heliokles follows Eukratides.	
Strato contemporary of the latter part of the reign of Heliokles.	
Agathokleia Strato's wife.	
Strato II. "the beloved of his father," Strato's Son.	

So far all is certain, or, according to the coins, in the highest degree probable. With the death of Heliokles, or more correctly with the reduction of the coin in the later years of Eukratides, there begins suddenly large series of other Greek coins of the Indo-Baktrian kings so very like one another in style that it is quite impossible, as before, where writers still help us a little, to arrange them chronologically. Antialkides, Lysias, Apollodotos, Strato, have already been spoken of so far as they reach into earlier times, but from the joint character of their coins the greater part of their reigns, also stretch into the time of these later Greek Indo-Baktrian kings, whose names the author arranges here in alphabetical order before giving them chronologically.

Names.	*Surnames.*
Agathokleia (Strato I.'s wife).	Theotropos
Amyntas	Nikator
Antialkides	Nikephoras
Antin akhus (II)	Nikephoros
Apollodotos	Soter, Megas, Philopator
Apollophanes	Soter
Arkhebius	Dekaios, Nikephoros
Artemidoros	Aniketos
Diomedes	Soter
Dionysius	Soter
Epander	Nikephoros
Hermaios	Soter
" and Kalliope	
[Sy-Hermaios	Soter]
Hippostratos	Soter, Megas
Lysias	Aniketos
Menander	Soter, Dikaios
Nikias	Soter
Philoxenos	Aniketos
Strato I.	Soter, Epiphanes, Dikaios
Strato II. Strato's Son	Soter, in the Aryan transcript still "loving his father"
Telephos	Euergetes
Theophilos	Dikaios
Zoilos	Soter, Dikaios

We now pass on to give a translation[2] of a later paragraph (p. 42) of this resumé:—

"On the occasion of the publication of the tetradrachm of Plato, Vaux made the striking remark, that a comparatively large number of the names of the Baktrian kings occur again in the army or companions of Alexander the Great, and that we may therefore appropriately recognize in the Baktrian kings, the descendants of those companions of Alexander, who remained behind in Baktria or India as a kind of Emeriti. Although, considering our fragmentary knowledge of the statistics of ancient names, we can here prove but little, it cannot be denied that an examination of the Baktrian royal names in the sense indicated by Vaux, leads to surprising results. Following Vaux, I give the list of all the Baktrian kings, with remarks on the names which appeared in Macedonia, especially in the surroundings of Alexander and of the Diadochei."[3]

Diodotos is the name of the Syrian usurper, later called Tryphon after Antiokhus VI. (Diodor).

Euthydemos from Magnesia.

Demetrius,—a frequent name, especially in Makedonia. One of them belonged to the Hetairoi (the mounted body-guards of the Makedonian kings were thus called) of Alexander the Great; commander of Cavalry under Alexander.

Eukratides.

Heliokles.

Laodike.—A frequent name of Syrian princesses.

Agathokles—a Thessalian flatterer of Philip; Eparch of Parsis under Antiokhus II. (but this is dubious. See Droysen's *Epigonen*. 361, 367).

Pantaleon—a Makedonian from Pydna (Arrian).

Antimakhos—a Makedonian, (Polyab. 29. 1, c) in the time of king Perseus (Didot's edition the Index of the Latin translation has erroneously "Antimarchus").

Plato—an Athenian, cavalry officer of Alexander (Curtius).

Agathokleia.

[2] Prepared by Mr. E. Rehatsek.

[3] "For this purpose I chiefly use the list of Vaux and the *Namen-lexicon* by Pape-Benseler. I make some slight additions."—Author's note.

Amyntas—a frequent Makedonian name, also of several companions of Alexander, one of whom was Satrap of Baktria (Arrian, Justin).

Antialkides.

Antimakhos (II).

Apollodotos or perhaps Apollodoros, a Satrap of Babylonia, strategos of Susiana.

Apollophanes—Satrap of the Orites or Gedrosians (Arrian).—A Pydnæan.

Arkhebios.

Artemidoros.

Diomedes.

Dionysius—a frequent name also in Makedonia. A friend of Ptolemaios Soter.—A Dionysius is sent to India during the reign of Ptolemaeus II. Philadelphos.

Epander.

Hermaios.

Kalliope:—town in Parthia.

Hippostratos—a Makedonian Arrian); a commander of Antigonos in Media (Diod. and others); Governor for Lysimakhos in the Ionian towns. (Recently found inscription.)

Lysias—oftener in Syria; officer of Seleukos (Polyæn.) Guardian of Antiokhos Eupator, and others.

Menander—a Menander of Magnesia (hence like Euthydemos) one of the Hetairoi and officer of Alexander and after his death in Lydia (Arrian, Justin); another companion of Alexander (Plutarch).

Nikias—one of the officials of Alexander (Arrian). A relative of king Ptolemaios, and of others; a Makedonian.

Philoxenos,[4]—Alexander's Governor in Ionia and Susiana, &c. (Arrian and others); Alexander writes to a Philoxenos (Arrian); son of Ptolemaios Alorites (Plut).

Strato—son of the prince of Aradus; prince of Sidon; a historian who describes the war of Perseus.

Telephos—a Makedonian, one of the Hetairoi of Alexander (Arrian).

Theophilos.

Zoilos—a rhetorician who lived at Amphipolis in Makedonia; a coin-engraver or official of king Perseus; Zoilus from Beroea (in Makedonia? —Arrian.)

"We have 28 names in all (besides women); *eleven* of these are stated to have been names of companions of Alexander, natives of Makedonia and of other provinces; some to have been even satraps in Baktrian districts, whilst others occur among the Diadochoi and in Makedonia. As already observed, nothing can be proved, but nobody will deny that an examination like the above is important, especially as rare names, such as Telephos, occur, which is a genuine Makedonian name, and Heraklos, the Makedonian chief god, is the father of Telephus. Also the coin of Zoilus with Heracles' head, club and bow, resembling the copper-money of Alexander, may point to Makedonia, and perhaps even to Alexander."

Again (p. 51) he remarks:—"The close connection with the adjoining Parthian realm appears from the Parthian names of many sovereigns, such as Vonones, Abdagases (in Tacitus the name of a Parthian dynast), Pakores (*sic*), and lastly even an Arsakes who belonged according to the coinage also to the Azes kingdom. Different from this is the unique coin (a square copper coin) of the Berlin collection, with the Arsakidan typical horse, bow and quiver, used precisely in the same manner already by Maues, and which I ascribe with confidence to a Bactro-Indian Arsakes θεός who uses only Greek, not Aryan, and may in spite of the ω, ε and C belong to a tolerably good age.—The king Yndopheres, also Gondopharos, &c. is the only one of these Partho-Baktrian reigns known to us with certainty from an Aryan inscription, which is to be examined more particularly.

"This inscription is from Takht-i Bahi near (a little N. E. from) Peshawar on the Indus, and begins with the words: *Mahârâjasa*[5] *G....pharasa*, and means:—"In the 26th year of the great king G....phara, in the Samvat year 100." If, as is most probable, this somewhat longer royal name is identical with that on the coins, we obtain, besides the information that this king reigned at least 26 years, also the date of a year. *Samvat* means only "era," and would therefore demonstrate nothing, if the Turushkas had not used this identical Samvat-era on their inscriptions in various regions, as well as in the vicinity of the spot where the Gondophares inscription was found. Accordingly Gondophares would fall into the time of, or perhaps even after, the *last* Turushka-prince Bazodêo whose Samvat years reach as far as 98. In my opinion this is numismatically scarcely possible, because Bazodêo cannot be very far from the time of the Sassanians while Yndopheres or Gondophares seems to be earlier. If therefore different eras were not used by Gondophares on the one part and the Turushkas on the other, and if the inscription really contains the name of the Gondopharos of the coins, where it has 3 letters more, a difficulty presents itself here, the solution of which is referred to Indo-

[4] This king is thus properly called: Philoxenes, as the word is almost everywhere spelt, is nothing. We find in books even Lysius instead of Lysias, also transcripts such as Menandrus, Alexandrus; Antialkidas, Azes &c., instead of es.

[5] See the inscription published by Dowson in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* N. S. vol. VII, p. 376. A photograph is in the Jagor collection of the Berlin Museum.

logues. I would, however, perhaps place Gondophares *after* Chr. but *before* the Turushkas. That this Yndopheres (Gondophares &c.), the uncle of Abdagases, coined also pure Greek silver-drachms with *βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγς* (*sic*) *Υνδοφέρης αὐτοκράτο*, like those of Sanabarus, and almost exactly resembling those of the Parthian supreme king, is one of the more important results of my researches.

"Might not *Sanabarus* perhaps be identical with the Indian king called in the *Periplus maris Erythraei*—Μάμβαρος and 'Ακάβαρος? The marks purporting to be Seleukidan numbers on his drachms (*Num. Chr.* N. S. vol. XI. p. 217) are not at all years, as the Berlin specimens show. The pretended ΓΙΤ is once quite plainly Τ˥Τ and once the signs Τ˥Τ˗˥Τ go round the throne like ornaments. If the time of the composition of the *Periplus* and the identity of the name were quite certain, we should here obtain most important data, because Sanabarus and Yndopheres are certainly almost contemporaries. Abdagases is the nephew of Yndopheres, &c. But so long as all this is not perfectly certain, no further combinations can be attempted. A contemporary of Yndopheres is also Orthagnes (?), who places in Aryan characters the name of this his contemporary upon the coins, as king, resembling Pakores, and dressed according to the Parthian fashion. Some ephemeral dynasts,—such as Zeionises, and two which cannot yet be named with certainty, among whom is also one whose Aryan superscription I read according to clear specimens as "*mahârâjasa mahatasa kashanasakuyala. . . .*" and who yet belong to the Azes series—present but little historical information; nevertheless the Greek title 'satrap' which occurs, according to the readings of Prinsep, on the coins of Zeionises, is settled and important.

"A king resembling the Arsakides in his bust, and made known by Gardener from a unique coin in the British Museum, is certainly, according to the inscription, a king of the Saka-Skythians; because the curious inscription of this tetradrachm is in later characters—*τυραννοῦντος 'Ηράου Σάκα κοιράνου*. How remarkable, that just in non-Hellonic and half Greek regions Homeric reminiscences present themselves in the popular language! Thus, in the Cyprus dialect the Homeric *κασίγνητος* stands for brother, and in the distant Indo-Skythian cast we find the ancient *κοίρανος* for ruler! The forms of the participle *βασιλεύοντος, τυραννοῦντος* are from the oldest times (Agathokles, Antimakhos) at home in those regions."

The author concludes this part of the book (p. 65) with the series of Bactro-Indian kings who used the Greek alphabet, but whose names were not Greek, arranged according to the order developed by him, generally current, and but little differing from it except by a few additions of years which are determined conjecturally :

1, Ranjabala (Greek PAZY or like it).

2, Maues. At least 100 B. C.

The Azes Series.

3, Azes, successor (and son ?) of Maues.

4, Azes and his strategos Aspavarma } identical.
5. Azes and Aspapatis, his strategos. }

6, Azilises, contemporary of Azes.

7, Vonones and Azes.

8, Vonones and Spalahara.

9, Vonones and Spalagadama, son of Spalahara. This is identical with Spalyris.

10, Spalirisus (*a*) as king's brother, (*b*) as king.

11, Spalirisus and Azes.

12, Spalyris (or Spalyrios) king's brother. His Aryan name is Spalagadama, son of Spalahara.

13, Arsakes, *δικαιος* (*Num. Chron.* vol. XIX, p. 62).

14, Arsakes, *θεός*, unique coin in Berlin.

15, Yndopheres, also Gondophares, and similar.

16, Sanabarus, contemporary (successor ?) of Yndopheres in the same region. Identical with Μάμβαρος, 'Ακάβαρος of the *Perip. mar. Erythr.*? Late Arsakidan.

17, Abdagases, brother's son of Gondophares.

18, Abdagases with differing inscription on the reverse (*Num. Chron.* vol. XIX, p. 62): "Sub-Abdagases Sasan."

19, Zeionises.

20, Undetermined with the title, *Mahârâjasa Mahatasa Kashanasakuyala* (Berlin).

21, Pakores.

22, Orthagnes, with the name of Gondophares on the reverse, Aryan.

23, Heraos, king of the Sakas.

24, Soter Megas.

25, Yrkodes.

The Kadphises and the Turushka Series.

26, Kadphises (I.) with Hermaios symbols.

27, Kadaphes.

28, Kadphises (II.). Time of Augustus? or later?

29, Kanerku or Kanerki. First century A.D.?

30, Ooerki.

31, Ooer Kenorano.

32, Bazodeo.

33, Barbarized.

34, Barbarized under Sassanian influence. About the time of the Sassanian Sapor I. 238—269 A.D.

"Here I must, in conclusion," he adds (p. 67), although entirely in contradiction to the current views of Indologues, "reject one class of coins from the domain of Græco-Indian moneys. It is an extremely numerous series of Indian royal coins,

mostly of silver, executed in entirely national-Indian, inartistic, chiefly barbarian, workmanship, with the following symbols:—a king's head (with moustaches). Reverse generally the symbol ꩜ with waves beneath it, giving 'in beautiful uniform Devanâgari letters' (Lassen) the names and titles of a large series of kings of the Sah-dynasty of Sinha-kings; *fourteen* in number according to Thomas (*J. R. A. S.* vol. XII., pp. 1-72) and according to Newton even *twenty-three*:

1, Îśwara Datta.
2, Rudra Sah I.
3, Asa Dama.
4, Dama Sah, &c.

the last is called Swâmi Rudra Sâh IV. The titles of these kings in long inscriptions contain, among other matters, the satrap designation *Kshatrapasa*.

"The heads on these coins have Greek circumscriptions, and we shall at once discuss them; one of them had been considered as the name of the Baktrian king Dionysius. According to the assumption of Thomas these kings reigned from 157 B.C., but Lassen (II. 929) is inclined to place them even as satraps under Euthydemus.

"This determination is however quite disallowed to a numismatist. The coins are so bad, coarse, and late in the form of the letters, and, even in the Indian ones so totally different from all the antique characters, that the whole series is evidently a kind of continuation of the bad silver-drachms of ΥΡΚΩΔΟΥ; nay the coins of the Gupta-kings closely and immediately following the Sinhas with symbols entirely resembling these appear to me even to imitate the fire-altar of the Sassanians (see Thomas's plate, *l. c.*), so that I must at once, on purely numismatic grounds, consider the whole series as having been coined very late, and long after Christ."

"And now for the 'Greek' of the principal side! The second king R u d r a S a h is said to have put the name of his supreme king upon his coin! Thomas gives this inscription thus: ΑΙΟΑΥΙΖΙΥΙ·Ι/\. When we examine many copies and originals of these coins, we soon become quite certain about the character of this sort of Greek inscriptions."[6]

And then as to the so-called "Greek" legends on the principal side of these coins, after giving examples, the author very sensibly remarks that "whoever practically occupies himself with coins, at once perceives what we have here to deal with, namely, vague *plagia barbarorum* not understood, and nonsensical imitations of Greek letters without any sense or meaning, owing their existence perhaps to ΥΡΚΩΔΟΥ. The value of such inscriptions is *nil*, and to attempt from such barbarisms and ignorant strokes to make out reasonable Greek names, is as futile as the endeavour to read and to explain the random traits of our mediæval Wendenpfennigs. However familiar numismatists may be with the extremely frequent appearance of corrupted, senseless and worthless legends; the mischief caused again and again by the attempts at this kind of decipherment is nevertheless just as great. Hence I cannot include within the compass of my researches the coins of the Sah kings, which, I am convinced, are very late, have senseless inscriptions with strokes derived from Greek models, but perfectly *correct Indian* circumscriptions on the reverse."

In the body of the book (p. 157) he returns to Yndopheres,—

"Y n d o p h e r e s is a rare example of the fact that from gradually augmenting, and apparently very minute examinations and discoveries of coins, inscriptions, and notices of authors, a history securely based on official documents is at last formed, which affords a distinct insight into an important epoch in the civilisation and history of a very remote country.

"At first nothing of this king existed, but a mass of coins which were, according to their style, relegated to a tolerably late date, soon after the last Azes-coins. Then the coins of 'Abdagases the brother's son of Gyndipher(es)' were added. A b d a g a s e s according to Tacitus was a Parthian dynast; therefore the P a r t h i a n descent of Yndopheres became probable; which, as well as the immediate contact of his boundaries with those of the Arsakidan realm, is satisfactorily proved by the pure Greek drachm of the Berlin museum, coined exactly in the type and style of the Arsakides, as discovered by me. Of the duration of Yndopheres' reign we are informed by the Aryan inscription of Takht-i-Bahi near Peshawar, dated the 26th year of this king's reign, which is at the same time a sign that his sway extended over the Indus countries. After the Arsakidan drachm of Yndopheres follow similar coins of S a n a b a r o s, and their coarse style implies probably their *later* production; the heads of these drachms of Sanabaros are very much like those of the Arsakidan Volageses I. with the tiara worn during the years 389 and 390 of the Seleukidan era, corresponding to the years 77 and 78 A. D.)[7] Therefore Sanabaros must have produced his coins about 80 A. D. and Yndopheres had died about 80 A. D.

"But the most interesting information about

[6] "Determined by me; it may also be easily determined by non-Indologues from the excellent representations of these coins given by Thomas.—Rudra Sah was determined by the aulic councillor Pertsch."—AUTHOR.

[7] According to the determination of Prokesch.—Prokesch's *Arsacides* Tafel. V. 45, S. 64.

Yndopheres, Gondopharos, &c. and historically quite coinciding with the above was discovered by English scholars in a source, the utilisation of which for the study of ancient history had probably not been noticed before. It is astonishing that this most interesting discovery has apparently scarcely been noticed (Lassen for instance passes it over entirely).

"The collection of legends, the so-called *Legenda Aurea* or *Historia Lombardica*, arranged in the 13th century by the Genoese bishop Jacobus a Voragine, mentions the Indian Mission of the apostle Thomas as follows (cap. V. p. 33 ed. Graesse, 1846):—"Thomas apostolus cum esset apud Cæsaream apparuit ei Dominus dicens: rex Indiæ Gundoforus misit præpositum Abbanem quærere hominem architectoria arte eruditum."—Thomas follows the call of the Lord, goes as architect to India, and builds a palace for the king. He is to be killed because he distributes the treasures of the king among the poor, but the king's heart is softened by his brother Gad who had been resuscitated from the dead, and he humbles himself before the apostle. The apostle preaches the gospel, and then betakes himself 'in superiorem Indiam.' The very presence of the apostle Thomas in India has been doubted, but such questions do not concern me; but this medieval collector of legends gives facts, credibly and faithfully culled by him from ancient sources in his possession, not so much events as the diplomatically correct mention of the name of the king, who, as the coins at any rate appear certainly to imply, reigned during the time of the apostles, consequently in the 1st century A. D. (Inscription of Takht-Bahi) during many years, till the middle of the second half of it, demonstrating, or at least making very probable, a remarkable connection of this Indian king with the first propagators of Christianity. How else could the name of an Indian king, who was so remote and beyond the pale of all civilisation, have become so correctly known to the first legend writers?

"Further conclusions about those matters permeated by myths, or perhaps entirely mythical, are unreliable; that monuments however and legendary reports agree so perfectly in expressing the time and the name, is distinctly to be pointed out just by those who seek to investigate the history of these regions critically, and so purify it from useless conjectures evolved from nothing."

A few of the coins he gives are:—

"Æ. 4. Bearded bust with diadem in rich dress, resembling the Arsakides,[8] BACIΛΕΩCΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓC (*sic*) ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΗCΑΥΤΟκΡΑΤΟ, Sitting king, resembling the type of the Arsakides, but in the raised R. a kind of short sceptre (elephant goad?); behind him a wingless Nike, garlanding him.

"Drachm of tolerably good silver, of the weight of *Arsakidan drachms*. Unique of the Berlin museum, from the unascertained Guthrie collection. The title *Autokrator* is first borne by Tryphon of Syria, but then also by an Arsakidan on his drachmas, according to Prokesch the VIIIth Artaban II, according to Gardner the Xth Sinatroikes.

"Æ. 4-5 □ The king on horseback, 1, receiving a garland from the Nike who stands before him. Symbol ♉ once a small cross in it.[9] One or two Aryan monograms. Berlin. Wilson, *Ariana*, Plate VI, 2, and Plate XXI, 16.

"The circumscription of the *obverse* of one of Wilson's specimens is totally destroyed.

"The second of Wilson's coins has plainly on the obverse above ΦΑΓΟΥ, hence the end of the name, the ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ may be seen on the drawing (on the right) like ΜΓΛΟΥ, then ΓΟΗ. The ΓΟΗ (γου not γου) cannot however belong to the . . . φάρου because two or at least one line intervenes. Prinsep-Thomas (vol. II, pp. 215, 4) read BACIΛΕΟ . . ΦΑΡΟΥ (?).

"The Berlin specimen displays only indistinct traces of a circumscription on the chief side.

"The *reverse* of the first of Wilson's specimens he reads *mahârâja* (*râjarâjasa*) *miramatasa*; the drawing does not quite agree with this.

"The reverse of the second better specimen of Wilson has *Gudapharasa* plainly. The preceding word is indistinct—Wilson: *jayadharasa*, Prinsep-Thomas: *ja . . . . sa* before *apratihatas* plainly, preceded according to Wilson's text and drawing certainly by *dhamikasa*. Prinsep-Thomas read only: *maha . . . dhaga . . . sa*.

"*Dhamikasa apratihatasa gudapharasa* appears also to be certain. The Berlin specimen has below certainly the name *gudapha* . . The circumscription begins on the right, and we perceive with tolerable distinctness *mahârâjasa râjarâjasa*.

"The round billon and copper-coins of Yndopheres, with riders and variously changing orthography of the name, as well as the often spoiled circumscription of both sides, are evidently like the similar ones of Azes, deteriorated tetradrachms.

"Bill. 6. BACIΛΕΩΝ BACIΛΕΩΝ ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΓΟΥ, The king on horseback, bearded, garland in the R. R. the symbol ♉. *Mahârâjarâjarâja mahatasa*

[8] E. Thomas, to whom we are indebted for the notice on the legend (Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. II, p. 214) places the king earlier; but I have shown why he must belong to the 1st cent. A.D.

[9] I scarcely need warn the reader of the fantastic explanations of this symbol which contains a garland and a cross of the ancient form T, as well as the oft recurring other cuneiform symbols on the coins of this king.

. . . . *gudapharasa*, almost quite distinct. Standing figure V. before, half dressed, with diadem, supporting the L. on the trident, stretching out the R. (Poseidon?) L. and r. monogram. (Wilson, *Ariana*, pl. v. 16)."

"Æ 4-7. BACIΛΕΩΣ CΩΤΗΡΟC VΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ. Bearded bust with diadem and earrings, in rich dress r. *Dradratasa* (for *tradatasa*, σωτῆρος) *mahárájasa gudapha. asa* or *gudapha. asa.* Nike with garland and palm r. Prinsep-Thomas read *tradatasa* for *dradratasa.* I cannot give a satisfactory explanation of the penultimate letter; it can scarcely be *d*, it is certainly not an r.

"Æ. small BACI. . . BAC. . . Y; bearded head r. *rájadirájasa mahatasa gudapharasa*, Lightning-throwing Pallas, as in Menander; &c. r. mongrams. Prinsep-Thomas No. 7. Remarkable, because this coin demonstrates the succession of Yndopheres to the Greek kings and to Ranjubul[10]."

"The coins of the so-called 'Sub-Abdagases Sasan' (Prinsep-Thomas, p. 216) are probably nothing more than a variety of Yndopheres. I have several originals before me; they are copper or more probably *Billon-coins* (deteriorated tetradrachms).

"Æ. 5. Completely barbarized circumscription; &c. The bearded king on horseback r.; with outstretched R. garland. Before him the symbol ♀ and an Aryan-letter.

"Half-dressed figure with diadem r., stretching out the R. in the l. arm a sceptre (Zeus? probably not the king); l. the symbol ω̈ [11]; monograms and letters in the field.

"The circumscription is according to Prinsep-Thomas: *mahárájasa mahatasa tradatasa. . . gudapharasa sasasa*; the omitted word is read by Cunningham (see Prinsep-Thomas, vol. II, p. 216): *devahadasa* "god-hearted." On the reverse of the originals before me, the following is distinct. *Mahara. . . (trada)tasa. vahadasa gudapharasa* (or *go* or *gudapharasa*) *sasasa.* Therefore the lection *deva-hadasa* is very probable, although the first letter does not look quite like a *d*. The forms are of course somewhat careless, and therefore the lection *deva-hadasa* is not quite certain, but the name of Yndopheres is entirely so; *gudaphara* (or *go-*, *gu-*) and *sasasa* in the lection, but Abdagasas is impossible; not a trace of indication of his name stands on the coins. Also the reading *Sasan* is arbitrary; *Sasan* may certainly be a name, but the founder of the Sasanians can scarcely be meant.

"Æ. 5. Like. Circumscription according to Cunningham: *mahárájasa sachchha (mapidasa) sasasa.* Zeus Nikephoros standing l. monograms.

"Of this variety I have never seen a distinct specimen. The drawing in Wilson, *Ariana*, Pl. V. 19 (ibid. No. 20 is *not* of this, but the preceding variety) and the originals before me display only traces of a superscription on the reverse.

"It is at all events certain, that this 'Godopara Sasa' has nothing at all to do with Abdagasas."

"Sanabarus is in my opinion perhaps identical with the Indian king 'Ακάβαρος or Μάμβαρος of the *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*—of late Arsakidan times, perhaps about 80 A. D. A contemporary or successor of Yndopheres. His drachms are indeed of good, perhaps of better silver than those of Yndopheres, but later in fabrication.

"Æ. 3. Bearded bust with tiara, l. resembling those which first appeared among the Arsakides of the year ΘΙΙΓ (389 = 77 A. D.) behind it ⅃ᴨ which is supposed to be = אס·

"BACIΛEυC MEΓAC CA NABAPO round the enthroned king r., with tiara, holding a bow, as on the Arsakidan coins. Around the throne T⅂T⁻⅂T r. Ⲁ. Berlin (Prokesch), Tat. v. 8."

"Hitherto the letters round the throne have been considered as designating the Seleukidan year Γ ι Γ (hence T inversely ⅂) 313 wherefore Sanabarus was placed much earlier than I place him (Thomas *l. c.* and Gardner, *Parthian Coinage*, p. 46). The Berlin specimens demonstrate however the untenableness of this assumed numerals of years. The T and ⅂ &c. strokes make their appearance in great numbers as a decoration round the throne.

"The head and its tiara appear to me quite evidently copies from later Arsakidans. This tiara first appears, as already observed, on Arsakidan coins in the year 77 A. D., hence the year 77 A. D. is the earliest date for Sanabarus." (p. 167).

Abdagases (p. 228). "Nephew of Yndopheres. The passage communicated by Gutschmid from the *Apokryph. Evangelium Joannis de obitu Mariæ* is important. There the apostle Thomas says of his mission to the king of India: τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματι Λαβδανοῦς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος σφραγίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. Moreover, besides Gondophoros, his brother Gad who was converted with him, is mentioned; now Gutschmid justly compares BACIΛΕΥ ΑΒΔΑΔ ΓΥΝΔΙΦΕΡΟ ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΩΣ[12] with υἱός τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως. This is certainly the same person, and the notice again demonstrates how well the first legend-writers were informed about Gondophares and his family.

[10] This word occurs also on p. 47 spelt "Ranjabala" as the name of a satrap, but Sollet observes in a foot-note that the letter l is not settled.

[11] This occurs at the commencement of early Bauddha inscriptions.—ED.

[12] This is probably a genitive, not nominative, for ἀδελφιδεός = ἀδελφιδοῦς.

But from the former erroneous lection ΛΟΛΔΑ instead of ΑΒΑΔΑ fixed by the Berlin specimen which I copied, the erroneous suppositions of Gutschmid follow, who considers *βασιλευα* to be a barbarous genitive of the name 'Οάδας = Gvâd, Gad,—the supposed brother of the king and perhaps = Labdanes (Abdanes), and compares this supposed Oadas with ΟΑΔΟ, the windgod of Kanerku.

"Now the more correct lections of these nephew-coins (Prinsep, *Essays*, vol. II, p. 216,) with the distinct name A b d a g a s a in Aryan, which Gutschmid has not used in this instance, demonstrate the erroneousness of these conjectures.

"The nephew of Gondophares, as we learn from his coins, was called Abdagases, in Aryan always A b d a g a s a or A v d a g a s a, in Greek sometimes corrupted to 'Αβαδά...,'Αβαλγάσου, &c. The reading adduced by Gutschmid of *υἱοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Λαβδανοῦς* is certain and of great value; this nephew and his name are certainly identical with the Abdagases, Abada......Abalgases of the coins.

"G a d a p h a r a S a s a.—Gutschmid conjectures to be perhaps 'the father or co-regent' of Gondophares. All this is quite obscure, and the circumscription, *supplemented* in the titles by Cunningham, and pointing according to Gutschmid to Buddhism: '*Mahârajasa* (*sic*) *sachcha-dha-*(*mapidasa*) *Sasasa*,' is, as I have shown (on pp. 165 and 166) quite uncertain. The specimen adduced in Prinsep-Thomas for this coin from Wilson's *Ariana*, has quite another circumscription, namely, the usual one of Gadaphara Sasa: *mahârajasa tradatasa devahadasa gadapharasa sasasa*, and as Cunningham's lection of the decisive passage is distinctly supplemented; moreover, as this Buddhist title is altogether unheard of on the coins of Gondophares and of his dynasty, the whole title remains *uncertain*; I have among the numerous coins of the enigmatic '*Gondaphara Sasa*' never myself discovered one with the so-called Buddhist titles, hence the whole supposed Buddhism of Gondophares and of his family evaporates, and can be demonstrated by nothing!"

Sallet's volume, from which we have here given abundant selections, will be found most useful to the student of this interesting subject.

History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century: Part II. The so-called Tartars of Russia and Central Asia. By Henry H. Howorth, F.S.A. 2 vols. London: Longman, Green & Co. 1880.

The first part of Mr. Howorth's *History of the Mongols* was published four years ago, and has taken its place as a sterling work of reference. It was chiefly devoted to the history of the empire of Chinghis Khan. This second division may almost be regarded as a separate work. It begins with an ethnographical chapter on the Golden Horde, and proceeds in the second to give a history of Juchi Khân the eldest son of Chinghis, of his son Batu Khân who swept down upon Eastern and Central Europe, conquering Mascovy, Poland and Hungary, and threatening the German Empire. The Muhammadans of Western Asia offered to ally themselves with the sovereigns of Western Europe to repel this terrible invader who had established his rule from the Yaik to the Carpathian Mountains, and included a suzerainty over Russia. The third chapter continues the history of the Golden Horde located on the Volga, under Bereké, Bâtû's brother and successor, who became a Muhammadan, and of his descendants till the extinction of the family, during which period the Grand Dukes of Muscovy were tributaries to the Khân who ruled at Serai on the Volga. Then follows an account of the struggles for supremacy among the other descendants of Juchi, ending in the rise of the family of Orda, and the decay of the Horde till it shrank into the petty Khânate of Astrakhan, and that in turn was swept away after many struggles by Russia in the 16th century. The history of the Khânate of Krim, which was only crushed and absorbed at the end of last century, is told in the seventh chapter, and the eighth is occupied with an account of the White Horde and the Khirgiz Khazaks descended from tribes subject to Orda the eldest son of Juchi Khan. The Usbegs of Bukhara, Khokand, Kuarezm, and the Khânate in Siberia are treated of in the next three, and the Nogai branch of the Golden Horde in the last chapter.

Mr. Howorth has availed himself fully of the learned works of Von Hammer-Purgstall, Zernof, Grigorief, Blankennagel, Vambery, Schuyler, Lerch, Schmidt, Soret, Desmaisons, Müller, Levchine, &c. &c. and he has produced a book which must long continue a standard one on the subject. It must have been a work of great toil to get together the materials embraced in these two divisions of over 1100 large and closely printed pages: we hope Mr. Howorth may have the strength and patience to complete the third and concluding Division of his great work.

Nâgânanda la joie des Serpents: Drame Bouddhique attribué au roi Çrî-Harcha-Deva. Traduit pour la première fois du sanskrit et du prâkrit en français, par Abel Bergaigne, Maître de conférences à la faculte des lettres de Paris, répétiteur à l'école pratique des hautes-études. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1879.)

This translation of the *Nâgânanda* appears as one of the beautiful little volumes of M. Leroux's 'Bibliothèque orientale elzévirienne,' which already includes versions of several Sanskrit dramas.

It is well known that the *Nâgânanda*, like the

Ratnâvali, professes in its prologue to be the work of king Śrî Harshadeva. Dr. Fitzedward Hall (Introd. to the *Vâsavadattâ*, pp. 15 ff.) long since attributed the latter to Bâṇa who flourished at the Court of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and this has since been confirmed by Dr. Bühler (Weber's *Ind. Stud.* Bd. XIV. S. 40; *Hist. Ind. Liter.* p. 204) The *Nâgânanda* was attributed by Cowell to Dhâvaka—another poet supposed to have flourished at the Court of Harshavardhana, but Weber doubts this and supposes that it may with equal reason be attibuted to Bâṇa (*Ind. Streif* Bd. III. S. 106); and M. Bergaigne, with Hall, doubts even the existence of Dhâvaka. The Buddhistic character of the drama, however, agrees perfectly with what we know from Hwen Thsang of the favour shown to his religion by king Harshavardhana of Kanauj.

In noticing Boyd's translation of the same Drama (vol. I. pp. 148 ff.) we have given some account of the contents of it. M. Bergaigne in presenting a new version has been obliged to follow the same text, and notwithstanding some differences in the renderings of certain passages, he makes no claim to any scientific novelty. The publication of it ought, however, to help in spreading among readers some knowledge of, and increase a taste for, a very interesting literature.

KINGS OF KÂSHMÎRA: being a translation of the Sanskrita work Râjataranggiṇî of Kalhana Pandita. By Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Calcutta: 1879.

The *Râjataranginî* or Historical Chronicle of Kaśmîr is too well known to need description: it is principally accessible to Europeans in Prof. H. H. Wilson's abstract of the first six cantos of it, in the XVth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and in M. A. Troyer's text and French translation of the whole. 'But, as is well known, all the printed texts contain corrupt passages, and before any important improvement can be made on Troyer's translation, we must have a revised Sanskṛit text,—which it is understood Dr. Bühler is preparing from the valuable MSS. obtained by him for the purpose in Kaśmîr (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 264 ff.).

"The present work, it should be stated," says the author, "pretends to be nothing more than a faithful rendering into English of a history which already exists in the Sanskrita language." But he has "thought it necessary to omit from the text such stories as relate to superhuman agencies, and to give them in the form of an Appendix, in order to preserve the continuity of historical narration." Then the translation extends only to the first seven books, it being "the intention of the translator to bring down the history in two more volumes to the period of the conquest of the valley by Akbar." [1]

Before blaming Prof. H. H. Wilson for mixing up his abstract "with the whimsical additions and alterations which appear in the Persian translation," as this new translator does, it would have been as well if he had seen that his own version was a scholarly one. If any one will compare the specimen version of the first 107 ślokas given by Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 268–274) with the first eight pages of what Babu Jogesh Chunder Dutt calls his "faithful rendering," he will be painfully struck with the difference; and further comparison with the Sanskrit text, or even with Troyer's version, will only shew more clearly that this translation has no claim to *fidelity* of rendering. Should the author pursue the translation further he might be advised either to follow the original more closely or to describe it as only a free version—a species of work fully deserving of encouragement, perhaps more so, if only well executed, than a strictly literal translation. Most Sanskṛit works will bear condensation in translating, and the *Râjataranginî* among them. This version, though not a faithful one, appears, however, to give a fair representation of the general sense of the text. It is not well printed.

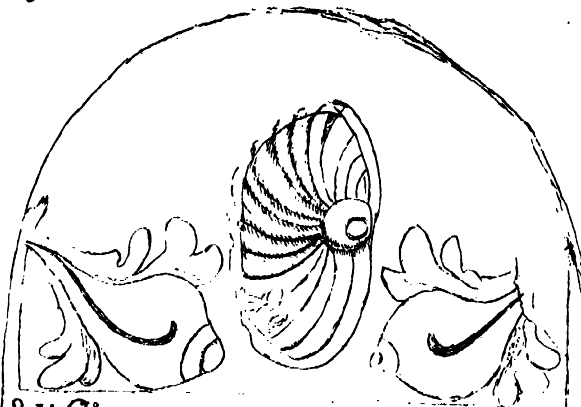
MODERN INDIA AND THE INDIANS, being a series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays. By Monier Williams, D.C.L. &c. Third edition. Revised and augmented by considerable additions. (London: Trübner and Co.)

We noticed the first edition of this very readable and instructive book soon after its appearance two years ago, (vol. VII. p. 236), and we heartily welcome this third edition, which contains about a half more matter than the first. Among the additions are two Essays on the 'Progress of our Indian Empire,' originally published in the *Contemporary Review*, while the chapter on the 'Villages and Rural Population of India' and several other sections of the work are quite new. The work now appropriately appears as one of the volumes of Trübner's valuable "Oriental Series," and well deserves the attention of our readers. When another edition appears we trust it will contain others of the recent Essays of Dr. M. Williams on Indian subjects, supplemented by an Index.

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[1] The text used seems to be *A History of Kashmir;* consisting of four separate compilations: viz. I. The *Rajâtaranginî*, by Kalhana Pandita, 1148, A.D.—II. The *Rajavali* by Jona Raja (defective) to 1412, A.D.—III. *Continuation of the same* by Sri Vara Pandita, pupil of Jona Raja, A. D. 1477.—IV. The *Râjâvali pâtaka*, by Prajya Bhatta, brought up to the conquest of the Valley by the Emperor Âkbar, Calcutta, 1835, in 4to dem.

No. 3. INSCRIPTION OF VASANTASENA, SAMVAT 435.



ORIGINAL.
1' 5" x 4' 5"

ANLAL INDRAJI, FECIT.

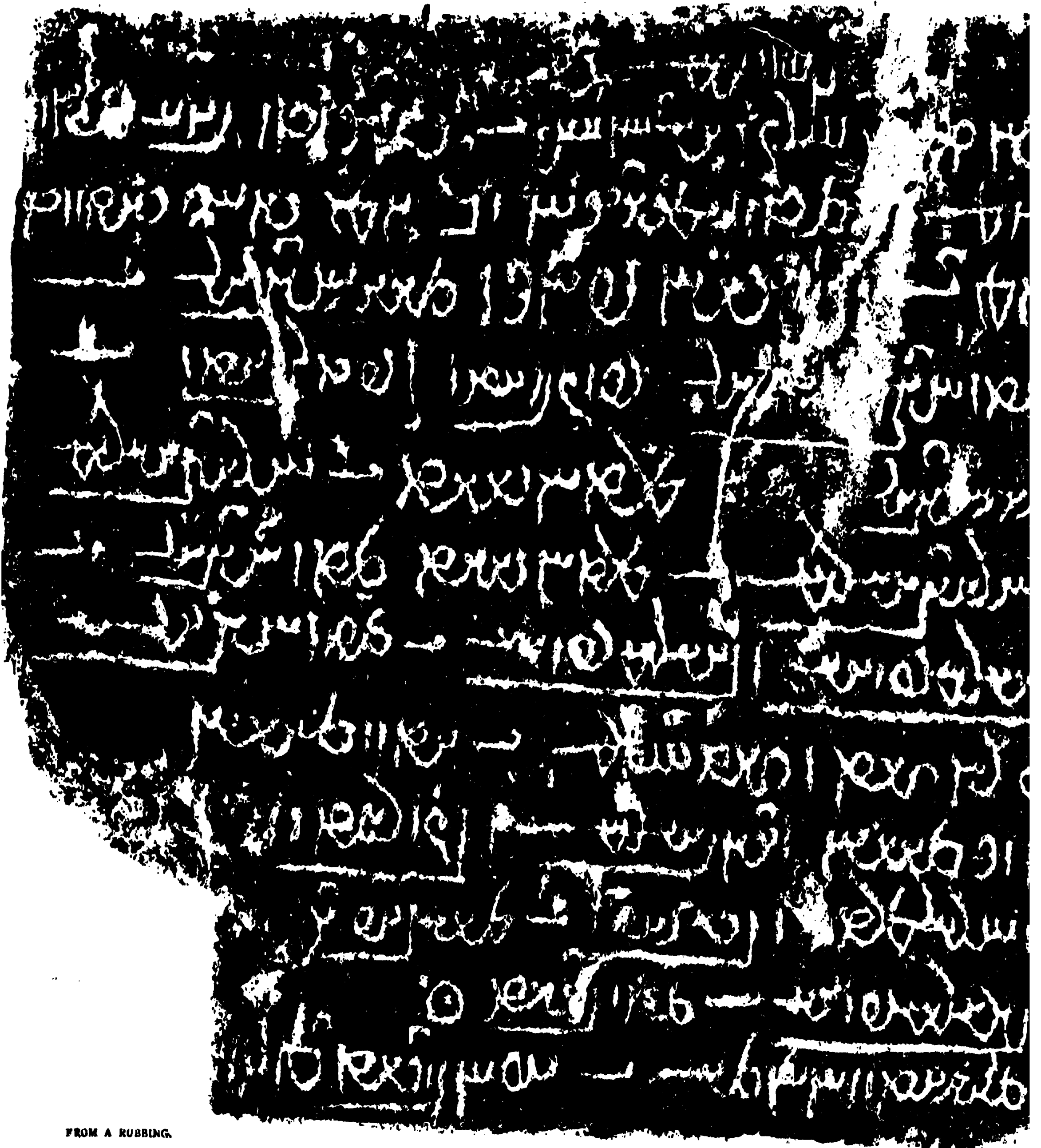
KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION, No. I

MORTICE HOLE.

FROM A TRACING BY Dr. E. W. WEST.

SCALE—⅓ ACTUAL SIZE.

KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION, No. 2.



FROM A RUBBING.

SCALE— ⅓ ACTUAL SIZE.

THE PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS AT KAṆHERI.

BY E. W. WEST, PH.D., MUNICH.

ANQUETIL DUPERRON appears to have been the first European who specially noticed the Pahlavi inscriptions in the Kaṇheri Caves. In the account of his visit to the caves in 1760, published eleven years afterwards in his great work on the *Zend-Avesta*,[1] he describes the cave in which they occur, and mentions inscriptions "upon two pilasters which form part of the walls." Although acquainted with the Pahlavi character he thought these inscriptions were Mongolian, probably because they are inscribed in vertical lines, and not horizontally.

No further notice of these inscriptions seems to have been taken for fully a century. They escaped observation when the Kaṇheri inscriptions were being systematically copied, some twenty-five to thirty years ago, because a Brahman recluse had taken up his abode in the cave which contains them, and had built a small house in front of it. This Brahman first occupied the cave some years before 1848, and remained till 1865, effectually preventing Europeans and others from examining the cave by his presence there.

The late Dr. Bhâû Dâjî, however, being a high-caste Hindu, was able to obtain admittance into the house so far as to examine the exterior of the cave, and about 1861 he found an inscription in the recess over the water-tank, which seemed to him to be in the Kufic character. He showed a copy of this inscription to the late Dr. John Wilson, who at once recognised it as Pahlavi, and referred him to the specimens of Pahlavi writing in Anquetil's *Zend-Avesta*. Dr. Bhâû Dâjî then showed his copy to Professor Haug and some Parsis who were acquainted with Pahlavi, but did not succeed in obtaining any decipherment of its contents. Subsequently he rediscovered and copied the two inscriptions on the pilasters of the cave verandah, which had been noticed by Anquetil.

Shortly afterwards, while examining the ruins of a dâgoba on another part of the cave hill, I discovered a few words on one of the stones, which I believed to be in some form of the Arabic character. This short inscription was published, with other details relating to the dâgoba, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. VI, pp. 116 ff.) and a Parsi writer soon pointed out that it was in the Pahlavi character; thus directing my attention for the first time to the Pahlavi language.

In December 1865, after the disappearance of the Brahman recluse, I had the first opportunity of seeing the Pahlavi inscription in the tank recess, discovered by Dr. Bhâû Dâjî, of which I made a tracing, and sent a reduced copy to the Bombay Asiatic Society in 1866. This copy and those prepared by Dr. Bhâû Dâjî were soon after discussed in the *Zartoshti Abhîds*, Nos. 2—4, and the greater part of the three inscriptions was correctly deciphered by Parsi priests well acquainted with Pahlavi; but, owing to the imperfection of the copies, some errors and obscurities occurred in those decipherments.

In December 1870, tracings of the two pilaster inscriptions were taken for me, and in February 1875, I corrected these tracings and that taken in 1865 by comparison with the inscriptions themselves, which I was then better able to read. Mr. Burgess has also recently favoured me with prints of the two clearest inscriptions (one over the tank and the other on the left-hand pilaster) which, with the tracings before-mentioned, probably give the decipherer all the information he is ever likely to obtain with regard to the letters inscribed.

These three Pahlavi inscriptions are all dated, and consist chiefly of the names of certain Parsis who visited the Kaṇheri Caves early in the eleventh century. They are all three inscribed in vertical lines, to be read from the top downwards; Pahlavi writing being read from right to left. As they would be more conveniently read if the lines were horizontal, the reason for inscribing them in vertical lines is not obvious; but it may be noted that a few short Pahlavi inscriptions, in the same comparatively modern character,[2] are found in Persia, which are also inscribed in vertical lines.

The earliest date is that in the inscription on the verandah pilaster to the right of a person entering the cave. This inscription is so faintly cut that the greater part of it would be illegible

[1] *Zend-Avesta ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c.* par Anquetil Duperron; Paris, 1771; Tome premier.

[2] Not the Sasanian inscriptions, which are always in horizontal lines.

if it were not for the fact that the names it contains are the same as those in the second inscription.

With the assistance of that inscription it may be read, line for line, as follows[3] :—

Pavan shem-î yazatô.

Pavan tag mûrvâk va nadûkŏ da*d*ak denman shnat 300
70 8-î Yazdakar*d*ŏ bidanâ Mit*r*ô yôm
Aûha*r*mazd hamdînikân va*l* denman *j*inâk yâtûn*d*
hômand Yazdân-pânak va Mâh-aîyyâr-î
Mit*r*a-aîyyâr,[4] Panj-bûkhtŏ va Pa*d*ar-bûkhtŏ-î
Mâh-aîyyâr, Mar*d*ân-shâ*d*-î Hîrâd[5]-Bâhrâm
va Hîrâd-Bâhrâm-î Mar*d*ân-shâ*d*, Mit*r*a-aîyyâr-î
Bâhrâm-panâh va Bâhrâm-panâh-î Mit*r*a-aîyyâr,
Falân-zâ*d*[6] va Zâ*d* sparham-î Âtû*r*[7]-mahân,
Nûk-mâhân va Dîn-Bâhrâm va Bajûrg-âtû*r* va Hîrâd-mar*d*
va Bôh-zâ*d*ŏ-î Mâh. . . . .

This inscription is evidently incomplete, as it stops in the middle of a name, and also omits the names contained in the last two lines of the next inscription. Nearly the whole of the first two lines have been broken away and removed since 1870, and the copy of them could not, therefore, be corrected in 1875; so that the reading of so much of the second line as does not occur in the next inscription, is doubtful.

The next date, which is only forty-five days later, occurs in the inscription in the recess over the water-tank alongside the cave. This inscription, though likewise cut faintly, is much more distinct than the last, and is numbered with the Pahlavi cipher for "two" preceding the invocation in its first line. It contains the same names as the last inscription, with a few others added at the end to complete the list, and may be read as follows :—

2. Pavan shem-î yazatô.[8]

Shnat 300 va 70 8-î Yazdaka*r*d*ŏ* bidanâ Âvânŏ
va yôm Mit*r*ô hamdînîkân va*l* denman *j*inâk yâtûn*d*
hômand Yazdân-pânak va Mâh-aîyyâr-î
Mit*r*a-aîyyâr, Panj-bûkhtŏ va Pa*d*ar-bûkhtŏ-î
Mâh-aîyyâr, Mar*d*ân-shâ*d*-î Hîrâd-Bâhrâm
va Hîrad-Bâhram-î Mar*d*ân-shâ*d*, Mit*r*a-aîyyâr-î
Bâhrâm-panâh va Bâhrâm-panâh-î Mit*r*a-aîyyâr,
Falân-zâ*d* va Zâ*d*-sparham-î Âtû*r*-mâhân,
Nûk-mâhân va Dîn-Bâhrâm va Bajûrg-âtûr
va Hîrâ*d*-mar*d* va Bôh-zâ*d*ŏ-î Mâh-bâzâe,[9]
Bâhrâm-panâh-î Mit*r*a-bandâ*d*.
Mâh Âtû*r* Aûharmazd-î Ârân-bandâ*d* mûr*d*.[10]

The third inscription in point of time is that on the left-hand pilaster of the verandah, and is numbered with the Pahlavi cipher for "three" preceding the invocation in its first line. It is dated twelve years later than the preceding inscriptions, and contains a different list of names, in which only four of the names in the previous inscriptions occur. It is fairly legible, and may be read as follows :—

3. Pavan shem-î yazdân.

Bidanâ Mit*r*ô va yôm Dînô shnat 300 90-î Yazdakar*d*ŏ min Aîrân[11]
va*l* denman *j*inâk yâtûn*d* hômand
Mâh-Frôbag va Mâh-aîyyâr
î Mit*r*a-aîyyâr, Panj-bûkhtŏ-î
Mâh-aîyyâr, Mar*d*ân-shâ*d*-î
Hîrâd-Bâhrâm, Bêh-zâ*d*-î
Mit*r*a-vindâ*d*,[12] Jâvîdân-bûdŏ-î
Bâhrâm-Gûshnaspŏ, Bajûrg-âtû*r*-î

[3] As some sounds are written more ways than one in Pahlavi, italics are used to express such variants; thus, *d* is used for d written like t, *j* for j written like y, *l* and *r* for l and r written either like n or like an Avesta o, *v* and *z* for v and z written like ch.

[4] *Aîyyâr* is merely a provisional reading for the Pahlavi equivalent of Pers. *yâr*, until its true sound is ascertained. In the second inscription it is always circumflexed, as if to be read *aîdbâr*.

[5] Or, perhaps, *Khîrâd* or *aîr-aê*, as the final d (not being *d*) is doubtful after a vowel.

[6] In the second inscription the l is distinctly noted by a diacritical mark, otherwise it would be better to read *Farukhŏ-zâd*, a common Pahlavi name.

[7] Hitherto I have generally read this word *âtarô* direct from the Avesta, but it occurs in Sasanian inscriptions, not only in a form which can be read either *âtarô* or *âtûr*, but also in another form which *must* be read *âtûr*; it is also transcribed by Syriac writers as *âdûr* or *âdur*. The second part of the name is here written *mahân*, but is *mâhân* in the next inscription and in the next name here.

[8] This word is illegible, but is assumed to be the same as in the preceding inscription. The *za* in *yazatô*, like the *zd* in *yazdân* and *Aûharmazd*, and the *zda* in *Yazdakardŏ* is written like *â* or *ha*, as it always is in Pahlavi MSS.; but this is merely a graphical variant, as these words are written with *za*, *zd*, and *zda* in Sasanian Pahlavi.

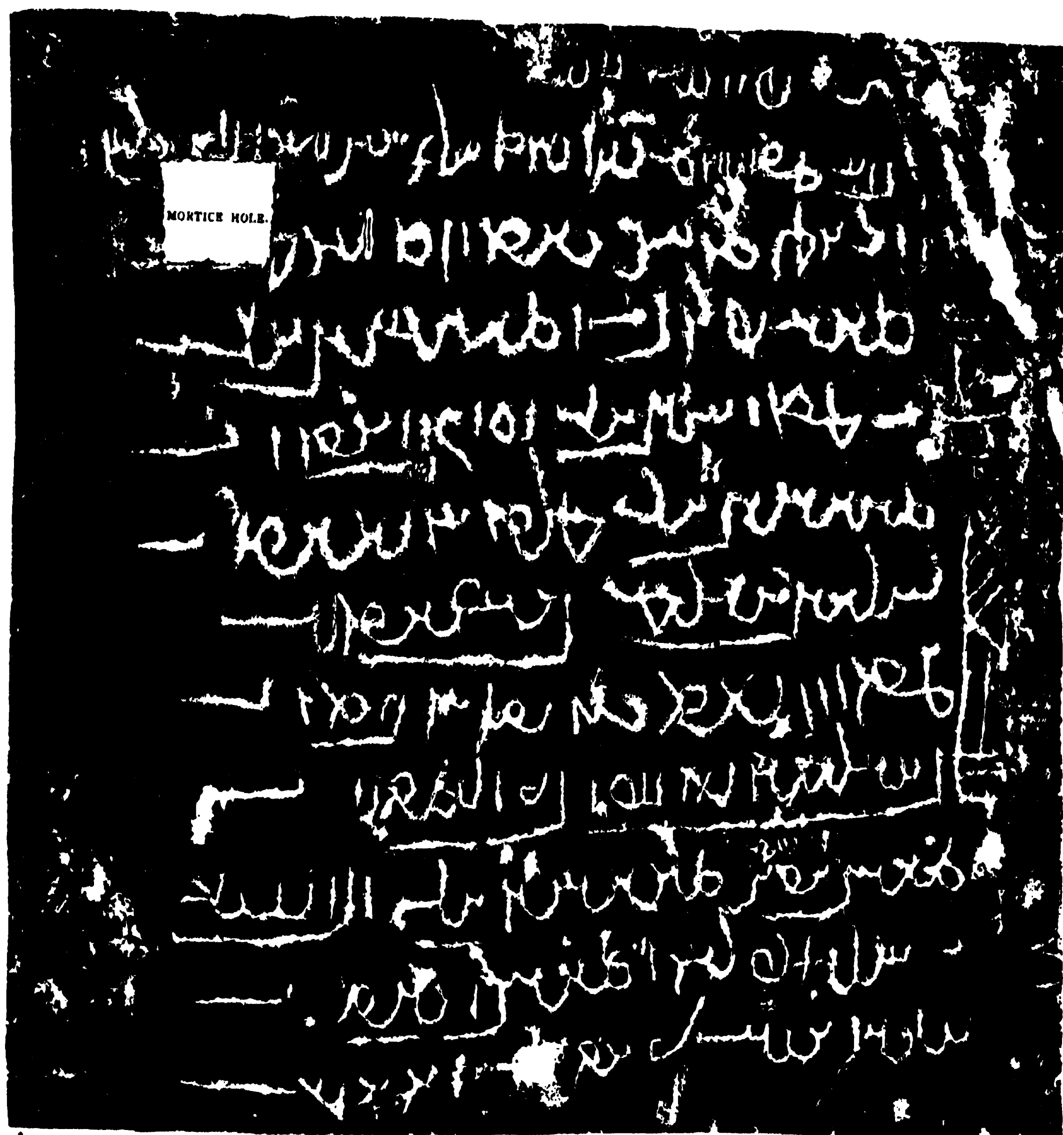
[9] The last syllable is circumflexed, but can hardly contain the letter d.

[10] The last letter is doubtful, and the word looks more like *mûrâ*, but this would be unintelligible. This last line is evidently an addition to the inscription after the list of names was finished.

[11] These last two words are doubtful, *min* being nearly all cut away, and *Aîrân* hardly legible; they occupy the place of the doubtful word *hamdînîkân* in the first two inscriptions.

[12] Possibly the same name as the Mit*r*a-bandâ*d* of the first two inscriptions.

KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION, No. 3.

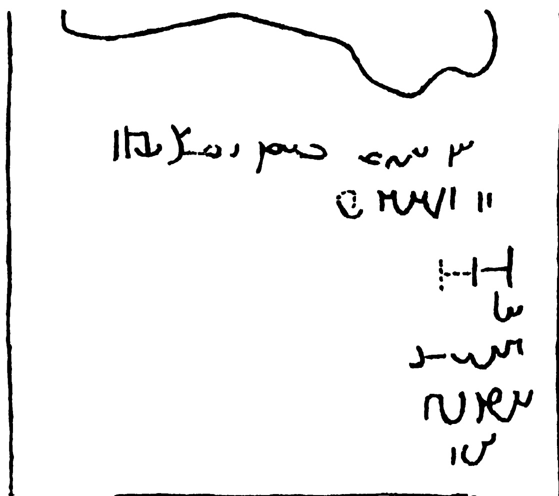


FROM A RUBBING.

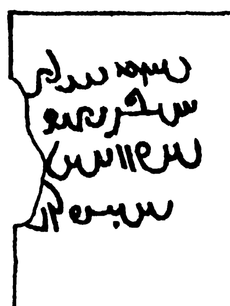
SCALE ⅓ ACTUAL SIZE.

KANHERI PAHLAVI INSCRIPTIONS.

No. 4.



No. 5.



FROM COPIES BY DR. E. W. WEST.

Mâh-bâzâe, Mâh-aîyyâr va Bandêsh[13]
î Hîrâd-farukhŏ, va Mâh-bandâd-î
Gêhân-khash châsh[14]-nyôkhsh.

The following are translations of these three inscriptions, as transcribed above; the words in italics being understood, but not expressed, in the original Pahlavi :—

1. 'In the name of God.[15]

'Through strong omens and the good Judge this[16] year 378 of Yazdakard, *on* the day Aûharmazd of the month Mitrô (10th October 1009), *there* have come to this place the co-religionists[17] Yazdân-pânak and Mâh-aîyyâr *sons* of Mitra-aîyyar, Panj-bûkht and Padar-bûkht *sons* of Mâh-aîyyâr, Mardân-shâd *son* of Hîrad-Bâhrâm and Hîrâd-Bâhrâm *son* of Mardân-shâd, Mitra-aîyyâr *son* of Bâhrâm-panâh and Bâhrâm-panâh *son* of Mitra-aîyyâr, Falân-zâd and Zâd-sparham *sons* of Âtûr-mâhân, Nûk-mâhân, Dîn-Bâhrâm Bajûrg-âtûr, Hârâd-mard, and Bêh-zâd *son* of Mâh[18]. . . . . '

'2. In the name of God.

'*In* the year 378 of Yazdakard, the month Âvân and day Mitrô (24th November 1009), *there* have come to this place the co-religionists Yazdân-pânak and Mâh-aîyyâr, *sons* of Mitra-aîyyâr, Panj-bûkht and Padar-bûkht *sons* of Mâh-aîyyâr, Mardân-shâd *son* of Hîrâd-Bâhrâm and Hîrâd-Bâhrâm[19] *son* of Mardân-shâd, Mitra-aîyyâr *son* of Bâhrâm-panâh and Bâhrâm-panâh[19] *son* of Mitra-aîyyâr, Falân-zâd and Zâd-sparham *sons* of Âtûr-mâhân, Nûk-mâhân, Dîn-Bâhrâm, Bajûrg-âtûr, Hîrâd-mard, and Bêh-zâd *sons* of Mâh-bâzâe, *and* Bâhrâm-panâh *son* of Mitra-bandâd. *In* the month Âtûr[20] Aûharmazd *son* of Âvân-bandâd died.'

'3. In the name of God.[21]

'*In* the month Mitrô and day Dînô *of* the year 390 of Yazdakard (30th October 1021) *there* have come from Irân[22] to this place Mâh-Frôbag and Mâh-aîyyâr[23] *sons* of Mitra-aîyyâr Panj-bûkht[23] *son* of Mâh-aîyyâr, Mardân-shâd[23] *son* of Hîrâd-Bâhrâm, Bêh-zâd *son* of Mitra-vindâd, Jâvîdân-bûd *son* of Bâhrâm-Gûshnasp, Bajûrg-âtûr[23] *son* of Mâh-bâzâe, Mâh-aîyyâr and Bandêsh *sons* of Hîrâd-farukhŏ, and Mâh-bandâd *son* of Gôhân-khash, the listener to instruction.'[24]

It must have been during the visit mentioned in this third inscription that the few words were inscribed on the dâgoba, as mentioned above; for they mention the same year and one of the same names. This short inscription (No. 5 on the accompanying plate), was correctly deciphered in 1856, as published in the *Zartoshti Abhâs*, No. 3, p. 164, and is as follows :—

Shnat 300
90-î Yazdaka(*rd*)
Shatra-îyâr
Mâh-Frôba(g).

'The year 390 of Yazdakard Shatra-îyâr. Mâh-Frôbag.'

Besides these four Pahlavi inscriptions at Kaṇheri there has been a fifth (No. 4 on the plate), of which only two or three detached letters are legible on another stone of the dâgoba, which is now in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This inscription appears to have consisted of seven vertical lines on a flat space between two groups of sculpture; but the surface of the stone is so much decayed, that the letters legible are only just sufficient to show that the words have been Pahlavi.

The interest attaching to these Pahlavi inscriptions is threefold:—First, they show that Parsis visited the Kaṇheri Caves early in the eleventh century. Secondly, they exhibit the form of Pahlavi writing at that period, though due allowance must be made for the fact that such cursive writing is not well-adapted for inscribing on stone. Thirdly, they indicate what kind of names was commonly used by the Parsis of those times; differing very much from the kind now in use.

[13] Or, perhaps, *Bîsth*.

[14] This word is doubtful, being partly broken away.

[15] The Pahlavi word is here in the singular number.

[16] As already stated, the reading of this first phrase is doubtful. Another guess would make it mean "in a good omened and happy state I write"

[17] This word is doubtful, but *hamdînthân* seems to be the only intelligible reading for it as it stands in No. 2.

[18] Breaking off in the middle of a name.

[19] Probably a son of the preceding man, who had been named after his grandfather, a custom still common among the Parsis.

[20] That is, in the following month (9th Dec. to 8th Jan.). It might possibly be "*on the day* Mâh *of the month* Âtûr (20th Dec.)"; or it might be translated "Mâh-Âtûr *and* Aûharmazd *sons* of Âvân-bandâd died," but the word "died" is doubtful. This last sentence seems to have been a later addition to the inscription.

[21] The Pahlavi word is here in the plural number.

[22] The words "from Irân" are doubtful, being partly cut away to form a mortice in the rock for attaching wood-work.

[23] These four names also occur in the former lists in Nos. 1 and 2.

[24] This last phrase is doubtful, and it is possible that the list of names is incomplete in this inscription, as it is in that on the other pilaster.

With regard to the writing it may be noticed that it differs but little from that of the oldest MSS. extant, which were written three centuries later. The chief differences are that the letter *s* is more like the letter *d* than in the MSS., differing merely in being a deeper letter, and that in compounds of *a* and *m*, or *sh* and *m*, the upper stem of the *m* has almost disappeared, and the first letter is set close down upon the second.

With reference to the men's names we find they were very much of the same character as those borne by the old commentators on the *Avesta*, and others mentioned in the *Bundahish* and elsewhere, who lived between the sixth and ninth centuries. Thus, the names Mâh-ayâr and Zâd-sparham occur as names of the ninth century in *Bûndahish* xxxiii, 7, 11;[25] Mitrô-ayâr occurs in the *Vijirkard-i Dînîk*[26] as the supposed name of a former husband of one of Zaratûsht's wives; Aûharmazd is a man's name still in common use in a corrupted form; Yazd-panâh or Yazêd-panâh[27] occurs in a Syriac MS. of the twelfth or thirteenth century, containing the *Acts* of certain Persian martyrs; and Professor Hoffmann, in his German translation of these Acts, also quotes the names Mihr-bundâd and Mâh-bundâd.[28] Again, Mar*d*ân-shâ*d* may be compared with Mar*d*ân-vêh and Vâhrâm-shâ*d*;[29] Panjbûkht and Pa*d*ar-bukht with Mâh-bûkht and Vâê-bûkht;[29] Bajûrg-âtû*r*, with Bajûrg-Mihir, the prime minister of Khûsrô Nôshirvân; Mit*ra*-vindâ*d*, Mit*ra*-bandâ*d*, Â*v*ân-bandâ*d*, and Mâh-bandâ*d* with Afrôbag-vindâ*d*; Mâh-Frôbag with Âtû*r*- Frôbâg;[30] *J*âvî*d*ân-bû*d* with Mar*d*-bû*d*;[31] Hîrâd-farukhô with Dâ*d*-farukh;[31] Bâhrâm-Gûshnasp with Mâh-Gôshôsp (Gûshnasp ?)[31] and Mihrâm-Gûshnasp;[32] and Âtû*r*-mâhân and Nûk-mâhân with Burż-mâhân.[33]

In the translations of these inscriptions the dates corresponding to those inscribed have been calculated on the assumption that these Parsi visitors used the calendar of the Indian Parsis. This is, of course, not quite certain; but if they used the calendar of the Persian Parsis, which makes the dates one month earlier in the year, they must have arrived at the caves in September, when the jungle is most impenetrable, whereas in October the paths are usually open, and the caves are easy of access from that month till the following August, when the jungle again becomes difficult to traverse for two months.

It is possible that the first two inscriptions refer to two separate visits to the caves by the same party, but, considering the distance these people probably came, it is more likely that they refer to two different periods of the same visit. What induced these Parsis to reside at the caves for more than six weeks it is difficult to guess. If, however, I have correctly interpreted the last line of the second inscription as implying that one of the party died at the caves, it is just possible that he may have been brought there for the benefit of his health. The water in the cave tanks is still esteemed by the natives for its curative effects, and twenty-seven years ago I found an invalid Hindu at the caves, who had been brought there during the rainy season for the benefit of drinking the water.

REPORT ON THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE AND IN THE DISTRICTS OF MATALE AND TRINKOMALI, CEYLON.

BY DR. E. MÜLLER.

(*Continued from p. 14.*)[1]

During a second trip to the North-Western Province, and to the districts of Matale and Trinkomalî, I corrected the copies of the inscriptions discovered previously, and found several new ones belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era. I give here the transcripts of those which are well enough preserved to allow of a translation:—

(1) Kaikâwa, four miles from Balalla on the road to Yapahu:

[25] See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. V, p. 147.

[26] See p. 22 of Dastûr Peshotanji Behramji's edition of the text.

[27] See Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*; Leipzig, 1880; pp. 87-91.

[28] Ibid. p. 297.

[29] See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. V, p. 147.

[30] Ibid. p. 194.

[31] Ibid. p. 244.

[32] See Hoffmann's *Auszüge*, &c. pp. 94-98.

[33] Ibid, note 601.

[1] See also *ante*, vol. VIII, p. 221.

Siddham. Patama tera Warasi ametaha jita Amaryawa ameti Abaha cha duti bati . . . . Wadhachetahata ja bikasagata ja dina.

'Hail! Amaryawa, the daughter of the chief thera minister Warasi (?), and the second brother of the minister Abhaya gave . . . . to the Wadhachaitya and to the priesthood.'

In the name Amaryawa we have a combination of *ry* analogous to that of *ny* in the inscription at Kirinde, see Goldschmidt's *Report* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 321). *Wadhachetahata* and *bikusagata* are the oldest instances I met with of the Siṅhalese dative composed from the genitive in *ha* = *sya* + *aṭa* = *arthâya*. *Sagata* already represents the more modern form, where the *h* of the genitive is dropped; *ja* is the intermediate form between the old *cha* and the modern *da*, *d* or *t*, which is now used in Siṅhalese.

(2.) Binpokuna, five miles from Galgamuwa :—

Siddham. Datanaka ametaha

(2) chetahaṭa do kariha ka kubare râja Darukachetaha wawiye cha niṭhala chadawawihi

(3) ka.

'Hail! Two *karîshas* and four paddy fields [*shall be the property*] of the minister Dâṭhânâga, and the same number the property of the chaitya of king Dharaka, at the Chandra tank.'

The character rendered by *ka* in the transcript line 2, 3, is the numeral which expresses 4 in old inscriptions, see Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, Pl. xxiii. The numeral '*do*' for 'two' occurs also in the inscription at Habarane, line 4, 10, where however it was misunderstood by Goldschmidt. *Niṭhala* is most probably a mistake for '*niṭhila*' = *niṭṭhita*.

(3.) Periyakaḍu vihâra, four miles from Dehelgomuwa on the road from Kurunêgala to Dambula :—

Gamaṇi Aba rajaha wa

(2) ba . . . . puwadara sawanaka wasa

(3) ka. . . . . . . [pa] rama tera Tusaha ka mahâwawi

(4) [parajma tera Majiba ka gaṇaya Chaka (?) darika wehe

(5) rahi chetahaṭa cha bikusagahaṭa

(6) dine Chakadaraka wehera [hi] dine.

'From king Gâmiṇi Abhaya [*an order*]: In the year Puwadara Sawanaka . . . . . . the four great tanks of the chief thera Tusa and the 4 *gaṇas* of the chief thera Majiba are given to the chaitya in the Chakadharaka vihâra, and to the congregation of the priests. To the Chakadharaka vihâra they are given.'

For *puwadara* we find *puwayasa* at Habarane and *puridasa* at Inginimitiya; the meaning of it is doubtful. *Sawanaka* is evidently the contrary of *awanaka* in the Habarane inscription. *Tusa* occurs also in the name of the village Thusavattika, *Mah.* I., 243. *Majjhima* was the name of one of the theras who accompanied Mahinda to Ceylon (*Mah.* I., 71, 74). It also occurs in an inscription at Piduruwagala near Sigiri, which runs thus :—

Kolagâmasâwaputa Majimayasa jitaya Tisâdewiya lene sagasa.

'The cave of Tisâdewi, daughter of Majjhima, son of Kolagâmasâwa, is given to the priesthood.'

The name of the king in this inscription Gâmiṇi Abhaya may either point to Gajabâhu Gâmiṇi (116–119 A.D.) or to Meghawanna Abhaya (302—320 A.D.), but to judge from the form of the character it is more probable that it belongs to the latter of the two.

(4.) Kottarakimbiyâwa, four miles from Hiripiṭiya, not far from the road to Anurâdhapura :—

Payati ṭheraha lene savayiṭha. . . . sadhamasa

(2) sagahaṭhaya Wesawasikagamawawi melenahi nawanikate.

'This was called the cave of the thera Payati. The tank of the village Wesawasika at this cave has been restored for the priesthood of the true religion.'

The language of this inscription resembles very closely that of the Aśoka inscriptions, although I do not believe that it can be so old. We find here the aspirates *ṭh* in *ṭhera*, *savayiṭha sagahaṭhaya*, and *dh* in *sadhama*, where other inscriptions have the unaspirated *t*, *d*. As far as I know, only Meghawarna Abhaya's inscription at Mihintale (see my *Report*) participates in the same peculiarity, as it writes *paṭhama*, *aṭhaya*, *sadhame*, etc. *Savayiṭha* is a form quite analogous to *kamayiṭha* of the Yogi Mârâ cave inscription (see Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 105). It corresponds to Sanskrit *aśrâvayishṭa*. *Nikate* is Sanskrit *nishkrita*: in Pâli it would be *nikkhata*, but the word does not occur in the texts which are known at present. *Wesawasika* may

be derived from *Wesawana*, but this demon is generally called *Wesamana*, as for instance in the Habarane inscription, line 5.

(5.) Eriyâwa tank, four miles from Mediyâwa :—

Paru[ma]ya Hipaha puta . . . . . kaha dine. Ima wapi Dipigala wiharahi niyate sagasa.

'The son of the Brahman Hipa gave this to . . . . This tank is dedicated to the priesthood of the Dipigala vihâra.'

To judge from the form and especially from the size of the letters, this inscription must be about as old as that from Tonigala mentioned in my last report (*ante*, p. 10). Unfortunately neither of the names in the inscription can be identified, and the construction of Eriyâwa tank is not related in the *Mahâvaṁso*. A temple Erakavila, though, is mentioned at *Mahâvaṁso*, p. 237, which may be identical with the still existing Eriyâwa pansala.

(6.) Of about the same date as the last mentioned is a cave inscription from Dambulla vihâra over the entrance of the temple :—

Dewanapiya mahârajasa Gâmiṇi Tisasa mahâlene agata anagata chatu disa sagasa dine.

'The great cave of the great king Gâmiṇi Tisa, beloved of the gods, is given to the priesthood of the four quarters present and absent.'

The title *Devanapiya* has been much discussed with regard to the edicts of Rupnâth, Sahasrâm and Bairât, which Dr. Bühler ascribes to Aśoka (Rhys Davids' *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 59). It occurs frequently in India,[2] but in the Ceylon books it is only given to the great Tissa (307—267 B. C.), who introduced the Buddhistical religion into the island. It is clear that our inscription cannot be ascribed to him; but we find the title also in two other inscriptions at Gallena vihâra and Tonigala in connexion with the name Gâmiṇi Abhaya. This Gâmiṇi Abhaya is said to be the son of Tisa on the Tonigala stone, and according to the Gallena inscription he again had a son of the name of Tisa. Now, if we look in the *Mahâvaṁso*, the only king of the name of Gâmiṇi whose father and son were called Tissa[3] was Waṭṭagâmiṇi, and I think that to him all three inscriptions belong. In my former report I ascribed the Tonigala inscription to Dutthagâmiṇi, whose father was Kâkawaṇṇa Tissa, but as only a period of thirty-three years separates the two kings, it is likely that they used the same form of alphabet. There is also internal evidence for my statement, as Waṭṭagâmiṇi is known to have been a great protector of the priests, and therefore may well have deserved the name Devânampiya. The *Mahâvaṁso* says concerning him—*Pitiṭṭhâne ṭhitattassa pitirâjâti abravum.*—'As he assumed the character of a father, they called him father king.'

There are other inscriptions of this kind, but not so well preserved, at Ambogasawaeva and Diyabaeta between Mediyawa and Yapahu, at Niyadawane and Welangolla five miles from Kepitiyawa, at Malasne and Nayindanawe near Mâ-eliya, at Nîlagâma vihâra, three miles from Galuwela on the road from Kurunegala to Dambulla, three at Dambulla vihâra, and one at Hunapahu vihâra near Yaṭawatta. An inscription belonging to the 7th century I found at Demalamâna, four miles from Hiripiṭiya, but the characters are so totally different from those used in the earlier as well as in the later centuries, that I have not yet been able to make it out.

We now proceed to the pillar inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries. They all resemble each other very closely, as not only the names of the kings are constantly the same, but also in the text the same words and sentences recur continually. Dr Goldschmidt, in his *Report*, has given extracts of several of these Pillars, but the only one he published and translated in its whole extent was that from Mahâkalattaewa (now in the Colombo Museum). I published two others in my *Report*, and after much useless effort succeeded in restoring three more, viz., those from Mayilagastoṭa (now in the Colombo Museum), from Inginimiṭiva and one from Polonnaruwa (see Goldschmidt's *Report*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 324). I give the texts and translations here :—

I.—*Mayilagastoṭa.*

A.	B.
(1) Siri mat apa da	(1) yan no
(2) . . . lalataha na wû da	(2) wadnâ i
(3) n uturat waena	(3) sâ gam
(4) n kaeta kula pae mili	(4) gon rada
(5) kaḷa Okâwas	(5) hara bili
(6) parapuren baṭ	(6) bun gael
(7) rad purumuwanaṭ	(7) miwun wae

[2] It was applied to Aśoka, Daśaratha, Tishya and others (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 149).

[3] He adopted Mahachulika Tissa, the son of his elder brother Khallâka Nâga.

A.	B.
(8) ag mehesu[n].	(8) riyan no
(9) wû Lak diw polo-	(9) gannâ -
(10) yon parapuren	(10) isâ mangi
(11) himi siṭi Gon	(11) wa piyagi
(12) biso raedna kus-	(12) wa no wad
(13) hi upan Abhâ Sa-	(13) nâ isâ da
(14) lamewan maharadhu	(14) waes me hi
(15) urchi dâ kaeta	(15) miyâ mahâ
(16) kula kot wiyat	(16) himin ae
(17) daham niyae gat	(17) tuḷa tâ siṭa
(18) aêpâ Mihindâhu	(18) sanae so da
(19) wasin karaṇḍ na	(19) yae tu . . .
(20) wam utumhi mahana	(20) no nasnâ
(21) m uwanisi	(21) isâ me kana
(22) siribara mahawe-	(22) yo ne para
(23) her nakâhi	(23) dawâ rada
(24) rad parapur wasnu	(24) kol samdaru
(25) wawas tamâ kaeraê	(25) wan wisin
(26) Udâ Tisa piriwe	(26) bisamwat
(27) n sâhasi has	(27) no raknâ i
(28) pamae yan ba	(28) sâ naṭ
(29) ma dayas nakâ	(29) . . . . . isâ
(30) . . . . wae	(30) . . . . . wan
(31) ta sa ha	(31) aêpa Mi-
(32) wan dunu	(32) hin dâhu...
(33) [*maḍulu*] melâṭ	
(34) [śrî] rad kol [*kae*] mi	

'The aêpâ Mahinda, who was born in the womb of the anointed queen Gon, chief queen to his Majesty the king, descended from the unbroken line of the Ikshwâku family reigning on Lankâ's ground by hereditary succession—the son of king Abhâ Salamewan—the pinnacle of the Kshatriya caste, the sage who has comprehended the doctrine—having made the necessary repairs at the Mahâ-vihâra, caused priests to be ordained for the nikâyas at the Uḍa Tisa monastery and . . . . ordered that the officers of the royal family shall not enter the place belonging to the priesthood; that enemies shall not take away the villages, the cattle, the royal taxes, the revenue, the cart buffaloes; that daily the priests, including the high priest, shall not destroy life; that the officers of the royal family together with the queens shall not protect (?) . . . . All this was ordered by the aêpâ Mahinda.

II.—*Inginimiṭiya.*

A.

(1) Swasti.
(2) Siri Sañga Bo
(3) ma purmukâ
(4) sawanaga pu
(5) ridase hima-
(6) ta puradisa
(7) wak dawas
(8) radol ma
(9) hâpaṇan
(10) wahanse
(11) wadâḷeyi
(12) para śrîpâla
(13) parâparawen
(14) me raṭa..
(15) ... âwû sirithi isâ
(17) wasara tuṇ
(18) ahnayâ maha-
(19) lekâ Arak
(20) samaṇan wa
(21) rae dâna kuḍa saḷâ waḍâḷâ
(23) . . . . ek
(24) taen samiyo

B.	C.
(1) n rado-	(1) perana su
(2) l pere Demeḷ	(2) sama me ga-
(3) kalae pere	(3) m no wad
(4) sirit ae	(4) nâ koṭ i-
(5) tuḷa wae	(5) sâ gael mi
(6) me tuwâ-	(6) wun waeriya-
(7) k denamo	(7) n gaingen
(8) Giriwehe-	(8) no gannâ
(9) râ Mihinden	(9) koṭ isâ
(10)	(10) ataṇin
(11)	(11) nepannâ.
(12) Hingiṇi-	(12) koṭ isâ
(13) piṭi sañga ae	(13) gam himin
(14) tuḷâ wae aep	(14) aetuḷata wâ
(15) gam bimaṭ	(15) Sirigala ta-
(16) atsâṇi pae	(16) n paṇḍur
(17) raeh aer daṭ	(17) no nas
(18) Sirigala ta-	(18) nâ isâ . .
(19) n me gama-	(19) . . . . me
(20) ṭ de maṇḍala-	(20) we herhi
(21) n radol a-	(21) attâṇi
(22) wan mela-	(22) paerachaer de
(23) ttina mang	(23) nu ladi.
(24) diw pediw	

'Hail! His Majesty Siri Sanga Bo, in the Sawanaka* (see above No. 3) year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of the month Himata . . . . the great sage declared: According to the rule made by former kings in their hereditary succession in this kingdom . . . . in three days at this temple, called after the chief Secretary Arak, a great privilege has been granted:

* Can this be the year Śrâvaṇa of the Twelve year cycle? Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, pp. 22, 25; vol. VII, p. 35; and *Asiat. Res.* vol. III, p. 217 ff; Burgess, *Sûrya Siddhânta*, xix, 17.—ED.

In one place the headmen shall come together and in the monastery . . . . , according to the rule formerly fixed by the Tamiḷs, they shall divide it between themselves. All this we give to the G i r i v i h â r a : so it was sanctioned by M a h i n d a . . . . including the villages and lands that belong to the priesthood of H i n g i ṇ p i ṭ i y a, a privilege is granted. All the villages beginning from S i r i g a l a and the villages of the headmen of the two maṇḍalas, travellers and pilgrims shall not enter, the officers and noblemen shall not enter, enemies shall not take away their cart buffaloes, and they shall be made dependent upon themselves. In all the villages beginning from S i r i g a l a the property shall not be destroyed . . . . Thus a privilege is given to this temple.'

III.—*Polonnaruwa.*

A.	C.
(1) ma purmu-	(1) dara no
(2) ka . . . . tun	(2) wadnâ i-
(3) w a n n e	(3) sâ . . . . .
(4) Nawayae pu-	(4) . . . .
(5) ra dasa wa-	(5) dan no
(6) k dawas	(6) wadnâ i-
(7) w a d â ḷ e n	(7) sâ gael
(8) â s e n e	(8) gon wae-
(9) wî rad ku-	(9) riyan bi-
(10) ssâ (?) warae	(10) li mut sâ-
(11) . . . . tura sâ-	(11) l no ga-
(12) dâ yo nawu	(12) nnâ isâ
(13) turâe sâl	(13) mang diw
(14) isâ mahâ	(14) [pe diw]

B.	D.
(1) samana-	(1) no wa-
(2) n warae ku-	(2) dnâ isâ
(3) dasalâ	(3) w a ḍ â ḷ e n
(4)	(4) śrî rad ko-
(5) ḷan dena	(5) l samada
(6) mo ek	(6) r u w a m o
(7) sewae G i r i-	(7) W a d u r a g
(8) n a ê bi-	(8) b o n â w a
(9) mae W a d u r a-	(9) nge G a-
(10) g bonâ	(10) l u t i s a ê ga-
(11) w a n g e	(11) may me a-
(12) G a l u t i s a ê	(12) t t â ṇ i
(13) gamay de	(13) paerachaer
(14) kamtaen	(14) dunamaha

. . . . . the king, in the third year of his reign, on the 10th day in the bright half of Nawaya, ordered: In the monastery called after the general of king . . . . . . we give it: and thus in the land of G i r i n a, belonging to the minister W a d u r a g at the village G a l u t i s a, two karmasthânas . . . . that the officers of the royal family shall not enter, that enemies shall not take away the cart buffaloes, that nothing but raw rice shall be given [*as taxes*], that travellers and pilgrims shall not enter: Thus we, the royal family, order: we give a privilege to G a l u t i s a, the village of the minister W a d u r a g.

Another inscription of S i r i S a ñ g B o [Kassapo V.] is at Mihintale, not on a pillar but on seven broken slabs lying on the ground. Although a part of it is effaced, the sense can be made out with tolerable certainty.

Mihintale Inscription—Upper Portion.

(1) Ś r î S i r i S a ñ g B o m a purmukâ doḷoswanne Hihilae awaguṇ poho dawas satar raṭae wel kaemi [*ya*]n weherat [*w*]e[*l*] . . . . [*we*]he[*ra*]ṭ wel kaemiyâ [*d*]i[*yae yutu*] ran sat kaḷandak

(2) isâ me raṭae me âleyakhu diyae yutu ran kaḷandak isâ sangwaeli upaêni kaemiyaku diyae yutu ran de kaḷandak isâ kaḷ . . . . kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me piri[*wa*]ha[*nnâ*]ku diyae yutu ran pas

(3) kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me ran ladu kaebiḷi piriwahannâ ran tun kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me balannaku diyae yutu ran de kaḷandak isâ me raṭae . . . . isâ yan hae diyae darae wel kaemi[*yâ diyae*] yutu ran dasa kaḷanda-

(4) k isâ me raṭae me piriwahannâku diyae yutu ran de kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me balannaku diyae yutu ran kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me âleyaku di- [*yae yutu*]. . . . . diya darae urâḷa aeḷ terae we[l] kaemi[*yâ diyae*] yutu ran pasaḷo-

(5) s kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me âleyaku diyae yutu ran de kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me ariki leya- [*ku*] diyae yutu ran de kaḷandak isâ me raṭae me . . . . kaḷandak isâ mo . . . . . diae[*l*] . . . . [*we*]l kaemiyâ diyae

Lower Portion.

(1) yutu ran pas kaḷandak [*isâ me*] raṭae me . . . , ... diyae] yutu [*ra*]n . . . . . kaḷandak isâ me aeḷ . . . . rae pas haemae arikileya[*ku*] diyae yutu [*ran*] pas kaḷandak isâ kaebiḷi piriwahannâ diyae yutu ran tun kaḷandak isâ [*me*] aeḷ de kaebiḷi deṭun diyae yutu ran de ka-

(2) ḷandak isâ me aeḷ . . . . y yaku diyae yutu ra[*n*] kaḷandak isâ mehi lî pamaṇin unu no karanu isâ me lî tâk ran. . . . . hawuru-dupatâ waê. . . . . . pâra keremin si isâ wanun agin gannâ isâ keremin si pi [*ya*] keremin henae waḍâran ra-

(3) n kenekanaṭ waêpâra . . . . isa de kaḷandak [*ma*]ngul wae go sang wae go aeḷ luhu nama p[*e*]re apâ . . . . . se pasnaṭ isâ deṭ wâdî wehera kaemiya . . . . . daruwan sanga ḷahannâ mangulaṭ diyae yutu ran de kaḷandak kahây de paeḷak sâl isâ mehi

(4) waê pâra karaṇa tâk denahaṭ weheraṭ pili-[*ma*] deka isâ de kenekun kaḷandak kaeḷao pawanu isâ.

Hail! His Majesty Siri Sañg Bo, in the 12th year of his reign, on the dark poya day of Hihila, ordered: the workmen in the four kingdoms for the vihâras . . . . it is right for the vihâras to give to the workmen; seven *kaḷandas* of gold shall be given to the chief writer, one *kaḷanda* of gold shall be given to a workman born on the ground of the priesthood, two *kaḷandas* of gold to . . . . *kaḷandas* in this kingdom to the sweeper, five *kaḷandas* of gold in this kingdom to the man who having received this gold divides the shares, three *kaḷandas* of gold in this kingdom to the superintendent, two *kaḷandas* of gold in this country . . . . shall be given to the workmen for water and fuel, ten *kaḷandas* of gold in this country shall be given to the sweeper, two *kaḷandas* of gold in this country shall be given to the superintendent, one *kaḷanda* of gold in this kingdom shall be given to the chief writer . . . . shall be given to labourers for water and fuel, on sluices, [?] channels and banks of a river, fifteen *kaḷandas* of gold in this country shall be given to the accountant of this; two *kaḷandas* of gold in this country shall be given to the chief writer of this; two *kaḷandas* of gold in this country (*shall be given*) to the . . . . of this . . . . *kaḷandas* [*of gold*] shall be given to the labourers on . . . . channels and banks, five *kaḷandas* of gold in this country shall be given to . . . . two *kaḷandas* of gold shall be given to the . . . . on the bank of this channel five *kaḷandas* of gold shall be given to him who [*divides*] the *shares*; three *kaḷandas* of gold to the overseers on the two banks of the channel: two *kaḷandas* of gold shall be given to . . . . on the bank of this channel, one *kaḷanda* of gold to him who only . . . . yearly for making a road to the tank, ... shall the workmen of the vihâra and their children give to the distributor of the priesthood, two *kaḷandas* and two *paelas* of rice to the accountant, and for two statues to the temple . . . .

It is difficult to identify the names in the inscriptions of Inginimiṭiya and Polonnaruwa. The former bears the name of a chief Secretary Arak, a name which occurs several times in the *Mahâvaṁso* under the form Rakkho, Rakkhako or Rakkhaso. At *Mahâvaṁso* lii, 31, we find a chief Rakkho who built a vihâra at Sawârakagâma under the reign of Kassapo V., at *Mahâvaṁso* l, 84, one Rakkhaso is mentioned under the reign of Sena Silâmegha; at *Mahâvaṁso* liii, 11, one Rakkhako under Dapulo V. builds the Ilangaâwâsa. The name Siri Sañg Bo points to Kassapo V., who always bears this title, but it is by no means impossible that some other king may have had it besides him. The title *mahaleka* or *mahale* or *mahâlenan* seems to have been very frequent at the time of Kassapo and his successors. In the inscription of Mahâkalattaewa, mention is made of a *mahale* of King Dapula called Arak, like the one in our inscription, and besides of a *mahâlenan* Sena, most probably the same who built the Mahâlekhapabbata vihâra according to *Mahâvaṁso* lii, 33. Also, Mahinda I. is said to have built a Mahâlekhapariwena at Abhayagiri, *Mahâvaṁso* xlviii, 135; and at *Mahâvaṁso* lxix, 12, we find the names of a *lankâmahâlâno* Sikhânâyaka and of a *jayamahâlâno* Seṭṭhinâyaka, where of course *mahâlâno* is only a mechanical translation into Pâli of the Sinhalese *mahâlenan*. There is also the name Mahinda legible, though not very clear on the stone, but this is most probably not a king of this name, but one of the two *epâs* who governed Rohana under Udaya III. and Kassapo V.

On the Polonnaruwa inscription the name of the king is broken off. It was ascribed by Goldschmidt to Wajiro, the minister of Silâmegha, *Mahâvaṁso* l, 84; but the form of the name Wadurag agrees better with Wajiraggo, the general of Kassapo V. mentioned *Mahâvaṁso* li, 105, 118, 126, and with Widuragga (translated back into Pâli from the Sinhalese), the general of Udaya III., *Mahâvaṁso* liii, 46. There is also mentioned another Wajiro, minister of Dapulo III., *Mahâvaṁso* xlix, 80, who built the Kachchhavâla-ârâma, but he may be identical with the general of Silâ-

megha. The name of the village Galutisa does not give us any help, as it is not known from elsewhere. However, I feel inclined to ascribe this pillar as well as that at Inginimitiya to Kassapo V., as we have several other inscriptions of his in which the terminology is almost exactly the same as in the two in question. Especially the end—*Galutisæ gamayme aṭṭâṇi paeraehaer dinamaha*—is almost to the word the same as in the Mahâkalattaewa inscription in Goldschmidt's *Report.* (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI, p. 323).

The inscription of Mayilagastoṭa belongs to Mahindo III. when he was æpâ in Rohana during the reign of Sena III., and it is related at *Mahâvaṁso* liv, 5, that this king repaired the shrine of the tooth relic, and that he explained the *suttanta* at the great brazen palace surrounded by the priests of the three *nikâyas, i. e.* of the Abhayagiri, Jetawana and Mahâvihâra fraternities.

The inscription at Mihintale, I also ascribed to Kassapo V., although there is no other proof for this but the name of the king Siri Sañg Bo. The contents of the inscription are very much like those of the long inscription of Mahindo III. on the two tablets at Mahintale, but the form of the character is somewhat older, so that it suits very well the time of Kassapo V. An explanation of all the words occurring in the inscriptions seems out of place here.

Inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries are in great number at Polonnaruwa belonging to the kings Parâkrama Bâhu, Niśśanka Malla and Sâhasamalla. Some of them have been published by Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society;* of others extracts have been given by Dr. Goldschmidt, as they are too long to be published in their whole extent. At Kantalai also I found a stone seat of Niśśanka Malla, the contents of which are almost exactly the same as those of the stone seats of Kiriwehâra and Jetawanârâma at Polonnaruwa.

Colombo, 10th November, 1879.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 247.)

IV.

Bartan Baatur, the grandfather of Chinghiz Khân, was styled Ebuken, a soubriquet applied by the Mongols to the grandfather or second ancestor of their chiefs.[1] It would seem that he did not actually reign, and either died before his brother Kutlugh, or was killed by the Taijut as one legend reports. Nor was he in fact entitled to reign, since his elder brother Ukin Berkhakh left descendants. His wife, according to Rashidu'd-dîn, was called Sunigel Fujin, Fujin being a Chinese title for 'princess.' She belonged to the Bargut tribe, Ssanang Setzen calls her Sain Maral Khayak. Sain Maral means the 'Good Hind.' By her Bartan had four sons—Mangetu Kian, the Ming-ko-tu-ha-yan of the *Yuan-shi,* Nikun Taishi, called Chi-hwan-ta-shi in the *Yuan-shi,* and Bukan Taishi by Abu'lghâzi, Yessugei Baatur, and Daritai Uchtgen called Ta-li-chan in the *Yuan-shi.* This is the order in which the names occur in the several authorities. Although all four had sons, Yessugei became the representative of the family, and succeeded Kutlugh not only as chief of the Mongols but as Khâkan or Imperator, and we find him acting as Kutlugh's heir and supplying the funeral meats after his supposed death as we have related above, and this although Kutlugh left two sons, named Juchi Khân and Altan Khân. Yessugei was obeyed apparently by all the race, including the rival tribe of the Taijut. Of the latter we are told that on the death of Anbakhai a discussion arose about the succession. His sons and relations collected the chiefs of the tribe who met together to elect a successor. The discussion was prolonged, as none of them wished to have the position. They first approached Tuda Anbakhai's grandson, and the senior prince of the house, and asked him whom he thought worthy of the position. He suggested Terkutai Khiriltuk, who was also a grandson of Anbakhai, but he in turn suggested Metu-Gun-Sajan, who also declined saying —"How can I undertake to decide what should be done in such a weighty business. I feel

[1] Abu'lghâzi, p. 73.

like a sparrow, who either keeps hopping round a snare until he falls into it, or flies suddenly to the crest of a tree to escape falling into the trap. I as a Karaju[2] know the limits of my words, but I have not at command words befitting a king. The Karajus are like stallions who have been brought up on the milk of two mares, and have become satiated and stout. If you will assemble a council, and will agree together, then I will surrender my wishes to all, (*i.e.* accept the chieftainship.) If, however, you disagree, and feud and dissension arises in your *ulusses* I shall still be satisfied." In this wise he said many things, and began to weep and left the meeting. "Eventually," Rashid says, "according to the annals they apparently elected Terkutai Khiriltuk."[3]

Let us now return again to Y e s s u g e i K h â k h a n, who as Chinghiz Khân's father and the first ancestor was styled Echigué.[4] Yessugei is derived from the Mongol word *yissun* or *yessu*, meaning 'nine,' a number deemed fortunate and almost sacred among the Asiatic nomades. Baatur or *Baghatur* is a well known soubriquet in Mongol, meaning 'brave' or 'heroic.'[5] It is the original of the title of *Behadur*. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* reports that once when Yessugei was hawking on the river Onon,—(the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen say he was following the tracks of a hare in the snow,)—he saw a man of the race Merki[6] named Yeke Jiladu, who was carrying off a maiden whom he had captured from the tribe Olkhon.[7] Having noticed that she was a beauty, he immediately gallopped home, and soon returned with his brothers Nikun Taishi and Daritai Uchugen. Yeke Jiladu seeing them thus return, sped quickly over a ridge and defile, and joined his wife. She bade him haste away, as it was clear they would do him harm. "If you preserve your life," she said naively, "you will get another wife like me, and if you think of me, call your other wife by my name." She thereupon removed her nether garment, and gave it to him as a memorial of herself. Her husband spurred his horse accordingly, and fled along the Onon. Yessugei and his brothers pursued him hotly over seven ridges, but could not overtake him. They thereupon returned again, and escorted the wife of the fugitive, Yessugei acting as postilion, Nikun Taishi riding in front, and Daritai near the traces. The woman wept and cried out—"Oh my husband, the wind never scattered the hairs on your head, nor has your stomach been pinched with hunger.[8] Now you have fled, what troubles will you not have to bear?" Her cries disturbed the waters of the Onon and the woods in the valley. Daritai rebuked her, saying "Your husband has fled over many a hill and many a river, he will not turn his head backwards. Seek his tracks, you will not find them, cease your crying." So they took her home with them, and gave her to Yessugei as his wife. This Saga is also told in the *Altan Topchi*, which, however, calls the Merki Jiladu, the Taijut Jeled, while Ssanang Setzen calls him a Tartar. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls Yessugei's wife Khoilun—the Yulun of the *Yuan-shi*.[9] Rashid-u'd-dìn styles her Ugez Fujin and also Ulun Ergeh,[10] both of which are probably titles rather than names. The *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen call her Ogelen Eke, which according to Schmidt means 'the mother of clouds' or the 'cloud mother.'[11] Yessugei continued the struggle which his uncle had with the Tartars, and in one fight took prisoners Temujin Uge and Khoribukhoa, the Temujin Ergeh and Kur Buka of Rashidu'd-dìn. About this time Yessugei's wife Khuilun, gave birth to a son on the banks of the Onon, at Deligun Buldak, to which we have already referred, and where the chief camp of the Mongols was situated, and as a memento of the capture of the Tartar chief, they called the child T e m u j i n. He is better known as the famous C h i n g h i z K h â n. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that in his closed fist when born there was found a hard clot of blood—no bad presage of his future career. I have already mentioned that the ruling race among the Tartars was most probably of Turkish descent. This is confirmed by the name T e m u j i n, or T e m u c h i n, which was borrowed from their chieftain, for the great World-conqueror. In the vocabulary attached to the *Yuan-shi* we read that the name means the best iron, whence we judge that it is a derivative of *timur*, which

i. e. subject.
Erdmann, *op. cit* p. 561.
Abu'lghazi, p. 73.
D'Ohsson, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 35 note.
Vide infra.

[7] *i. e.* the section of the Kongurut, Olkhon.
[8] Meaning she had taken good care of him.
[9] Douglas, p. 9.
[10] Erdmann, p. 253.
[11] Ssanang Setzen, p. 375, note 11.

in Turkish means 'iron,' whence again the word Timurji, 'a smith.'[12] This Turkish word has apparently been adopted in Mongol, for Schmidt says that in that tongue Temurchi or Temurchin means 'a smith.'[13] It was probably from this name that the Saga was derived which is reported by such various authorities as the Greek historian Pachymeres, the Arab Novairi, the Armenian Haithon, and the Franciscan friar Rubruquis, that Chinghiz Khân had formerly been a smith. This Saga apparently still survives in Mongolia, for we are told by M. Timkofski that on Mt. Darkhan is still preserved the anvil of Chinghiz Khân, which is made of a particular metal called Buryn, which has the properties of iron and copper, being at once hard and flexible.[14] Chinghiz Khân forged iron at its foot, and on one of its southern heights there is an *obo* of stone set up by the Mongols, who go there annually to commemorate the memory of Chinghiz Khân.[15] There is also a mountain on the island of Olkhon, in the midst of Lake Baikal, on which is fixed a tripod, and on this an iron kettle. This also is traditionally connected with Chinghiz Khân. We must now consider the date of the birth of the Mongol chief. According to Rashidu'd-dîn he died on the 4th of Ramazan 624, *i.e.*, the 18th of August 1227.[16] This agrees with the Chinese authorities. Rashid and the Persian authors generally state that he was then 72 years old, which would put his birth in 1155 A.D. The Chinese authors, and notably the *Yuan-shi*, and also the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen agree that he was but 66 years old, which would bring his birth to 1162. The *Altan Topchi* says distinctly he was born in the year of the serpent, *i.e.* 1161, and Ssanang Setzen in that of the horse, *i.e.* 1162. The latter is doubtless the correct date, and it is not improbable, as has been suggested by Von Hammer, that the mistake of the Persians had a certain method in it. It being calculated so that the great enemy of Islâm should be born, ascend the throne, and die in a year which in the Mongol cycle was marked by the unclean beast, the swine. Rashidu'd-dîn expressly says of Chinghiz that he was both born and died in a swine's year. It is certainly curious that the years 1155, 1203, and 1227 should each of them correspond to a swine's year in the cycle.[17] Yessugei apparently won for himself an important position among the nomade frontagers of China. Not only did he receive the allegiance of the various Mongol tribes and defeat the Tartars, but his assistance was also sought by the chief of the Kirais, a Turkish race descended, as I believe, from the Uighurs, who occupied the central and western parts of the steppes of the Gobi, and about whom I shall have more to say presently. We are told by Rashidu'd-dîn that the chief of the Tartars, who lived about Lake Buyur, having captured the ruler of the Kirais named Merghuz Buyuruk Khân[18] sent him as a prisoner to the Kin Emperor, who put him to death by nailing him on a wooden ass. His widow, Khutukti Haryeji (meaning bright and lively), took a characteristic revenge. She sent word to the Tartar chief that she wished to give him a feast. He accepted the invitation, when she sent him 10 oxen, 100 sheep, and 100 sacks of kumis. The last of these however, instead of containing drink, concealed a body of armed men, who cut their way out during the feast and killed the Tartar chief.

Merghuz left two sons, Kurjakhus Buyuruk, (called Khurja-khosh-bilu, in the *Yuan-shi*, as translated by Hyacinthe, and Khurjakhu Sebutiru Khân in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*), and secondly Gurkhân, equivalent to Khakhân or Great Khân. The sons of Kurjakhus were Tughrul, Ergeh Kara, Tatimur Taishi, Buka Timur, and Ilka Sengun (Ilka is a proper name, and Sengun means 'born in the purple'). He was also called Jagembo Keraiti. Jagembo is probably the Tibetan Dsanbo, which enters into the composition of many Tibetan regal names, quoted by Ssanang Setzen as Degum Dsanbo, Dingthi Dsanbo, Mathi Dsanbo, Muni Dsanbo, Maruk Dsanbo.[19] The whole name probably means the powerful Kirai prince, and was doubtless given him by the Tibetans who on one occasion made him prisoner.[20] Tughrul is the name the eldest son bears in Rashidu'd-dîn's pages; and in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, where the name is written Tu-u-ril: in the *Yuan-shi* he is called To-li. He

[12] D'Ohsson, vol. I., p. 36, note.
[13] Ssanang Setzen, p. 376.
[14] Timkofski, vol. I., p. 173.
[15] D'Ohsson, *op. cit.* p. 37, note.
[16] Erdmann, *op. cit.* pp. 443 and 574.
[17] Von Hammer's *Golden Horde*, pp. 56 and 92.
[18] Merghuz was his name; Buyuruk is a Turkish title and means Emperor. D'Ohsson, *op. cit.* vol. I., p. 50, note.
[19] Quatremere, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, p. 91, note 8.
[20] Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 233, note 6.

was afterwards given the Chinese title of Wang, and was known as Wang Khân. He was away from home on his father's death, whereupon his brothers Tatimur and Buka Timur seized the throne. He speedily returned, however, killed them both, and seized the succession.[21] According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, when Tughrul killed his brothers, his uncle, the Gurkhân, attacked him, followed him into the mountain Karaun, called Khalagun in the *Yuan-shi*, and Hala-vuen by De Mailla. Tughrul had but 100 men with him, and repaired to Yessugei, who having conquered the Tartars, was now the dominant chief in those parts. The latter attacked the Gurkhân, and drove him into the district of Hashin. (This is a Mongol corruption of Hosi, *i.e.*, the district "West of the River," and so called because it lay west of the principal bend of the Yellow River, and was otherwise known as Si-Sia or Western Sia and Tangut. Palladius says that in the *Si-Sia-shu-shi*, this flight of Gurkhân is dated in 1171.) He thereupon reinstated Tughrul, and the two allies swore the close friendship called *anda*. Erdmann and others, including also the old western chroniclers of the first invasions of Europe by the Mongols, have minimized too much the extent of the power and influence of Yessugei. The former would have us believe that his subjects only equalled in number the inhabitants of Saxe Weimar Eisenach, and gauges accordingly his power and authority. The latter, apparently overwhelmed by the suddenness of the apparition, exaggerated the unimportance of its beginning. Thus it was with Rubruquis, who speaks of the Moals (or Mongols) as a very poor people, without a leader, and as being very subordinate to the Kirais, whom he calls Crit; while he speaks of Chinghiz himself as "a certain blacksmith."

But this is great exaggeration. Yessugei was undoubtedly the most powerful chieftain among the Nomades who bordered upon China. He was obeyed by all the Mongols, by the Kunghir or Kongurut, and other Turkish tribes about Lake Buyur, had defeated the Tartars; and, as we have seen, was also the patron of the ruler of the Kirais, who then held the central Gobi.

We will now turn to the concluding scenes in his life.

The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that when Temujin was nine years old, his father set out with him to get him a wife among the boy's relatives on his mother's side, the Olkhonut. He went to a place situated between the mountains of Jeksar and Jikhurgu (the former, no doubt, the Jajarula of the *Yuan-shi* referred to by D'Ohsson as Checher-ondur.[22] Erdmann gives the name as Jagachar[23]). There he met a man named Dai Setzen, of the tribe of Khunghir (*i.e.* of the Kongurut), the son of Bosikhur. Rashidu'd-dîn calls him Dai Noyan.[24] When Yessugei met him he accosted him, asking him whither he was bound. He replied he was on his way to the Olkhonut to find his son a wife. Dai Setzen then remarked that Temujin had bright eyes and a clear face. He added that the night before he had dreamt, that a white hawk, holding in its claws the sun and moon, flew down and settled on his hand, and added that Yessugei had opportunely arrived as the interpreter of the dream. "Surely," he said, "it foretells good luck to you, Kian.[25] Our house of Kunghir never had disputes with others about land and people. We had beautiful daughters, whom we gave to your Royal house, and you made them princesses." He then quoted a Chinese proverb that people expect rank and wealth in a husband, but beauty in a wife. He then told him he had a daughter at home, who was a beauty, and whom he would show him. She was ten years old, a year older than Temujin, and was named Burtê, which is the same word apparently as the first part of the name Burtechino. That night they passed with Dai Setzen. The next day Yessugei began to negociate for the hand of the girl, and her father, again quoting a Chinese proverb to himself, judged it would add to his importance if he prolonged the negociations. He asked that Temujin might stay with him awhile. To this Yessugei consented, and having presented his host with one of his best horses, he went homeward. The Saga is told, no doubt, from the same source both in the *Altan Topchi* and Ssanang Setzen, the former of which preserves some further details. According to the former author, when Yessugei met him, Dai Setzen was watering his horses at the river Tsorgo. He says the white hawk was the blazon or symbol of the Borjigs,

[21] Erdmann, pp. 234 and 235. [22] *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 82.
[23] *Op. cit.* p. 278, and note 104.

[24] Erdmann, *op. cit.* p. 199.
[25] *i. e.* the Kiat of Ssanang Setzen, *vide supra.*

or Imperial Mongol house, and in apostrophizing the future greatness of his daughter, he makes Dai Setzen say "we must make the beautiful maiden the Empress of the whole nation when we have placed her in the one-horsed cart drawn by a black camel; we must make the beautiful maiden who has ascended the chariot with a whitehaired camel in the shafts the Governor of a strong nation."

Reverting to the main authority, the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, we read that as Yessugei went homewards, and when he reached the wood Jheksar, he came upon some Tartars, who were feasting. Feeling hungry and thirsty he joined them. Unfortunately they recognised him, and in revenge for what he had done to their people, they mixed some poison with his food. He mounted his horse, and in three days reached his home, and feeling that the illness was a serious one, he summoned a descendant of the old man Jarakha Munlik, previously mentioned; he told him what his last wishes were, and bade him communicate them to his relatives. On the Khân's death Munlik set off for the camp of Dai Setzen, and took Temujin home again. In the *Altan Topchi* the Khân's confidante is called Maikalikh,[26] while Ssanang Setzen calls him Menggulik of the Khongkhotan tribe.[27] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* calls Burtê's mother Solan. When Khubilai Khân raised his ancestors to the honorary rank of Wangti, or emperor, he commenced the line with Yessugei, who was given the style of Le tsu. By his wife Khoilun he had four sons, Temujin, Juchi Khasar, *i.e.* Juchi, the Lion; Khajikin or Khajiun, and Temugn Uchugen, also called Utji Noyan, and a daughter Tumalun. He also had two other sons by another wife. These sons were respectively named Bekter and Belgutei. Their mother is called Ghoakhchin in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*. Ssanang Setzen makes each of the latter have a separate mother, and calls them respectively Goa Abaghai and Daghashi. He adds that Daghashi followed her husband to the grave, and that the six boys were brought up by Ogelen Eke.[28]

(*To be continued.*)

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 125. [27] *Op. cit.*, p. 65.
[28] *Op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 65.

BOMBAY BEGGARS AND CRIERS

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

(*Continued from p. 250.*)

NÂGÂS.

The **Nâgâs**, as their name implies, go naked. Having eradicated the sense of shame they give free indulgence to all the vices which it might have helped them to cover, and are unquestionably the most worthless and profligate members of their respective religions. They are either Śaivas or Vaishṇavas, and the hatred they bear towards one another has often led to sanguinary conflicts, in one of which at Haridwâr eighteen thousand of the Vaishṇava Nâgas were left dead on the field.[1] In 1778 Goddard was attacked by a band of Śaiva Nâgas. They are sometimes to be found seated on the verandas of temples and edges of tanks where they are sumptuously fed.

AGHORIS.

Aghoris propitiate Śiva by horrible and revolting austerities, and once offered human victims. Hence they assumed a corresponding appearance, and carried about for a wand and water pot, a staff set with bones and the upper half of a human skull. This worship has long been suppressed, but traces of it still exist among those who go about extorting alms. They drink wine and eat carrion and ordure, and hence the practice among Hindus of not returning from the burning ground till the corpse is wholly burnt, and keeping a watch on the burning of little children. The Aghoris smear their body with ordure, and carry it about with them in a wooden cup or skull, either to swallow it, if by so doing they can gain a few pice, or to throw it on the persons or into the houses of those who refuse to comply with their demands. They also inflict gashes on their limbs, that the crime of blood may rest on those who deny them charity, and by this and similar devices work upon the timid and credulous Hindus.[2] These beggars are rare, but when they do come, they generally beg at noon, and visit houses the doors of which they find open; they frighten women, and walk away with clothes they see hanging on pegs.

LINGAYAT BEGGARS.

These are Śaivas, they wear a *linga* on some part of their dress or person. Their priests are

[1] Beveridge's *History of India*, vol. II, p. 69.
[2] Ibid, vol. II, p. 76.

Jangams. They celebrate a festival in honour of the dead, but do not mourn or perform funeral rites. Their women also wear a *linga*, and apply ashes to their foreheads. They deem their food polluted if seen by a stranger. They blow a shell and beg, singing in praise of Śiva. The Jangam dresses in ochre-coloured clothes. On his shoulder rests a conch shell, and in his hands he carries metal cups. He begs singing hymns, and when paid blows the shell for a few minutes. The Jangams also carry a bell in their hands, which begins to strike when the beggar turns a short stick round its edge He holds the bell in a slanting position. He is satisfied with a handful of rice.

GOPICHANDAS.

Gopichandas carry fiddles and sing in praise of Gopichand. They dress in ochre-coloured clothes, and sing both in Hindustâni and Marathi.

CHITRAKÂTHIS.

Chitrakâthis are Hindus, Marâthâs by caste. They carry with them a few coloured plates or pictures of their gods, rolled up and slung on their backs. The companion carries a drum, and goes about beating it now and then, and enquiring if people would like to hear of the exploits of the gods. If consent is given, the Chitrakâthi opens his book, and shows to the spectators each plate, sings and preaches. This beggar frequents only the Śûdra quarters, as no high caste Hindu would think of hearing a sermon preached by a Śûdra.

VAIDUS.

The Vaidu is both a beggar and a hawker. He dresses in ochre-coloured clothes, and carries a bambu provided either with one or two bags of like coloured cloth, containing medicinal roots, herbs, hides, porcupine quills, tigers' claws, bears' hair, and deadly poisons. They pretend to heal any and every disease, from simple cough to severe maladies, giving some article from their bag as a sure cure for the malady. These are jungle people inhabiting forests and hills. They generally go once a year to the principal stations, and after disposing of their goods disappear.

BLIND BEGGARS.

These are both Hindus and Musalmans, men and women. The former frequent Hindu localities, especially on Mondays and holidays, in gangs of two, four and six. With their hands on each other's shoulders, they are led by one or more guides who receive the alms. Some of them take musical instruments with them on which they play and sing. In localities occupied by Pârsis, they do not use their instruments, and the Marâṭhi singing is exchanged for Gujarâti and Hindustâni. The beggars stop at every house, and will not move until they either receive alms or are driven away. The money they collect is divided equally amongst them at the end of their performances for the day. If however they are not successful, they break their gangs, and such as have their wives or children with them take a different route from their other partners, and others by the help of their sticks steer on by the side of the road. Some of these beggars have bells attached to their legs, and they jump and dance for the amusement of those from whom they exact charity. Others, again, beat their stomachs with their hands, and cry out in a peculiar way so as to excite the compassion of those who are looking at them. Some of these beggars are placed by the sides of much-frequented thoroughfares by their guides, but not before furnishing them with pieces of bread, betelnut, and leaves and tobacco and a match-box. Some go about leading a cow behind them, and asking Hindus and Pârsîs to give them a trifle to buy grass for the *gâi*, which is held to be sacred. Some go about in the evening pretending to be blind, with either a stick in their hand, or led by others, whilst others go about asking for firewood only, and which they afterwards convert into money. Among all the beggars excepting the shawl-wearing Śâstribâvâ and a few others, the blind beggars are the best off.

ÂRÂDHIS.

Ârâdhis are a class of beggars who cover the upper portion of their bodies with sea shells (*kardis*), all strung together, and go about with a thick torch well soaked in oil, and lighted. This they do in honour of the goddess Ambâbâi. They wear a long coat all besmeared with oil, and on their heads they wear a cap covered over with *kardis*. The Ârâdhis are sometimes accompanied by a man who carries a musical instrument (*samel*) and another called *tuntune*. These are all men. They sing both in praise of the goddess, and obscene songs, *lâvnis*, for the entertainment of the people who wish to hear them.

TELIRÂJÂS.

The T e l i r â j â is a worshipper of the goddess Hiṅglâj. He is accompanied by one or more servants when moving about. He wears a piece of cloth round his waist and another round his head, puts on a long robe which hangs from his shoulders down to his feet. He pretends to be a fortuneteller, and tells events which have happened or will happen. He also pretends to tell of the number of children one already has and how many more his wife will yet have, together with their sexes. He tells what a person wants and what he should do to obtain it. As soon as he approaches the house of a Hindu, his servant orders some oil to be brought and poured upon his master, and when this is done, the business of foretelling commences. Having got a few pice he, the king, goes to another place. This king, the oily râjâ, is so copiously smeared with oil that it keeps dropping as he goes along. Hindus think that the pouring of oil is pleasing to the king and his mistress—the goddess Hiṅglâj. He is not to be met with daily, but whenever he does appear there are those who prostrate themselves before him and worship him.

WÂSUDEVAS OR DHUKOTS.

The W â s u d e v a wears a long hat or crown on his head adorned with peacock's feathers. He also wears a long coat and clothes which hang from his waist, arms and shoulders. In one hand he has two metal cups, and in the other wooden *chiptyâs*, and tied to the string round his neck is a wooden whistle; he wears trousers and a long coat, having ample folds, and to his feet are attached brass bells and jingling rings. He is a noisy beggar, dances round and round, and whilst so doing tells the lookers on what a man's duties are as regards the giving of charity. He says:—"Alms were given by Râjâ Karṇa; alms were given by Dharmarâja; alms were given by the god Râma; by Gopikâbâi; Châṅgdeva; Dâmâjipant; Puṇḍalika; Janâbâi;" &c. &c. and names some dozens of other Hindu gods, kings, and saints. It is indeed a pleasing sight to see these beggars, when two, four or more pairs dance together, striking their instruments against each other's with precision and regularity. These beggars mostly frequent the houses of Marâṭhâs, by whom they are much liked. They are also known by the name of D h u k o t s. *(To be continued).*

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

NOTES COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL, WITH ANNOTATIONS BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(Continued from p. 210.)

No. 4.—FOLK-TALE.

The King of the Crocodiles.[1]

A common story among all Panjâb women:—

Once upon a time a farmer[2] went out to look at his fields along the side of the river, and behold! all his young green wheat was trodden down by the crocodiles which were lying about in the crops like great logs of wood.[3] He was very angry and bid them go away, but they refused.

Now every day when he went down to the riverside to look at his young wheat, he found the crocodiles lying in the fields. At last he got very angry and threw stones at them. Then when they all rushed at him he was frightened, and begged them not to hurt him.

"We will not hurt you, or your fields if you will promise to give your daughter in marriage to us," said the crocodiles.

The farmer in a great fright promised he would do so, and the crocodiles disappeared into the river. But when he told his wife what he had done, she was very much vexed, for their daughter was beautiful as the moon, and her betrothal to a rich house had already taken place. So she persuaded her husband not to think anything more about his promise. But when the time of the wedding came, the bridegroom died. However, the farmer's daughter was so beautiful she soon had another asking,[4] but this time her suitor fell sick of a lingering illness. So

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[1] بادشاہ گہڑیال *Bâdshâh Ghariâl*—a common story.—R. C. T.

[2] زمیندار *Zamîndar*—properly in the Panjâb a peasant proprietor; in common parlance any agriculturist or cultivator.—R. C. T.

[3] It is a common idea in the Panjâb that crocodiles go into riverside fields, but I do not know that there is any real foundation for it.—R. C. T.

[4] منگنی *Manganî*—Panj. Betrothal or offer of marriage; ordinary Hindi expression is سگائی *Sagâî*. In the Panjâb *Manganî* is the universal usage, *Sagâî* is restricted to the *Baniah* castes, who are principally there *Pûrbias* or North-West Provinces men.—R. C. T.

it was whenever she was sought in betrothal, till the farmer's wife acknowledged that the crocodiles were determined her daughter should fulfil the promise made to them.

By her advice, the farmer went down to the river to try and persuade the crocodiles to release him from his promise. They would hear no excuses, but threatened him with fearful punishments if he did not at once fulfil it. He went home sorrowful but determined not to yield.

The very next day his daughter broke her leg. Then his wife cried: "These demons[5] of crocodiles will kill us all: better let us give up our dear daughter."

So the farmer went to the river bank, and told the crocodiles they might send the bridal procession[6] as soon as they chose. The very next day a number of female crocodiles arrived with *mahindi*,[7] etc. for the *sanchit*[8]; they brought beautiful clothes and behaved with the utmost politeness. But the beautiful bride wept, and wailed "Are you marrying me to the river?" she said, "I shall be drowned."

Soon after the bridal procession arrived, and such a *barât* never was seen. In the middle sat the King of the Crocodiles covered with jewels. Some crocodiles played instruments of music, some danced, some carried on their heads baskets full of food, sweets, garments and jewels.

At the sight of these magnificent things the bride's heart was comforted, but when they put her into the *ḍolâ*[9] to carry her away, she wept bitterly. When they arrived at the river they took her out of the *ḍolâ*, and dragged her into the river. She screamed fearfully, but behold, no sooner had they touched the water, than the stream divided, and the whole party disappeared down a path which seemed to lead to the bottom of the river. The girl's father returned home very much astonished at what he had seen.

Some months passed by: the mother wept because she had no news of her daughter, and said "She is drowned, I know she is, and your story about the stream dividing is not true."

Now when the King of the Crocodiles was leaving with his bride he gave a brick to her father, saying "If ever you want to see your daughter, go to the river, throw this brick as far as you can into the current, and you will see what you will see." So the farmer said to his wife, "I will go and find out for myself if my daughter be alive or dead." So he went to the river, whirled the stone round his head, and threw it far into the stream. Immediately the water rolled back, and there was a dry path leading down to the bottom. It was bordered by flowers and looked so inviting, that the farmer never hesitated, but hastened along it. By and by he came to a magnificent palace, with golden roof, and shining diamond walls with gardens and trees all round them, and a sentinel was pacing up and down before the door.

"Whose palace is this, sentry?" asked the farmer. "The King of the Crocodiles'," answered the sentry. Then the farmer was overjoyed. "My daughter is surely here," thought he, "and what a splendid house she has got: I only wish her bridegroom were half as handsome." Then he said to the sentry, "My daughter married the King of the Crocodiles. Is she within? I want to see her." The sentry laughed; "A likely story indeed! What! my master married your daughter! Ha! Ha! Ha!"

Now the queen was sitting inside by the open window. She was as happy as the day was long, with her handsome husband, for you must

[5] جن *Jinn*—Arabic, a spirit, a genius—now in common use by Hindus and Muhammadans in the Panjâb.—R. C. T.

[6] برات *Barât*—Hindi—a marriage procession,—used in the Panjâb among the Baniahs. Panj. expression is جنج *Janj*.—R. C. T. The custom is to send a body of friends from the bridegroom's house to the bride's with henna, etc.—R. C. T.

[7] مہندی *Mahindî*,—*Lawsonia alba*, used for staining the hands and feet; henna.—R. C. T.

[8] سنچت *Sanchat*, Panj. the ceremony of staining with henna.—There are two kinds اجّی *Ajjî*, open ceremony, گجّی *Gujjî*, stolen or secret ceremony. *Sanchit* is *sam* and *chit* from Sansk. root चि *chi*, an assembly.

[9] ڈولا *ḍolâ* is a large palanquin, used for bridal processions; a smaller and better known kind is the ڈولی *ḍholî* in common use. This is the *Dhooly* of the English. It should be remarked here that among all classes in the Panjâb the distinction between the Musalmân and Hindu religions is not broadly marked in matter of ceremony; and, especially among the Jat Zamîndârs, the marriage ceremonies now observed by Musalmâns and Hindus are almost identical and mostly of Hindu origin. This is to be observed in all their tales introducing marriages. Hindus also frequently have Musalmân wives, who remain such all their lives without social degradation. The custom of Mussulmân kings taking Hindu wives is of course historical; witness Akbar.—R. C. T.

know he only took the form of a crocodile when he went on shore. In his river kingdom he was a handsome young prince. So the young queen was so happy she had never once thought of her home; but now she heard a voice speaking to the sentry, and said: "It is my father's voice." She went to the window, and looked out, and lo! there was her father standing in his poor clothes in the splendid court. She longed to run and meet him, but she dared not, for her husband had bidden her never to go out of, or let any one into, the palace without his permission. So she cried—"Oh my dear father, only wait till the King of Crocodiles returns, and I will let you in."

The farmer didn't wonder his daughter was afraid of her terrible husband, so he waited patiently. Very soon a crowd of horsemen trooped into the court, and in the midst of them, the handsomest young prince you ever set eyes upon, dressed from head to foot in golden armour. They all wore armour, only while he wore gold, the rest wore silver. Then the farmer fell before the prince, and said:—"Cherish me, oh King, for I am a poor man, whose daughter was carried off by the terrible King of the Crocodiles." Then the prince smiled, and said: "I am the King of the Crocodiles, and your daughter is a good obedient wife." Then there were great rejoicings, and the farmer after a few days' feasting begged that he might take his daughter home, to convince her mother that she was well and happy. But the Crocodile King said, "Not so; if you like I will give you a house and land here, and you can dwell with us."

So the farmer said he would ask his wife, and returned home, taking with him several bricks to throw into the water and make the stream divide. Next time he travelled to the Crocodile Kingdom, he brought his wife with him, and by degrees they became so fond of the beautiful river country, that at last they went to live there altogether with their son and daughter, the King and Queen of the Crocodiles.

(*To be continued.*)

M. SENART ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

From the French.

M. Émile Senart has published, in the *Journal Asiatique*, a very careful Étude on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi or Aśoka[1] which deserves the attention of all Indian scholars: we give an outline translation of parts of it:—

He first notices the discovery of the various inscriptions and the progress made in their interpretation from the days of Prinsep till the present, when the publication of General Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum* has supplied to scholars new copies of these inscriptions. These copies, however, he does not regard as of final authority, seeing there are several passages as presented in them in which the text still resists translation, and others in which the earlier copies have an advantage over them of which the grammar and the sense leave no doubt. We find examples not only in the variants of Burgess's facsimiles for Girnâr,[2] but even in the comparison of the facsimile of Wilson for the Kapur-di-giri version. Even now, as Burnouf said thirty years ago, "no one can flatter himself that he has attained to the complete understanding of these difficult monuments." But much progress has been made which may well justify new attempts; and more than ever may we join with Burnouf in adding that "there is no one who may not flatter himself that he may help towards the interpretation of these precious witnesses to the home and foreign history, religious and linguistic of ancient India."

To group and condense the results attained up to the present, especially by exact and methodic commentators, by Burnouf, Kern, and Bühler; occasionally to correct them; to attempt the analysis of parts which they have not translated; to extend to all the parallel versions, where there are several, the examination hitherto restricted to one or two of them; to prepare in this way, and present in a complete form the conclusions which, from the grammatical and historical aspects, are promised by documents so authentic, and their relation to other literary monuments:—such are the various features which invite a new study.

He reviews in succession the different groups

[1] *J. As.* VIIième Sér. tom. XV, pp. 287-347, 479-509; referred to *ante*, p. 232.

[2] *Archæol. Sur. of West. Ind.* 1874-75, pl. X, and i

of inscriptions: the *Fourteen Edicts* of Girnâr, Kapurdi-giri, Khâlsi, Dhauli, Jaugada, to which the *Detached Edicts* of Dhauli and Jaugada form a natural pendant; the *Pillar Edicts* at Dehli, Allahâbâd, Mâthia and Râdhia; the *Detached Rock Edicts* at Bhâbra, Sahasrâm, Rupnâth and Bairat. The commentary will be followed by a grammatical study and some historical remarks; an index of the words contained in the inscriptions will close the paper.

In all our texts, M. Senart points out,[3] there appear examples, too numerous to be regarded as mistakes, of the equivalence of the long vowel and the vowel nasalized. It may suffice to give some examples from the first of the xiv edicts:—

I. Kh. l. 2: *dosâ* for *dosaṁ*.—K. l. 1: *hidaṁloke* (at Khâlsi *hidâ*); *naṁ nâ* for *na*, like *châ* for *cha*; l. 3: *paṇaṁ* for *paṇâ-prâṇâni*.—Dh. l. 4: *tiṁni* for *tîni=trîṇi*; *paṁchâ* for *pâchâ*, an equivalent form of *pachchhâ* for *paśchât*.—J. l. 4: *tiṁni=trîṇi*.

II. Dh *aṁni* for *âni=yâni*.—K. l. 3: *savataṁ* for *savatâ=sarvatra*.

III. *Kh*. l. 7: *nikhamâtu* for *nikhamaṁtu*; l. 8: *chaṁ* for *châ=cha*.

IV. G. l. 1: *atikâtaṁ* for *atikaṁtaṁ=atikrântaṁ*; l. 6: *avihisâ* for *avihiṁsâ*.—Kh. l. 9: *bâbhana* for *baṁbhana=brâhmaṇa*; l. 12: *tiṭhâto* for *tiṭhaṁto*.—Dh. l. 12 and 15: *bâbhana* for *baṁbhana*; l. 17: *tiṭhâta* for *tiṭhaṁto*.—K. l. 8: *dharmanuśaṁthaya* representing *anuśâthi* for *anuśasti*; l. 9: *esaṁ* for *esâ*.

V. G. l. 3: *atikâtaṁ*, as above; l. 4: *dhaṁma* for *dhaṁma=dharma*; l. 5: *âparâtâ* for *âparaṁtâ*.—K. l. 13: *paṭividhanaṁye=pratividhânâya*; *savataṁ* for *savatâ=sarvatra*.—Dh. l. 22, Kh. l. 15, and K. l. 13, we have *baṁdhanaṁbadhasa* for *baṁdhanâbadhasa=baṁdhana+âbaddhasya* or *baṁdhanâ+baddhasya* with the lengthening of the final *a* in composition so frequent here.

VI. G. l. 1; *atikâtaṁ*.—Dh. l. 31 and J. l. 4, we read *aṁnataliyaṁ* and *aṁnaṁtaliyaṁ* for *ânaṁtaliyaṁ*, *ânaṁtariyaṁ*.—Dh. l. 32: *aṁnaniyaṁ* for *ânaniyaṁ*; l. 33: *palataṁ* for *palata=paratra*; l. 33: *palakamâtu = parâkramaṃtu* —J. l. 5.: *kaṁmatalâ* corresponding to *kaṁmataraṁ* of the other versions.—Kh. l. 17: *uyanâsi* for *uyanaṁsi= udyâne*; l. 20: *aṁnaniyaṁ* and *palataṁ* as at Dhauli.—K. l. 15: *savataṁ*: l. 16: *naṁtaro* for the usual *nâtaro=naptâraḥ*.

VII. G. l. 3: *nichâ* for *nichaṁ*.—Dh. l. 1: *sâyamaṁ = saṁyamaṁ*.

It is needless to extend this enumeration; these are enough to justify, without special proof, the equivalence of *aṁ* and *â*, &c., wherever the grammar or the sense require it. It is not necessary to dwell here on the grammatical interest of this fact. It is to be compared with certain well known phenomena of the Prâkrit: the instrumental *enaṁ*, for example, of the Jains, in this light, is only a particular instance of a fact quite common in the cognate dialects—the indifference of the final vowel. The same thing explains those examples in which it was thought that the sign of the *anusvâra* might serve equally in the Aśoka alphabet to mark the redoubling of the following consonant; *kiṁti* ought not to be read *kitti* but rather *kiṁti*; only this form is equivalent to *kîti*, which itself, following the constant law of Prâkrit phonetics, is equivalent to *kitti=kîrti*.

We have just had *palataṁ* for *paratra*; we find also (K. vi. 16) the reading *parata*, and we have no right to deny the possibility of it; in a certain number of words *aṁ* and *a* are interchanged and consequently equivalent. Here are the principal instances:—

K. i, 1: *saṁsaṁmata* which can only be explained as = *susaṁmata*.—J. iv, 16: *dusayitu* is for *daṁsayitu = darśayitvâ*.—Kh. v, 14, Dh. v, 23 and J. v, 24: *supadâlaye = saṁpradârayet*.—K. v, 13, without insisting on *ayo = ayaṁ*, but *anuṁvetutu* (or *anuvetutu* according to Wilson's facsimile) represents *anuvartaṁtu*.—Kh. vi, 19, *mutehi* is to be explained as representing *maṁtraiḥ*.—K. viii, 17, we have *nikhamishaṁ* which can only be = *nikhamishu*, as in l. 22: *huṁsaṁ = huṁsu* for *abhuṁsu*; in the same l. 17 is also found: *subodhi* for *saṁbodhi*.—K. ix, 9: *suyama* for *saṁyama*.—K. x, 21: *dharmasaṁśusha = dharmaśuśrushâ*.—K. x, 22: *daṁkara* corresponding to *dukale* of Khalsi.—Kh. xi, 30: we read *khaṁ* for *ku*, that is to say *khu = khalu*.—G. xii, 7, has *susaṁserâ* which is the 3rd per. plur. of the optative for *sususeraṁ*.—Kh. xiv, 17, has *sukhitena*, corresponding to *saṁkhitena* of the other versions, *i. e. saṁkshiptena*.

This fact is important for the interpretation of many details: it is sufficiently established even if we admit that part of the instances given might arise from a material confusion

[3] P. 302.

between *aṁ* and *u*, so easy in the alphabet of the north-west. It would be still further confirmed if the presence of a *u* were not always subject to some doubt in the Kapurdigiri version, by the future *kusati* (K. v, 1) = *kaṁsati* for *kassati* for *kar*[*i*]*shyati*.[4]

We know that at Kapurdigiri the long *â* is not ordinarly written or distinguished from *a* short, any more than *î* or *û* long from their corresponding short sounds. We now see, however, that it is sometimes indirectly expressed by an equivalent—the nasal. This leads us to recognize in the same inscription another indication, equally accidental, and different from the first, though perhaps graphically derived from it. The foot of the line, less or more vertical, which enters into the forms of most of the letters very often bears a short turn towards the left, affecting the form of the *u* in some cases where there is no question of admitting that vowel.[5] I do not think there is ground for attaching any significance to this mark; it is easy to see in it the natural movement of the chisel in a writing read towards the left and in a character so cursive. The more remarkable are the converse examples, where the additional mark turns to the right and affects the form of the *r* group, only that the presence of an *r* is quite unjustifiable: we see by the following list that in most of these cases the reading *â* is, on the other hand, perfectly natural. We thus find :—

1st face, l. 6: *dharmanuśâthiye*(*anuśâsti*), *suśrushâ*; l. 7: *yutâni*, *châ*(=*cha*); l. 9: *nâtaro* (see above); l. 12 *gaṁdhâranaṁ*; l. 13: *danasayutâ* (*dânasaṁyuktâḥ*); *viyopatâ* (*vyâpritâḥ*); l. 14: *râya*, *tâya*; l. 15: *saṁtiranâya*; l. 17: *jâva* (=*yâvat*); l. 23: *dharmadâna*; l. 24: *vatâvo* for *vatavvo* = *vaktavya*.

2nd face, l. 1: *vijitâ* corresponding to *vijitâ* at Kh., °*śatâ*° corresponding to °*satâ*° of Kh.; l. 2: *tâta* for *tatâ* of Kh. l. 4: *vihitâtesha* = *vihitârtheshu*; l. 5: *saṁvihitânaṁ*; *etâsha* for *etâsaṁ*=*eteshâṁ*; *sâhaya*° by mistake for *sahâya*°; l. 8: *bhatânaṁ*, that is *bhâtânâṁ*; l. 9: *turâmaye*, the transcription of the name of Ptolemy.

With these examples, only subject to the previous remarks, are connected :—

I. L. 1: *ayâ*, i. e. *ayaṁ*; l. 19: *śramaṇabramaṇanâ*, for °*naṁ*°; l. 20: *anatâ* = *anamtaṁ*; l. 21: *tadatâsi*, locative for *tadatvaṁsi* (= *tadâtve*).

II. L. 1: *kalikhâ* in face of *kaṁikhaṁ* at Kh.: l. 10: °*judhâ* which I take as = [*ni*]*rodhaṁ*.

Another remains doubtful from the incertitude and the obscurity of the surrounding characters, and of the whole passage: *hanatâpe* (?) xiii. l. 7.

Only a few examples are found opposed to the transcription here proposed: *nâśopokani*, i. l. 5, where it is necessary, following all analogy, to replace *naropakâni*; *bâhu* for *bahu* ii. l. 1, and *garâmatâtara* for *garumatataraṁ*, l. 7. As for *anaṁtariyena*, i, l 15, which it is necessary to read *anaṁtariyâna*, the whole sign for *ye* is so badly formed and the two facsimiles differ too much in appearance to allow any serious objection to it. Twice (ii. l. 5 and 6) we find *upâghata* in place of *upaghâto*, but besides having here an accidental inversion, in the second case Kh. has also *upâghâta*. From the preceding we are authorized to regard the sign in question as a sporadic notation for *â* long. It is however distinguished in the transcriptions by using *ā* for it.

In the legends of the coins a dot or stroke, used below or a little to the left of certain letters, has been regarded[6] as a sign of *â*, but this M. Senart considers a mistake. A somewhat analogous fact he finds in the Kapur-di-giri inscription. Certain words of the xiiith and xivth edicts have a line slanting up to the left below the *m*: these are,—l. 8; *sayama*, corresponding to *sayama* of Khâlsi; l. 9 and 10; in *nama* after the proper names *aṁtiyoko*, *turâmaye*, *aṁtikini*, *maka*, and *alikasadaro*; then in *dharma* in composition in lines 10 (twice), 11, and 12, finally l. 13 in *mâhalake*. None of these indicate any character different from the usual *ma*. The horizontal strokes at one or both edges of the sign which stands for *m* similarly have no significance (p. 310).

The sign has hitherto been always read *sti*: it ought to be read *thi*, which answers the requirements in every case (p. 311).

Elsewhere[7] M. Senart has remarked on the sign

[4] On *chu* compare the next note.

[5] There are also other cases where a positive decision is impossible; especially in the form *chu*, the equivalent of *cha* (probably through the intermediation of *chaṁ* = *châ* = *cha*) the carelessness of the engraver at Kapur-di-giri does not permit us to decide whether we ought to read *chu* or *cha* in many instances. But in every case the legitimacy of the word *chu* is assured (notwithstanding the opinion of M. Kern, *Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, pp. 32—33) by its so frequent use in the inscriptions in Indian characters.

[6] Von Sallet's *Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Bactrien*, pp. 104, 108, 109, 111, 113, 114, 116, 120, 121, 125, 153, 154, 156, 174.

[7] Notice sur le Ier volume du *Corpus Inscript. Ind.* in *J. As.* VII, ième Ser. t. XIII, p. 522 ff.

𑀧 found in the Girnar inscriptions, and which has usually been transcribed as a simple variant of *p*. Collating all the instances where the facsimiles present the sign with sufficient clearness, and without insisting on the altogether special value of the photographic reproduction[8] given by Mr. Burgess, they prove, what the form itself indicates, that the character really represents the compound *pr*, the *p* being completed by the wavy line for *r* carried upwards. The corrected analysis of the *pr* group throws light on others formed similarly by the curvation of the vertical line; these are *vr*, *sr*, *tr*. In xiv, 2, the copy (*Corp. Insc.*) has *pra* a mistaken alteration from *sra*; the word is *sarvata*, *i.e. sarvatra*, the *r* is attached to the *s*, exactly as the alphabet of the N. West uses *dhra* for *dhar*, *dhrama* for *dharma*. *dra* for *dar* (*priyadarsisa*), *sra* for *sar* in *sravatra*, In both the alphabets of Kapur-di-giri and of Girnar all interpreters seem to have overlooked in these two last as in other cases, the presence of the *r*, marked nevertheless usually, by a horizontal stroke below and to the right of the consonant which it accompanies. By a license less singular we find the compound *rva* expressed by a sign which on the analogy of the preceding we should transcribe *vra*, in *sarvata*, ii, 1; 4, and also ii, 6, 7 at least very probably; in *sarva* vi, 9; 11. There remain to be noted the traces of a more curious *r* group. In ii, 8, is distinctly read *vrachhá*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *vṛiksha* (Dhauli: *lukháni*); here *r* represents the vowel *ṛi*, and in reality we ought to read *vṛichhá*. This suggests that we should read also in v., 4 and 6, *pra* (for *pṛi*) in *v yápṛitá*, written in the following line *vyáputá*: perhaps, however, we should retain simply the reading *vyápatá*.[9]

"A new and careful revision of Mr. Burgess's facsimiles, our authority most worthy of confidence, enables me," says M. Senart,[10] "to complete the proof of the above. One or two instances, which appeared to imply a serious mistake of the engraver's, disappear; many others appear to confirm my proof, and even a new group *kra* is twice employed in *parákramámi* and *parákramena*. Here is a complete table of the groups:—

kra, vi, 11, 14.

tra, ii, 4, 7; vi, 4, 5; ix, 2; xiv, 5.

trá, iv, 8 (thrice); vi, 12, 13; xiii, 1.

tre, ix, 6, 7.

pra, i, 3; iv. 2 (twice), 6, 8; vi, 13; viii, 4; ix, 2, 4; xi, 2; xiii, 1, 4 (twice).

prá, i, 9, 10, 12; ii, 1; iii, 2, 5; iv, 1, 6; xiii, 4.

pri, i, 1, 2, 5 (twice), 7 (twice), 8 (twice); ii, 1, 4 (twice); iv, 2 (twice), 5 (twice), 7, 8 (thrice), 12 (twice); v, 1; viii, 2 (twice), 5; ix, 1 (twice), x, 1, 3; xi, 1; xiv, 1 (twice).

vra, ii, 1, 4, 6, 7, 8; iii, 2; v. 4; vi. 5; vii, 1; xiv, 2 (twice).

sra, iv, 2; xiii, 1.

srá, i, 9; vi, 6.

sri, v, 8.

sru, iv, 7 (twice); x, 2; xii 7 (twice).

Another compound 𑀧 at Girnar, composed of *p* and *t*, was read by Wilson *tta*; Lassen[11] simply admits that *tv* becomes *pt* in the Girnâr dialect; and Burnouf,[12] on the analogy of other groups, read *tpa*. Kern[13] transcribes it *pta*, but says its pronunciation is uncertain. It is found in:—i, 3: *árabhitpá*; iv, 4: *dasayitpa*; vi, 11: *hitatpáya*; x, 1: *tadátpane*; x, 4: *parichajitpa*; xii, pass.: *átpapásaṁḍa*; xiii, 8: *chatpáro*; xiv, 4: *alochetpá*. In short, this group appears in the termination of the absolutive where it is =*tvá*, in the numeral *chatpáro* where it has the same value, as well as in the suffixes *tva* and *tvana*; lastly in *átpa* it corresponds to *tm* in *átma*. The form in ordinary Pràkrit to which it corresponds in all these examples, which alone explains its graphic formation, is *ppa*,—compare *appa*=*átma*, the suffix *ppaṇa*=*tvana* in Śaurasenî, the absolutes in *ppi*, *ppiṇa* of the Apabhraṁśa"[14] (p. 311-313). The letter 𑀧 then is a historical form and not simply representative; it is the result of a kind of compromise between actual pronunciation (probably *pp*) and the etymological form (*tv* and *tm*) (p. 314).

Next we have in the form 𑀲 composed of *s* and *ṭ*—the dental *s* with the cerebral mute, and corresponding in turn to *shṭ*, *shṭh*, *st* (*anusasṭi*), *sth* (*sṭita*), and even *tth* (*usṭána*) of the Sanskrit. Hemachandra (iv, 299) says that in Mâgadhi—*ṭṭa* and *shṭha* ought to be written *sṭ*; but he adds, in disaccord from the Girnâr practice, that *stha* and *rtha* are to be written *sta*. The presence of the dental *s* is explained by the poverty of the alphabet, in which one sign

[8] *Archæol. Surv.* . . *West. Ind.* 1874-75 pl. X. and ffg. and *Ind. Ant.* vol , plates at pp. 257 to 275.

[9] *J. As.* tom. XIII, pp. 538, 539.

[10] Tom. XV, p 311 ff.

[11] *Ind Alt.* II, 227, n. 4.

[12] *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 660.

[13] *Jaartelling*, p. 46 and note.

[14] Lassen, *Inst. L. Prâkr.* pp. 468, 459.

stands for the sibilants in general. The real pronunciation of the group was doubtless *ṯh* or *ṯṯh*.

In the Khâlsi inscription, the sign ⅊ ought, where the etymology requires it, to be regarded simply as another form of +, and the form ⋂, which Cunningham regards as the *s* palatal[15] is nothing else than a form parallel and simply equivalent to the ⅃ (pp. 317–323).

I. *The Fourteen edicts and the Separate edicts of Dhauli.*

Of the five versions, Dhauli and Jaugada only include the first ten and the fourteenth, but they have in common two edicts,—the *Separate Edicts of Dhauli.* The text of Girnâr is by far the most correct; it is on the whole the best preserved, except for part from the Vth, and some very important and greatly-to-be-regretted losses from the XIIIth edicts; it is also that of which we have the most and best revisions, the only one indeed of which our knowledge may now be regarded as complete. It is therefore made the basis of the translations (pp. 327–330).

M. Senart produces the text of Girnâr in Pâli type with a transliteration from the facsimiles in the *Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. II., followed, first by transliterations side by side, of the Dhauli and Jaugada, and then of the Khâlsi and Kapur-di-giri versions,—the inexactitude of the transcriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* rendering it necessary to give them anew.

On each version of each edict there is a full commentary, that on the Girnâr one coming first, and embracing all remarks that bear on the other versions in common with it, and those on the others dealing with the details more specially belonging to each.

We can afford space only for the Girnâr versions and the translations:—

1st Edict.[16]

(1) Iyaṁ dhaṁmalipî devânaṁpriyena

(2) Priyadasinâ râñâ lekhâpitâ[.] idha na kiṁ-

(3) chi[17] jîvaṁ ârabhitpâ prajûhitavyaṁ[18]

(4) na cha samâjo[19] katavyo [.] bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ

(5) samâjamhi pasati devânaṁpriyo Priyadasi râjâ [.]

(6) asti pi tu ekachâ samâjâ sâdhumatâ devânaṁ

(7) priyasa[20] Priyadasino râño purâ mahânase jamâ[21]

(8) devânaṁpriyasa[22] Priyadasino râño anudivasaṁ [23]ba-

(9) hûni prâṇasatasahasrâni[24] ârabhisu sûpâthâya [.]

(10) se aja yadâ ayaṁ dhaṁmalipi likhitâ tî eva prâ-

(11) ṇa ârabharo sûpâthâya dvo morâ eko mago[25] so pi

(12) mago na dhuvo[26][.] ete pi[27] tî prâṇâ pachâ na ârabhisaṁre[.].

Translation.

"This edict has been engraved by order of the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dêvas (on Mount Khepiṁgala,—Dh. J.). It is disallowed here below to destroy [wilfully] any life in slaughter, and also to make convivial assemblies (*festins*?). For the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dêvas, sees much evil in convivial assemblies (?) There have indeed been, approved [by him], more than one convivial assembly (?) formerly in the kitchens of the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dêvas, when (*the word for* 'when' *occurs only in* G.), for the table of the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dêvas, were slain daily hundreds of thousands of living creatures. But at the time when this edict is engraved, three animals only are slain for his table, two peacocks and a deer, and even the deer not regularly. These three animals even will no more be killed henceforth." (p. 347).

Second Edict.[28]

(1) Sarvata vijitamhi ḍevânaṁpriyasa piyadasino[29] râño.

[15] *Corpus Ins.* vol. I, p. 13; conf. Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI., p. 159, s. v. *śvaṅge.*

[16] Prinsep, *J. A. S. Ben.* vol. VII, (1838), p. 249; Wilson, *J. R. As. Soc.* vol. XII, p. 157 ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II, p. 226, n. 1; also *Jour. Asiat.* VII. S. t. XIII, pp. 540-545.

[17] Cunningham's fac-simile, plate v. (C) has ° *kaṁchi.*

[18] According to Dh. J. and Kh. *prajûhitavyaṁ* is an error for *prajahitavyaṁ*, fut. part. pass. of *prajahâti*, 'which ought to be given up, sacrificed.' (p. 336).

[19] Fac-simile C. *mâje ka.*°

[20] Fac-simile C. °*yasi pri.*°

[21] The stone is so injured here that the first syllable of this word is very doubtful. The phrase, separate in the other versions, is here joined with the following by the conjunction *jamâ* for *jâma* or *jâmâ* = *yâvat* (Hemachandra, ed. Pischel, iv, 406), 'when' (p. 337).

[22] Fac-simile C. °*mpiya.*°

[23] Fac-simile C. ° *nudâva.*°

[24] Fac-simile C. °*pâṇa.*°

[25] C. °*mato.*°

[26] C. °*dhâvo.*°

[27] C. °*pâ.*°

[28] This and the Third edict from M. Senart's second article in tom. XV, pp. 479-509. On the Second edict, see Prinsep. *u. s.* p. 158 ff.; Wilson, *u. s.* p. 163 ff.; Kern, *Jaar tell. d. zuydel. Buddh.* p. 89, ff.

[29] C. °*vipritemhi de* °*priya*°.

(2) evamapi[30] prâchaṁtesu[31] yathâ Choḍâ Pâḍâ Saṭiyaputo Ketalaputo â[32] Taṁba-

(3) paṁṇî Aṁtiyako Yonarâjâ ye vâpi tasa Aṁtiyakasa sâmîpaṁ[33]

(4) râjâno sarvatra[34] devânaṁpriyasa Priyadasino râño dve chikîchha katâ

(5) manusachikîchhâ[35] cha pasuchikîchhâ cha [.] osuḍhâni cha yâni manusopagâni cha

(6) pasopagâni[36] cha yata yata nâsti sarvatâ[37] hârâpitâni cha ropâpitâni cha [.]

(7) mûlâni cha phalâni cha yata yatra nâsti sarvata[38] hârâpitâni cha ropâpitâni cha [.]

(8) paṁthesû kûpâ cha khânâpitâ vrachâ cha ropâpitâ paribhogâya pasumanusânaṁ [.]

Translation.

"Everywhere in the territory of the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dêvas, and also of the peoples who are on his borders, such as the Choḍas, the Pâṁḍyas, the country of Satiyaputra, of Ketalaputra as far as (*K. and Kh. omit this word*) Tambapaṇṇi, [in the territory of] Antiochus, king of the Greeks, and also of the kings who are near to him (K. Kh.: in Ariana), everywhere the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dêvas, has distributed remedies of two sorts, remedies for men, remedies for animals. Everywhere, where useful plants are awanting, whether for men, whether for animals, they have been imported and planted (K.: everywhere they have been imported, and the same of trees). Wherever there was a want of (Kh.: all the) roots or fruits, they have been imported and planted (*the phrase is wanting in* K.). And upon the roads (upon the roads *is wanting in* K.), wells have been dug (Kh.: in the ground) for the use of animals and of men" (p. 491).

Third Edict.[39]

(1) Devânaṁpiyo Piyadasi[40] râja evaṁ âha[.] dvâdasavâsâbhisitena[41] mayâ idaṁ âñâpitaṁ[42][.]

(2) Sarvata[43] vijite mama yutâ[44] cha râjûke cha prâdesike[45] cha paṁchasu paṁchasu vâsesu anusaṁ-

(3) yânaṁ[46] niyâta etâye va athâya imâya dhaṁmânusasṭiya yathâ aññâ-

(4) ya pi[47] kaṁmâya[.] sâdhu[48] mâtari cha pitari cha sasûsa[49] mitâsaṁstutañâtinaṁ[50] baṁhaṇa

(5) samaṇânaṁ sâdhu dânaṁ prâṇânaṁ sâdhu anâraṁbho[51] apavyayatâ apabhiṁḍatá sâdhu[.][52]

(6) parisâ pi yute[53] âñapayisati gaṇanâyaṁ hetuto cha vyaṁjanato[54] cha[.]

Translation.

"Thus saith the king Piyadasi, beloved of the Dêvas: in the third year of my consecration, I have ordained as follows. That everywhere in my empire, the faithful, the Râjuka and the district governor repair every five years to the assembly [called *anusaṁyâna*] as to their other duties (K.: besides their other duties) in order there to make known the following religious precepts:—'It is good to manifest docility to one's father and mother, to friends, acquaintances and relations; it is good to give alms to Brâhmaṇs and Śramaṇas, good to respect the life of living beings, good to shun prodigality and violence of language.' It is for the clergy further to instruct the faithful in detail as to principles and in the terms"[55] (dans le fond et dans les termes) (p. 509).

(*To be continued.*)

[30] *E* has been cut away by the lithographer in facsimile B.

[31] Fac-simile B. °*prachaṁ.*°

[32] Fac-simile C. °*putâ a ta.*°

[33] C. *sâmino râ.*

[34] C. °*râjana savato.*°

[35] C. °*sachâhi.*°

[36] Fac-simile C. °*sopâgâ.*

[37] C. °*sava.*°

[38] C. °*savâta hâ.*°

[39] Prinsep *Jour. A. S. Beng.* vol. VII., (1838), p. 250; Wilson, *J. R. A. S.* vol. XII., p. 170ffg.; Burnouf, on the two last sentences, *Lotus*, pp. 721, 737ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Bd. vol. II (1st ed.) p. 228, 229 notes.

[40] Fac-simile C. °*priyada*° *jâ*°.

[41] Fac-simile C. °*s* *vasâ.*°

[42] Fac-simile C. °*naya i ñapi*°.

[43] C. °*sava*°.

[44] See Burnouf p. 738; *yuta* here and elsewhere means 'the faithful;' *prâdesike* is applied to employés or rather local or provincial governors; *anusaṁyâna*, is a rendezvous or assembly (pp. 495-497.)

[45] Fac-simile C. °*prade.*°

[46] Fac-simile C. *sâṁyinu ni.*°

[47] Fac-simile C. *ñâya si ka.*°

[48] Fac-simile C. °*srâdhu mâtarâ.*°

[49] Fac-simile C. °*susrâsâ.*°

[50] Fac-simile C. °*saṁstutañâtina bâ.*°

[51] Fac-simile C. °*nârâbho.*°

[52] See Burnouf. *Lotus*, p. 721ff (p. 500).

[53] Fac-simile C. °*parâsâpi yuto añapa.*°

[54] Conf. Oldenberg, *Mahâvagga*, 40, l. 24 (p. 502).

[55] This may be expressed with a slight paraphrase thus:—"To the clergy (*it falls*) then to teach in detail the basis (*of morality, its various rules*), and the form *i.e. according to the formulae, and in the appointed order*)."

MISCELLANEA.

DIVISION OF THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.[1]

I

Lordship Lodge, Wood Green, Aug. 12th, 1880.

In the *Sumangala Vilásiní* (the *atthakathá* or commentary on the *Dígha Nikáya,* the long collection of the *sutta pitaka*) Buddhagosha (A. D. 450) mentions the division of the Buddhist scriptures into nine classes (*angáni*). This ninefold classification was known at least a century earlier, and is alluded to in the *Dípavaṁsa* (IV. 14, 15, ed. Oldenberg) as the division of the Theraváda—the sacred text as opposed to the *atthakathá,* it is mentioned, too, in the *Milinda-pañho* (p. 263).

Mr. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism,* p. 215) thinks that Buddhagosha is not very successful in his endeavours to bring all the *pitaka* books under these sub-divisions. That, however, is a question that cannot be settled off-hand, but can only be solved when all the *pitakas* have been thoroughly examined by competent scholars.

This classification was not unknown to the northern Buddhists. *Le Lotus de la bonne Loi* (tom. II. p. 48) speaks of "cette loi formée de neuf parties," &c. Bournouf, commenting on this passage, says:—"Les neuf parties . . . sont d'après les Buddhistes de Ceylan, les neuf divisions dont se compose l'ensemble des écritures sacrées attribuées à Śâkya."

In the *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme,* (2nd ed., pp. 45–60) Burnouf treats of this matter more at large, and shows that the northern Buddhists recognised a twelve-fold division, made up of the older nine *angas* (*Sutta, Geyya, Veyyákarana, Gátha, Udána, Itivuttaka, Játaka, Abbhuta, Vedalla*), to which they had added, at a later period, *Nidána, Avadána,* and *Upadesa.*

Of course these points are familiar to Páli scholars, but it is not perhaps known that we have earlier authorities for this *anga*-division than those already mentioned. Curiously enough, the *Pitakas* themselves refer to this classification! In the third section of the *Anguttara Nikáya* (a huge collection of 9,757 *suttas*) we find a chapter entitled *Puggala vagga,* in the first part of which men are compared to four kinds of clouds:—

1. Thunder-clouds and rainless.
2. Rain-clouds and thunderless.
3. Rainless and thunderless clouds.
4. Thunder and rain clouds.

Each of these four classes is treated separately, but it will suffice to say that the first kind represent "great talkers and little doers" (*Idha, bhikkhave, ekachcho puggalo bhásitá hoti no kattá*).

The writer goes on to ask how a man is a thunderer and not a rainer, and his answer to the question contains a list of the sacred books which exactly corresponds to that given by Buddhagosha and the author of the *Dípavaṁsa.*

The thunderer, or man of words, has learnt the *dhamma,* and can repeat glibly enough the contents of the nine parts of his holy books, but he is no doer, for he has not taken the first step in the eightfold noble path, and has, therefore, no right views as to the origin of sorrow, its extinction, or the steps leading to its extinction.

But not only does the *Sutta-pitaka* recognise this classification, but also the *Abhidhamma-pitaka.* On turning to the *mátiká* or contents of the *Puggala-paññati,* one of the *Abhidhamma* or metaphysical books as yet inedited, we find the words "*chattáro valáhak'-upamá Puggalá,*" which bears a striking resemblance to the *chattáro puggalá* in the *Puggalá vagga* of the *Anguttara.* On a further examination of the *chattára puggalá* section of the *Puggala-paññatti,* we find the very words of the *Puggalá vagga* with respect to the "cloud-resembling men," together with the nine divisions of the sacred books.

It would be difficult, from any internal evidence, to say whether the *Puggala-paññatti* is based on the *Puggala vagga* or *vice versá.* The *Puggala-paññatti* is not, as Mr. Davids describes it, a book of "regulations for those who have entered the paths," for it contains no regulations whatever, but is a declaration or designation of the different kinds of persons spoken of in the Buddhist scriptures (cf. *khandha-paññatti, áyatana-paññatti,* p. 12 of Dr. Trenckner's excellent edition of the *Milinda-pañho,* just published; see also p. 27, l. 30).

The *chattáro puggalá* section of the *Puggala-paññatti* according to the *mátiká* begins thus:—*Asappuriso, asappurisena asappurisataro, sappuriso, sappurisena sappurisataro.*" These words occur as parts of a question in the *Anguttara Nikáya,* and they are also found in the third *vagga* of the second part of the *Samyutta Nikáya*:—"*Asappurisañcha vo . . . desissámi asapurisena asapurisataraṅ cha,*" &c. Taking into account the fact that the *Puggala-paññatti* deals with the explanation of well known Buddhist terms, it must, I think, be considered as much later than the *Sutta-pitaka,* and is, perhaps, the latest of the Abhidhamma books.

It must be evident too, that the *suttas* and treatises that contain a list of the Buddhist books must have found their way among the sacred writings *after* their order had been finally settled. Strictly speaking, they cannot claim a right to be considered as a part of the Buddhist scriptures.

[1] From *The Academy,* Aug. 21, 1880, p. 136.

The *Sutta-piṭaka* books need a thorough examination; many of the longer *suttas* are, comparatively, of late origin. I have elsewhere pointed out the *Mahâparinibbâna* and *Mahâsatipaṭṭhâna suttas*.

RICHARD MORRIS.

II.[2]

Oxford: Aug. 23rd, 1880.

The division of the sacred literature of the Southern and Northern Buddhists according to the *Angas*, on which Dr Morris has given some important information in the last number of the *Academy*, has always reminded me of a singular division applied by the Brâhmaṇs to their own sacred literature. That division may be found in my *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 40, and it is fully discussed by Sâyaṇa in the Introduction to his commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, vol. I, p. 23. One of the divisions, the *Gâthâs*, is actually the same in Vedic and Buddhist literature; another, the Brahmanic *Itihâsa*, is very like the Buddhist *Itivuttaka*, *Ityukta Itivṛittaka*. But, as Sâyaṇa has shown that these titles, such as *Brâhmaṇa Itihâsa Purâṇa*, &c., express subjects treated here and there in the *Mantras* and *Brâhmaṇas* rather than separate works or divisions of works, so in the Buddhist literature, too, these titles refer to subjects treated here and there in the *Tripiṭaka* rather than to separate books. Thus it is said by Buddhagosha that *Sutta*, for instance, comprehends *Itivuttaka*, but not *vice versâ*; that *gâthâs* may contain *geyas*; while *geya*, again, is defined as a prose *sutta* mixed with *gâthâ*, or verse.

This being the case, we need not be surprised to find this classification mentioned in the sacred canon itself to which it applies, as there can be no doubt that, like the Vedic literature, the sacred literature of the Buddhists also arose and was preserved for a long time by means of oral tradition, we can perfectly understand that allusions to the principal subjects treated in the *Mantras* and *Brâhmaṇas* should be found in these works themselves, and that even so elaborate a classification of the Dharma and Vinaya as that into nine or twelve *angas* should occur in the *Tripiṭaka* itself. Dr. Morris has rendered good service by pointing out the passages in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (*Puggala-paññati*), and even in the *sutta-piṭaka* (*anguttara-nikâya*), where the classification of the Pâli sacred books into nine *angas* occurs. We may in future consider it as older at all events than Buddhagosha and the *Dîpavaṁsa*. The classification under twelve categories, adopted by the Mahâyâna, may likewise be traced in one of the recognised books of that school, the *Guṇa-karaṇḍa-vyûha*, and need not be looked upon as a late importation from the south. In a MS. of that work (MS. E. I. H. 22 E. p. 95, *b*) we find the following list:—(1) Sûtra; (2) Geya; (3) Vyâkaraṇa; (4) Gâthâ; (5) Udâna; (6) Nidâna; (7) Avadâna; (8) Itivṛittaka; (9) Gâtaka; (10) Vaipulya; (11) Adbhuta; (12) Upadeśa.

The meaning of these twelve classes has been fully discussed by Burnouf in his *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme*, pp. 51 et seqq. Whether this division was first started by the followers of the Hînayâna and then adopted and amplified by the followers of the Mahâyâna is a question which I should like to see answered by more competent judges. Wassiljew's remarks on the subject (*Buddhismus*, p. 118, note) do not help us much, nor Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Gâthâsaṅgraha* (*Mél As.* vol. VIII, p. 570). *Itivṛittaka*, however, looks suspiciously like a false translation of *Itivuttaka*. The *Itivuttaka* refers in Pâli to 110 Suttas, beginning with an appeal to Buddha's words (*vuttaṁ h'etaṁ Bhagavatâ*). In *Itivṛittaka*, on the contrary, it seems as if the euphonic *v* of *Itivuttaka* had suggested the Sanskrit *Itivṛittaka*.

When looking at Burnouf's *Introduction* for his opinion on the division of the Buddhist canon, my eye was arrested by some remarks of his on the absence of the name of K ṛ i s h ṇ a, as a god known to the Buddhists, which have never been corrected. On the contrary, the remarks which he made "under all reserves" have been repeated without any reserve, and the conclusions which he based on them conditionally have been accepted unconditionally. Burnouf was quite right in saying that if the name of Kṛishṇa should really prove to be altogether absent from the early Buddhist books, while the names of other Brahmanic deities are frequently mentioned, it would follow either that the Buddhists had some reason for intentionally ignoring it, or that their books were anterior to the rise of the worship of Kṛishṇa as a god. M. Foucaux, in his translation of the *Rgya Tch'er Rol Pa*, p. 127, had pointed out one passage in which Kṛishṇa must be taken as the name of a god, but he added the somewhat puzzling remark:—"M.E. Burnouf, dans son *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme*, prouve que le culte de Kṛishṇa était nouveau dans l'Inde quand le Buddhisme commença." This is hardly the case. Kṛishṇa occurs in Buddhist literature as a name of the black demon (*Lal. Vist.* p. 435, l. 10, and elsewhere), but no one would think of identifying this old, and even Vedic, Asura Kṛishṇa, with Kṛishṇa, the god, as little as from the fact that Buddha had very dark hair (*susukâlakeso*) we should look upon him as in any way connected

[2] *The Academy*, Aug. 28, 1880, p. 154.

with Kṛishṇa. But if we examine the original passage in the *Lalitavistara* to which M. Foucaux referred, we can hardly doubt that Kṛishṇa is there intended as a god, and as an equal of Vaiśravaṇa, Kuvera, Indra, Chandra, Sûrya, Kâma, and Rudra. It occurs in a Gâthâ (p. 149, l. 3.) which may be looked upon as older than the prose text; and though we might possibly argue that *Krishṇa* should be taken as an epithet of Rudra, it is quite clear that in the prose text, which may serve as the oldest commentary on the *Gâthâ*, Kṛishṇa was taken as a separate deity by the side of Viśravaṇa, Mâra, Mahoragendra, Indra, Rudra, Chandra, and Sûrya. He is called *Mahotsâha*, capable of great efforts, an epithet which agrees better with the hero of the *Mahâbhârata* than with that of the Gopîjanavallabha. The name of Kṛishṇa, as a god, should therefore no longer be treated as unknown to the authors of the nine *Dharmas*, nor should it be maintained that Sanskrit works in which Kṛishṇa appears as a god, such as the *Mahâbhârata*, and particularly the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, must on that account be classed as *post*-Buddhistic, or as later, at least, than the Third Council.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

FOLKLORE PARALLEL.

I find the following in Bernhardt Schmidt's *Griechische Märchen, Sagen, und Volkslieder*, p. 36:—

"An old legend resembling the myths of Admetus and Alkestis is reproduced in a popular ballad of Trebizond. Jannis, so runs the story, the only son of his parents, is just making preparations for his wedding, when Charon appears at the door with threatening mien to bear away his soul. The young man proposes to him to have a wrestling match on a brazen threshingfloor; if Charon wins, he will surrender his soul, but if he remains conqueror, the wedding is to take place. But Charon will not agree to this proposal: he says that God has sent him to fetch souls, not to waste his time in games and wrestling matches. Then Jannis begs St. George to entreat God that his life may be lengthened. God makes him this promise that if his father, who has still 30 years of life before him, will give half of this time to his son, he shall live to celebrate his marriage. But his father will not spare him even one day. Then again the saint intercedes for him, and God consents that if his mother will spare him the half of her 30 remaining years, he shall live. But even his mother refuses to give up one span of her allotted time. At last God permits Jannis to entreat the same favour from his betrothed, and she agrees with the greatest readiness to her lover's request, remarking that the years appointed to her are enough for them both. So Jannis' wedding takes place."

I should prefer to connect this story with that of Ruru in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, which Benfey compares with that of Yayâti and his son Ruru.

The story of Ruru runs as follows: "Once on a time a hermit's son of the name of Ruru, wandering about at will, saw a maiden of wonderful beauty, the daughter of a heavenly nymph named Menaka by a Vidyâdhara, and brought up by a hermit of the name of Sthûlakeśa in his hermitage. That lady, whose name was Prishadvarâ, so captivated the mind of that Ruru when he saw her, that he went and begged the hermit to give her to him in marriage. Sthûlakeśa betrothed the maiden to him, and when the wedding was nigh at hand, suddenly an adder bit her. Then the heart of Ruru was full of despair, but he heard this voice in the heaven; 'O Brahman, raise to life with the gift of half thy own life, this maiden whose allotted term is at an end.' When Ruru heard that, he gave her the half of his own life, as he had been directed; by means of that she revived, and Ruru married her."[1]

The same agency as carried the story of Buddha to the west, and caused it to be reproduced in the romance of Barlaam and Josaphat, may very well have carried the story of Ruru to Trebizond.

C. H. T.

NOTE.

A Hindu idol, copper, representing a woman with four arms, has recently been unearthed near Orenburg. Archæologists believe it to have been the prize, several centuries ago, of some of the Mongols who invaded India, and to have been conveyed in course of nomad wanderings to the spot where it was discovered in the Orenburg district.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE ZEND-AVESTA, PART I, THE VENDIDAD.—Translated by James Darmesteter. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1880.

In this translation, which forms the fourth volume of the *Sacred Books of the East*, M. Darmesteter has made great progress in clearing away the obscurities and inaccuracies which encumber all previous translations of these remains of the ancient Pârsî code of religious laws, and

[1] Compare also the story of Sâvitrî and Satyavat, Mahâbh. iii, § 292 ff.—ED.

thus presents the English reader, for the first time, with a really trustworthy version of the entire *Vendidad*, although the translation may not be quite so literal as might be wished by Avesta scholars.

It is hardly creditable to English Orientalists that it has been necessary to intrust this work to a foreigner, in consequence of no Englishman being capable of undertaking a translation of the *Avesta*; but the chief cause of their neglect of so important a branch of Oriental studies is not far to seek. When the *Avesta* was first introduced to the learned world, in a French translation, by Anquetil Duperron in 1771, its authenticity was violently attacked by a young English scholar, who afterwards became the celebrated Orientalist, Sir William Jones. This attack was unscientific and dogmatic in the extreme, but, backed by the subsequent fame of its author, and by the national prejudices afterwards excited by the Napoleonic wars, it has hitherto succeeded in deterring Englishmen from examining the *Avesta* for themselves. Time, however, has now brought about its revenge, and little more than a century after Sir W. Jones's endeavour to discredit a Frenchman's account of the *Avesta*, and chiefly owing to his endeavour, his own University has found it necessary to apply to a French scholar for an English translation of the same Oriental texts.

The method adopted by M. Darmesteter, in translating the difficult and doubtful passages which abound in the *Vendidad*, is to accept the traditional interpretation wherever it is not at variance with the results of comparative philology and mythology. There can be no doubt that this method is, theoretically, the best that can be adopted, but it is frequently attended with practical difficulties. The only tradition of any value, as regards anything beyond religious practices in daily use, is contained in the Pahlavi translations and commentaries, which seem to have originated at a time when the Avesta language, though already dead, was still nearly as well understood by the Pârsî priesthood as the language of the ancient Greeks was by Christian divines two centuries ago. But the Pahlavi version of the *Vendidad* has not yet been fully translated, and abounds with passages that can be easily misunderstood, so that it is often difficult to ascertain its meaning with certainty. And to this practical difficulty must be added the further difficulty of forming a correct opinion when testing this tradition by the less definite results of comparative philology and mythology.

As an illustration of the possible effect of the first kind of difficulty, arising from the want of trustworthy translations of Pahlavi texts, may be taken the mode of identifying the "good river Dâitya" (*Vend.* I, 3) with the Araxes, by reading "it flows through the mountains of Gôrjistân (Georgia)," instead of "it goes out through the hill-country," in *Bundahish*, XX, 13. The original name in this passage is Gopestân, a reasonable Pâzand reading of the Pahlavi word *kôfistân*, "hill-country," but a very unlikely reading of *Gôrjistân*. The adoption of this doubtful emendation is to be regretted, as it is hardly requisite for the identification proposed.

An instance of the second practical difficulty occurs with regard to the title Spitama, usually applied to Zarathushtra, and which it is safest to leave untranslated, as Darmesteter generally does; but he evidently considers it a mere epithet, and translates it by "holy" in *Vend.* II, 42. This is a departure from tradition, for this title is always expressed by the patronymical form *Spîtâmân*, "the Spitaman," in Pahlavi, and is supposed to refer to an ancestor of Zarathushtra in the ninth generation, whose name was Spitama according to a genealogy given in several Pahlavi works. If the title Spitama be a mere epithet, and not a family name, it is very singular that it should be applied, in the *Avesta*, only to Zarathushtra and two or three of his relations, male and female. As Darmesteter, however, considers Zarathushtra merely as a mythological being, void of historical reality, he can hardly admit the reality of his ancestry, without weakening the arguments in favour of his mythological origin.

In a very able introduction the translator first treats of the discovery of the *Avesta*, dwelling specially upon the details of the old dispute as to its authenticity, already referred to. He then deals with its interpretation, merely alluding to the labours of the generation of *Avesta* scholars now passing away, without describing them. But he dwells longer upon the formation of the *Avesta* and the origin of the religion it teaches, before concluding with a brief and appropriate analysis of the contents of the *Vendidad*.

His view of the origin of the Avesta religion rejects the hypothesis of former scholars that it was a reform of the old Indo-Iranian faith, arising at a time when the latter was lapsing into a more materialistic system of idolatry, and indicative of an ancient schism which led eventually to the widely divergent principles of Zoroastrianism and Hinduism. In place of this hypothesis he supposes that these two religions are merely two separate developments of Indo-Iranianism, not originating in any schism, but in the gradual effect of different circumstances upon dissimilar minds. And, as this supposition is inconsistent with the idea of the Avesta religion originating in

the personal influence of any individual reformer, he dispenses with the historical reality of Zarathushtra, and converts him into a mere mythological conception, a view which has also been advocated by Professor Kern.

The essential difference between this hypothesis and the old one does not lie in the idea of development, which is an indispensable element in the history of every religious system, but in the rejection of all idea of a schism or sudden reform. No doubt the advocates of the schism hypothesis have been inclined to lay rather too much stress on the arguments in its favour, and have put aside all difficulties for future elucidation; but it may well be questioned whether the new hypothesis is not being discussed in the same one-sided manner. It is difficult for a cautious reader to peruse Darmesteter's arguments, especially as more fully detailed in his previous work *Ormazd et Ahriman* (Paris, 1877), without an uneasy feeling that the same amount of learning and ingenuity could easily find much to say, both for the reformation hypothesis, and for the historical reality of Z a r a t h u s h t r a himself, apart from the unhistorical legends which have gathered about his memory. Until some such well-considered attempt be made to defend the old hypothesis, it will be safest for most readers to suspend their judgment about matters so difficult to prove. In the meantime they will find much of novelty and interest in this new translation of the *Vendidad*, which may be accepted with far greater confidence than mere speculative theories.

E. W. WEST.

DAS ALTINDISCHE NEU-UND VOLLMONDSOPFER IN SEINER EINFACHSTEN FORM; von A. Hillebrandt, Dr. Ph. 8vo. pp. xvii, 199. Jena, 1880.

Dr. Hillebrandt is already favourably known to Sanskritists by his Essays on Vedic mythology: he now has taken up a new line—the elucidation of the sacrifices of the Vedic religion, and with no less success; in fact, this work constitutes (as Germans would say) a new epoch in Sanskrit studies in Europe.

The existence of *sûtras* treating of the sacrifices **had long been known, but it was only about 25 years ago that Prof. A. Weber[1] first made possible the study of one of these works by his splendid edition of that which passes under the name of Kâtyâyana *Śrauta Sûtra*. Much, however, necessarily remained obscure in the details of the rites, and it was not till the late Prof. M. Haug got some of the sacrifices performed in his presence at Poona, and that he printed some of the information thus gained in the notes to his translation of the *Aitareya Brâhmanâ*, that further progress was possible.** But Haug did not anywhere give a full description of any of the numerous Vedic sacrifices, he merely elucidated some obscure points, and Prof. Thibaut's excellent labours refer to the construction of altars; thus, the present work is, strictly speaking, the first of its kind.

Dr. Hillebrandt has based his work on MSS. of the different *Śrauta sûtras* as well as of *Prayogas*, and for these he has had recourse to the India-Office and Munich Libraries.

The body of the work consists of two parts: (I), introductory ceremonies, and (II) the details of the sacrifice.

The fullest possible information on these matters is given; and any one could, with this book in hand, perform the rites of which it treats. These rites are childish and silly, but are, unlike many of the *śrauta* rites, quite unobjectionable in themselves. We find here none of the detestable acts, which, *e. g.*, forms part of the horse-sacrifice, and which are such an appalling feature of the Vedic religious system, to which even human sacrifices were well-known.

To understand the past of India, it is necessary to understand these complicated rites, and it is to be hoped that the learned author will aid students by treatises on one or two more of the more important sacrifices. Such labours will be valuable in many ways, and will, *e. g.*, help us to understand much in the *Vedas* which, as they now exist, are entirely arranged for sacrificial purposes.

Dr. Hillebrandt is to be congratulated on having discovered not only a new line of research, but also on having, adequately, occupied it.[2]

A. B.

[1] Prof. Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vols. X, and XIII, also gave a useful general view of the various kinds of Vaidik sacrifices.—E.

[2] We mention a few slips noticed during a superficial perusal of the book. The form *vriṇate* is twice (pp. 17, 90) translated by 'he chooses,' instead of by 'they choose.' In the formula *ahe daidhishavya, ud atas tishṭhânyasya sadane sîda yo 'smat pâkataraḥ* (Kâty. II., 1, 22) Dr. H. separates *tishṭhâni-asya* and translates (pp. 17, 91) "O Ahi daidhishavya [*ahe* is taken as an interjection by the St. Petersburg *Dict.*] *I will step up* (or get up) from here; sit down on the seat *of him* who is sillier than we!" Should we not rather separate *tishṭha-anyasya*: "O. D., get up from here and sit down on the seat of some one else who is less wise than we!"—At p. 33 for '*atra*-winning,' read '*kshatra*-winning' and add 'kinsman-winning (*sajâtavani*).'—P. 38 for "he gives it (the *veda*) the shape of a plaited basket (*mûta*)," translate "he makes it by plaiting in the same way as basket-work (*mûta*)."—P. 40 for "on the conclusion of this *mantra* the Agnîdhra pours out," translate 'the A. pours out the water so as to finish with the conclusion of the *mantra*.'—P. 43, instead of 'do not *split*! do not break down!' (*mâ bher mâ saṁvikshâḥ*! Vâj S. I. 23) translate: 'do not *be afraid*! do not shrink!'—*nishṭapta* is not 'niedergebrannt' (burnt down) but 'burnt out' (p. 57). Before 'alle Schätze enthaltende' (p. 93) *devayuvam* has been left out. At p. 126 *bhaksha* is translated by 'Genosse (companion)': should it not be 'Genuss (delight in food)'? and at the same page *brahmadevakṛitam*, which Dr. H. does not know how to explain, should be separated *brahma devakṛitam*, see Rigv. VII, 97, 3; *Taitt.* S. II, 6, 7, 4.—E.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 185.)

No. LXXX.

THE present inscription is from the original plates, which belong to 'Nawaji Walad Ukhaji Jiri' of Pimpaḷnêr in the Pimpaḷnêr Tâlukâ of the Khândêś District. They were produced by him before the authorities to substantiate his claim to a Pâṭîl's Watan!

The plates are five in number; the size of them is somewhat irregular, the largest being about 8¼" long by 3⅞" broad. Here and there the edges are slightly raised, as if to protect the writing; but this is probably accidental, and owing to the thinness of the plates and their consequent liability to be bent up. The plates themselves weigh 1 lb. 10½ oz.; and the two rings and the seal, 7½ oz. The ring on which they are strung is a plain copper ring about ⅜" thick and 2⅜" in diameter; it had been cut before the grant came into my hands. On this ring there fits very tightly another ring about ¼" thick and ⅞" in diameter; the seal on this smaller ring is circular, about two inches in diameter, and has, in high relief on a countersunk surface,—a standing figure of the god Hanumân, facing to the proper right, and balancing a peak of the mountain Gandhamâdana on his left arm; in the lower part, behind him, a *chakra*; and in front of him, a sword or lamp-stand, with a *śaṅkha*-shell below it.

The writing is very thin and shallow, and the component parts of the letters are frequently very much detached; it is, therefore, occasionally very difficult to decipher it with certainty. On the whole, however, it is fairly well preserved and is legible enough. On the second side of the third plate there is the figure 3, between the edge of the plate and the ring-hole; the other plates are not numbered. The ring-holes were made after the inscription was engraved, as some of the letters have been destroyed in making them. It was probably intended originally to make these holes at the top and bottom of each plate in succession, instead of at the sides; for, here and there, there are blank spaces in the writing, which can only have been left with this object.

The inscription purports to record that, in Śaka 310 (A.D. 388-9), the king Satyâśraya bestowed the village of Pippalanagara upon Nâgasvâmidîkshita and other Brâhmaṇs.

With the exception that Satyâśraya is said to be of the lineage of the god Vishṇu and to belong to those who were of the Mânavya *gôtra*, there is nothing in this inscription to specify precisely who he was. But there can be no doubt that the person intended is the Western Chalukya king Satyâśraya I, or Pulikêśî II, and that the word omitted in line 8 after *pavitrîkṛita-śirasâṁ* was *Chalukyânâm*, followed by some such expression as *anvayê jâtaḥ*, or *kulam=alaṁkarishṇuḥ*.

The grant is of course a forgery, for the following reasons:—1, If it is admitted that the king intended is Pulikêśî II, the date given is earlier by more than two hundred years than his real date.—2, Whether this be admitted or not, it cannot be disputed that this grant purports to be a Chalukya grant; and no member of that dynasty, anterior to Pulikêśî II, had the title of Satyâśraya.—3, The characters are so totally unlike in detail those of the Western Chalukya alphabet or of the Old-Canarese alphabet, that I cannot place them, even as a corrupt specimen, in the same class with either of those two alphabets. I am not quite certain how to classify them; but I am inclined to concur in an opinion expressed to me by Mr. Veṅkaṭ Raṅgô Kaṭṭi, that they are a mediœval form of some Beṅgâli alphabet, which must have been derived originally from the same source as the Chalukya alphabet.—4, In all the early inscriptions which follow the regular established style, the date comes at the end of the genealogy and immediately after the words introducing the details of the grant, and is expressed by °*śatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu*. There are a few special exceptions to the use of these particular words, which it is not necessary to give here. But the earliest instance in which the date is expressed by *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śata*, (as is here the case, in the first line); or by *Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara*, (the word *śata* being omitted as superfluous), are respectively the Râshṭrakûṭa tablet at Nandwâḍige dated Śaka 722, and the Râshṭrakûṭa grant of Gôvinda III. dated Śaka

726, both of which I have had occasion to notice for another purpose at *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 210.—5, Though the text runs in line 2 as if the month, the bright or dark fortnight, the lunar *tithi*, and the day of the week, were specified, yet these details are not mentioned, but only the year is given.—6, The figure 3, as given on the third plate, is not made up of three lines one above the other, as it would be if it were a genuine early numeral; but it is the modern form of 3, which cannot have been introduced earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.—7, None of the Chalukya grants repeat the king's name at the end, by way of a signature, as is done in the last line of this grant.—8, The emblems on the seal are not the Chalukya emblems, and they occur on the seal of no Chalukya grant.—And finally, 9, No early grant that I know of has, as this grant has, the seal sliding by a small ring of its own on the large ring on which the plates are strung. The only other instances of this known to me are some comparatively very modern Vijayanagara grants in Sir Walter Elliot's possession. In all the early grants, of whatever dynasty, "these seals," as Dr. Burnell writes[1], "are cast on the ring by which the plates are held together, and which thus has the form of a huge signet ring."

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti . Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-samvatsara-śatêshu tṛi(tri)shu daś-ôttarê
[2] shv=asyâ[ṁ*] samvatsara-mâsa-paksha-divasa-pûrvvâyân[2]=tithau paramabha-
[3] ṭṭâraka-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-Vishṇuva[ṁ*]śôdbhava-pa-
[4] [rama[3]]bhâgavata-paramabrahmaṇya(ṇyô) Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ
[5] Mâtṛi[5]-gaṇ-âdhishṭhitânâ[ṁ*] | Sahâṇaka-samara-samâ(ma)rji-
[6] ta-yaśô[6]-râśi-samṛiddhânâ[ṁ*] | râjasûy-âśvamêdha-pauṇḍarî-
[7] ka-bahusuvarṇṇa-vâjapêy-âdi-mahâkratu-maun-âva-

Second plate; first side.

[8] bhṛitha-pavitri(trî)kṛita-śira[7]sâṁ[8] || Nṛiga-Nahusha-Di-
[9] lîpa-Sagara-Bhagîrath-âdi-chirantana-bhûbhṛich-chari-
[10] t-â[9]nukṛiti-prakâśit-âśêsha-viśva[ṁ*]bharâ-bhâr-ôdvahana-
[11] sa[10]marthaḥ || Tên=âsâratarâṁ vilôkya sakalâṁ saṁsâ-
[12] ra-chakra-sthitiṁ | jaṁtu(tû)nâṁ kari-karṇṇa-tâla-chapalê(lâ)m=a(â)-
[13] lâ(lô)ka(kya) bhakshy-âyushaṁ | sûktâni gru(śru)ti-saṁbhavâni

Second plate; second side.

[14] cha vachâṁsy=ikarṇa(ṛṇya) lôka[11]-dvayê | dharmmê dâna-pha-
[15] la[ṁ*] cha śâśvatam=ih=êty=ô(ê)vaṁ kṛitô niśchayaḥ || Yathâ kada-
[16] lî-prakâṇḍa-vad=a-sâraḥ sa[ṁ*]sâraḥ | sarit-tîr-a(â)vasthita-tara(ru)-
[17] [dha[12]]rmmâṇi śarîrâṇi | kusuma-ramaṇîyâni yauva-
[18] nâni | taḍit-taralâḥ saṁpadâḥ(daḥ) | daṁd(ḍ)-ô(â)hata-bhûjaṁga-
[19] bhaṁgi-kuṭilaḥ khalu vidhi-vyâpârâḥ(raḥ) || Tathâ cha ||

[1] *South-Indian Palæography*, Second Edition, p. 107.

[2] The *mâsa*, *paksha*, *divasa*, and *tithi*, however, are *not* specified.

[3] These two letters, *rama*, were completely cut out in making the ring-hole.

[4] Here, and in some other places, the *Anusvâra* is a clearly made circle. In *śirasâṁ*, l. 8, and other places, it is denoted sometimes by a round dot, and sometimes by an elongated dot.

[5] The upper parts of these two letters, *mâtṛi*, were cut out in making the ring-hole.

[6] These plates have also been examined by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji. His reading here is *Sahâṇaka-samara-bhûmâvâpta-yaśô*; but he only suggests the letters *vâpta* as 'probable', the passage being very indistinct. I think the original really has *samârjita*, for *samarjita*, though the word is not a common one.

[7] A blank space, equal to three letters, intervenes between *ra* and *sâṁ*.

[8] The context is imperfect, through the omission of the name of the dynasty. We must supply *Chalukyânâm*, followed by *anvayê jâtaḥ*, or *kulam=alaṁkarishṇuḥ*, or some such expression,—or *vaṁśê saṁbhûtaḥ*, as the Paṇḍit suggests.

[9] The lower part of this letter, *tâ*, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

[10] The upper part of this letter, *sa*, was cut out at the same time.

[11] A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between *ka* and *dva*.

[12] This letter, *dha*, was almost entirely cut out in making the ring-hole.

Third plate; first side.

[20] Śâlmalî-tûla-vipâka[13]-kalpâḥ paramârtha-vi-
[21] rasâ[ḥ*] prâ(prî)ti-dharmê(rmâḥ) || Êvaṁ sarvvam=ani(bhi)samâkalayya |
[22] ma[14]hârâj-âdhirâja-śrîmat-Satyâśrayadêvaḥ | satvarâ(ram=â)-
[23] h=ai[15]va sâmanta-vishayapatikân=astu vidita[ṁ*] yathâ
[24] Âyâsa-śa[ta*]-labdhasya prâṇêbhyô=pi gari(rî)yasaḥ gati-
[25] r=êk=aiva vittasya dânaṁ=anyâ vipattayaḥ || Atô mayâ

Third plate; second side.

[26] nija-bhuj-ârjitaṁ chatu[16]r-âghâṭâ(ṭa)-viśuddhaṁ yajana-yâ-
[27] jan-âdi-shaṭ-karma-niratâ[y=â*]gnihôra(tra)-charu-purôḍâś-âti-
[28] thi-pûjâya vêda-vêdâṁga-pâragâya Yajuḥ-śâkhinô
[29] [ya[17]]sya Valabhî-mahâsthânô mahâjanêna Brahm-â-
[30] thô(rthô) labdhaḥ | têna mah-âtman=âtiśayita-sarvva-
[31] janêna · An[18]ûchâ[19]n-ânvayêna dvijâtinâ

Fourth plate; first side.

[32] Kâtyâyana-gôtrâya Nâga[svâ*]mi[20]-dîkshi(shi)ta || Śrîdhara-di(dî)kshi-
[33] ta || Vâmanasvâmî[21] || Nârâyaṇa || Dôvârya(?) | (||) Gôvi-
[34] ndasvâmî || ê(?)tâ(têbhyô) Durâyâbhajyâ-[22] | [23] -Payôshṇî-saṁgamê
[35] sû[24]rya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi | svaya[ṁ*] pâdau prakshâ-
[36] lya satilôdakêna vidhinâ Pippala-nagaraṁ |
[37] â-chaṁdr-ârka[ṁ*] yâvat=pratipâdita[ṁ*] || Ma(ya)sy=âghâṭâḥ |

Fourth plate; second side.

[38] Pûrvvataḥ Kapilakuṇḍa(?)-Bhimadâ-sandhi[25](ndhi)-vâṭaḥ | Dakshiṇatô(taḥ)
[39] Katturâ-parvvataḥ || Sêluladâ-nadî | Śa(?)ksha(?)râ-dâ(vâ)ṭaḥ [||*] Paśchi-
[40] matô Gaḍâda[26]-hra(?)daḥ(?) | Va(?)yalachchhi(?)-sadhiśa(sandhiś=cha ?) || Uttaratô
[41] Dha(?)[27]chhcha(chchha)vabhâ-parvvataḥ | Japya(?bya)khêḍâ-nadi(dî) | Su(?)gâhalâ-
[42] taḍâgaṁ || Tath=âsy=ânyayô Lôhanagar-âdi(di)ni sthanâ-
[43] nâ[28]ni shaḍ-viṁ(?)śatâ(ti) | tath=âgrahârâṇi chatur-â(a)śîti prada-
[44] tau(ttâ)ni || Atô mad-vya(vaṁ)śyair=anyair=vvâ pratipâlanîyâni [||*]

Fifth plate.

[45] Mâ(â)gâmi-râja-dâyô=shṭa-śataṁ[29] niyû(?)[30]pakâṇâm matônyasâhi-
[46] ya[31] bala-mathana-tâ(?)pya(?) || Tath=âtra bal-âyatanâ(nô?) Vâsantâdityaḥ tath=â- | [32]
[47] dha(dhi)kṛita-Vi(vî)rêśvarâ(raḥ) pratipâlanâya || Vyâsaś=[ch]=ât[r]a | Vi(viṁ)dhy-
âṭavi(vî)-

[13] A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between this *ka* and the *ka* of *kalpâḥ*.

[14] The lower part of this letter, *ma*, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

[15] The upper part of this letter, *hai*, was cut out at the same time.

[16] This letter, *tu*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line; it is very small and faint.

[17] This letter, *ya*, was entirely cut out in making the ring-hole.

[18] The Paṇḍit considers that the reading may be either *Anyuchâ* or *Jhanuûchâ*. The first letter is so nondescript that it may be anything whatever. The second letter is certainly *nû*. The third syllable, *châ*, is a mistake for *chî*, if the first letter is *a*.

[19] A blank space, equal to two letters, intervenes between *châ* and *nâ*.

[20] The Paṇḍit reads *Nâgavîra*, but I do not agree with him here. There is a blank space, apparently from a flaw in the copper, between *ga* and *mi*, where I supply *svâ*.

[21] The Paṇḍit reads *Râmêśasvâmî*.

[22] The *yâ* is clear; but the upper part of the letter is partially effaced and is very doubtful. The Paṇḍit reads *Dârâṇadyâ*.

[23] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[24] Part of the *s* was cut out in making the ring-hole.

[25] This letter, which I read as *ndhî* for *ndhi*, is a very nondescript one. The Paṇḍit suggests either *Bhîmada-sâmrêvâṭaḥ* or *Nîmadâsandhivâṭaḥ*.

[26] The Paṇḍit reads *Gaḍâla*.

[27] Part of this letter, *dha*, and perhaps the whole of another letter before it, was cut out in making the ring-hole. The Paṇḍit reads *Va* (?) *chchhavalâ-parvataḥ*.

[28] This repetition of the letter *nâ* is superfluous.

[29] A blank space, equal to one letter, intervenes between *taṁ* and *ni*.

[30] The Paṇḍit reads *ryû*, or *rvû*. But there is no *r* over the letter, and it certainly is not *rvû*.

[31] This word is unintelligible; but I cannot suggest anything else.

[32] This mark of punctuation should be before *tath=â-*.

[48] shv=a[33]-tôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ | Kṛishṇa-sarppâ hi(?) jâyantê bhû-
[49] [mi[34]]-dân-âpahârakâḥ | (||) [35] . . . . yatnâd=raksha-Yudhishṭhi-
[50] ra | mahi[ṁ*] mahimatâṁ śrêshṭha dânâ(nâch=) śrê(=chhrê)yô=nupâlana[ṁ*] || Likhi-
[51] tam=êtan=mayâ sândhivigrahika-pa(?)mâ[36] . . .d-Divâkara-sutê-
[52] na Nâgêśvarêṇ=êti || Śrî-Satyâśrayadêvasya ||

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(Continued from p. 153.)

No. XXVI.—*Irdhi-Pâda.*

It is not uncommon in Sanskrit literature, especially when the lives and virtues of renowned sages or ascetics are recounted, to find it told of such personages that they could transport themselves from place to place in some mysterious magical way in a moment. That large section of Hindu literature which deals with magic and the occult arts, such as the *Tantras*, the Black *Veda*, &c., too much neglected by European scholars, often refers to this secret power. The *Kalai-jñâna* system for example is copious on the subject.[1] The vastly complicated scheme of Buddhist rites and asceticism holds forth this power as the crown and goal possibly arrived at by the continuous observance of prescribed ceremonies and an inflexibly followed course of moral action. The entrance to this course was through the rite called *kasina*, of which there were ten kinds,[2] consisting principally of modes of persisting in rigid unbroken meditation till the state called *samâdhi* was attained. *Samâdhi* is described as that which keeps the thoughts together, like the moisture which causes grains of sand to adhere and form a ball; through this the illumination termed *nimitta* could be reached; fourteen excessively complicated modes of exercising the ten *kasinas* with this end are specified, and after all had been successfully accomplished, the power of *Irdhi* might be acquired, though not infallibly. *Irdhi*[3] is a miraculous power distinguishing a Rahât, one who has passed the Four Paths, and will at death attain *Nirvâṇa*. Its special characteristic is the power of instant locomotion and flight through the air from place to place, hence it is called *Irdhi-pâda*, *i. e.* the Divine Foot, on account of the assistance it renders to those possessing it. Both Brahmanical and Buddhist books, when alluding to this power, always speak of it as something familiar and well-known. Fah-Hian, the Chinese pilgrim to India in the 4th century, observes in a matter-of-course way as though it were nothing unusual that "Rahâts continually fly," and again, "the men of that country frequently see persons come flying to the temple, (some rock-temple,) the religious men occupying the upper chambers are constantly on the wing."—(Beal's *Travels of Fah Hian.*) People to-day are staggered at the accounts of "mediums" floating out of windows or being transported in a moment from one quarter of London to another, but flights of holy men fluttering, like pigeons, about the high chamber-cells of rock-temples would make even a sturdy spiritualist pause. Cells high up on sheer rocky faces have provoked speculation as to how they were tenanted. Fah Hian's statement may suggest some hint. The same pilgrim at Dardu in Northern India saw an image of wood, 94 feet high, representing Maitreya Bodhisattwa, "the Buddha that is yet to be," to obtain the size and appearance of which a sculptor was "by the power of Irdhi," three times transported up to the Tushita heaven, the Fourth Sphere, wherein rest all births yet to come; a strange and weird idea!

33 The lower part of this letter, *shva*, was cut out in making the ring-hole.

34 This letter, was entirely cut out at the same time.

35 It is almost impossible to say what these eight letters are. The Pandit suggests *dvijânâṁ dêvatânâṁ cha*. The usual reading is *sva-dattâṁ paradattâṁ vâ*.

36 One letter is altogether unintelligible here. The Pandit reads °*vigrahik-âmâtyêna* (?) *Divâkara*°.

1 "Flying through the air" is expressly enumerated amongst the wonderful acts which could be performed by means of *dhârani*, or occult Indian charms. It was also one of the sorceries ascribed to Simon Magus.

2 See Spence Hardy's *East. Monach.* pp. 252 ffg.

3 "*Iddhi* (or *Irdhi*), prosperity, power, majesty, supernatural power, miraculous faculty. There are 10 *iddhis*, such as the power of passing through the air, of taking any form, of creating or causing to appear anything required. *Iddhi* is the peculiar attribute of the Arahas," Prof. Childers's *Pali Dictionary*.

Buddhist books describe the power of *Irdhi*[4] as a miraculous energy of the purified will gradually prepared by the long and difficult processes previously mentioned, as the potter gradually prepares and tempers his clay for any vessel he designs. Even after the exercise of all the *kasinas* it was exceedingly difficult to acquire, unless they had been also practised in former times. "To him who has not exercised *kasina* in former ages its accomplishment is most difficult. Amongst those who have not so exercised it scarcely one out of a hundred or a thousand succeeds in its acquisition. Even after accomplishing the exercises and attaining the *nimitta*-illumination, it is most difficult to acquire the power of *irdhi*."[5] When at last reached, it could be used by a simple energy of the will, as is thus explicitly set forth in the *Milindaprasna*, where Milinda, the king of Sâgal, asks the great Buddhist sage Nâgasêna[6]:—

"Can any one who has the fleshly body of a man pass instantly to other continents, or to the Uturukuru, or to the Dêwa and Brahmalôkas?"

Nâgasêna: "It is possible for one who has a body composed of the four elements to visit the places you have named."

Milinda: "In what way can this be done?"

Nâgasêna: "Can you, at your will, leap from the ground, say, to the height of a span or a cubit?"

Milinda: "With ease I can leap eight cubits high."

Nâgasêna: "How do you do this?"

Milinda: "I determine to leap; through this determination my body becomes as it were buoyant, and I rise from the ground."

Nâgasêna: "Just so the priest who has the power of *Irdhi* determines to go to such a place; by the determination of his mind, his body becomes as it were imponderous, and he is enabled thereby to pass through the air."

Other ascetics possessed similar powers. Old Ibn Batûta of Fez, who travelled from Marocco to China in A. D. 1324-54, relates: "I was once in the presence of the Emperor of Hindustan where two Jogees wrapped up in a cloak, with their heads covered (for they take out all their hair with powder) came in. The Emperor caressed them, and said, pointing to me, 'This is a stranger: show him what he has never seen.' They said, 'We will.' One of them then assumed the form of a cube, and arose from the earth, and in this (*cubic*) shape he occupied a place in the air over our heads. I was so much astonished and terrified at this that I fainted and fell to the earth. The Emperor then ordered me some medicine, on tasting which I recovered and sat up, the cubic figure still remaining in the air, just as it had been." (Lee's *Translation*, p. 161.) Ibn Batûta, a learned and devout Moslem, would have had no object in inventing such an account, especially when the power belonged to a hostile faith. These were Jogis, a class always distinguished for magical power. Apollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis, who took notes of his travels, affirm that at the Hill of the Wise Men,[7] they saw Brahmans who walked in the air, not to excite wonder, for they hated ostentation, but in imitation of, and in service to, the sun. (Philostratus, *Vit Apol. Tyan. III.* 15.)

But Moslem asceticism, no less than Hindu, is no stranger to this mystic faculty. Muhammad was caught up into Paradise; and it is recorded by a contemporary of the famous Jellâlu'd-dîn,[8] the founder of the order of Whirling Dervishes, born A. D. 1207, that when a boy and playing with other children, when they proposed to jump from one housetop to another, he replied that such sport was only fit for cats, but that human beings, if they felt any power in their souls, ought to fly heavenwards with him. Saying so he disappeared from their sight, and on their raising a lamentation he shortly re-appeared with the hue of his countenance changed and his eyes altered, and said, "As I spoke I was suddenly taken up and shown the miracles of the upper world, but when your wailings ascended I was again deposited here." The whirling dance of the ecstatic Dervish is an inferior sort of *Irdhi*, strong enough to burst the bounds of sense and perception, but unable to dissolve the resistance of matter; differences and degrees fade and expire, and the Universal

[4] The Buddhist references to *Irdhi* are taken from the works of the Rev. S. Beal and Spence Hardy.

[5] Sp. Hardy, *East. Monach.* p. 262.

[6] Id. p. 285.

[7] Ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς πήχεις δύο—two cubits from the ground, no great height, but—ce n'est que le premier pouce qui coûte.—Priaulx's *Apollonius*, p. 35.

[8] See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 294.

Love becomes apparent as he whirls and sings the song of Sayyid Nîmat-ullah of Kuhistân:—

"Spin the ball! I reel, I burn,
Nor head from foot can I discern,
Nor my heart from love of mine,
Nor the wine-cup from the wine.
All my doing, all my leaving,
Reaches not to my perceiving,
I'm all-knowing, yet unknowing,
Stand not, pause not, in my going!
Ask me not, as Muftis can,
Still to ponder the Kurân.
Well I love the meaning sweet—
I tread the book beneath my feet.
Higher blaze and yet more high
Till all differences die!
What are Moslems? What are Giaours?
All are Love's and all are ours.
Firm to Heaven my bosom clings,
Heedless of inferior things:
Down on earth there underfoot
What men chatter know I not."

It is not only in the East, however, that holy men and founders of religious orders have claimed to show that spiritual exaltation can dissolve the inertia and resistance of matter. The annals of the Roman Catholic Church contain the evidence of eye-witnesses that SS. Philip Neri, Ignatius Loyola, Dominic, Teresa, and several others, when in prayer and ecstatic adoration, were at times lifted up from the ground and suspended in air without support for longer or shorter periods. Protestants at once laugh such accounts to scorn, or satisfy themselves with suggesting explanations more or less ingenious, but others declare that there is the same evidence for them as that which is ordinarily held sufficient for occurrences in the lives of historical personages generally.[9] This *irdhi* power, on which we have been discoursing, is not confined to the civilized nations of the East or West. Forms of it are reported to exist amongst widely separated barbarous tribes. The Abbê Movillot affirms of the Esquimaux in Greenland that their *angákoks*, or priests, sometimes rise from the ground and pass through the roofs above them. Similar powers are reported of the *Tohunga*, or New Zealand priests, and said to exist in the Sandwich Islands and amongst the natives in Australia. I have also heard of forms of it in South Canara. What is to be thought of this strange belief so contrary to the laws of inertia and gravity, and scientifically so incomprehensible and, abstractedly, impossible, but which is yet said to have prevailed so widely in countries far separated in space and time? The only reply can be that people have related what they believed to be facts. Even now in this most practical and sceptical age, in London, Paris, and New York, men have been startled to hear in spiritualist circles assertions of "levitation," or an *irdhi*-power, by which certain persons are floated up to ceilings, or even transported instantaneously from one room to another in a distant quarter of the town. Persons who assert they have witnessed such things are pelted with outcries of 'trickery,' 'imposture,' 'incapacity to observe,' victims of 'unconscious cerebration,' and the like, and leaders of science and people of enlightened minds do not conceal their contempt. Into this contest we do not desire to enter.

In connection with the foregoing subject a few closing remarks may perhaps be ventured here. Immense advances have been made in the study and knowledge of ancient and modern Hindu literature. We know more of the mythologies, religions, histories, genealogies, arts, and architecture of India than the natives themselves. Languages long obsolete, and inscriptions graven in forgotten characters, have been unlocked. But there is one wide region of Hindu thought and literature in which we have hardly set foot, and that is their astrological and occult sciences and rites. We complain that we are out of sympathy with the Hindu mind, that we know it only officially and externally, and cannot reach the inner life and thought of the people. One reason is the supercilious contempt with which the English, more than others, regard that astrological and mystical lore before which the entire native mind, throughout the length and breadth of India, crouches in absolute subjection. The educated official, versed in Mill and Macaulay, no less than the simple ryot; but the former whilst perhaps discussing questions of European science and philosophy with his English Master, will never allude to those beliefs and practices by which

[9] One of the lately recovered fragments of the apocryphal *Gospel according to the Hebrews* runs, "just now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and bore me up on to the great mountain Tabor."

his daily life is regulated, for he instinctively feels that he would meet with nothing but derision for such follies and absurdities. None the less his everyday conduct and domestic concerns are directed by the astrological Brahman, without whose permission he dares take no step or undertake anything of moment. It is unfortunate that the prepossessions of Englishmen in general so completely deter them from seeking any acquaintance with the occult sciences and customs of the Hindus, for in them rests one of the keys which unlock the popular mind and disclose its controlling influences. These are so despotic, varied, and intricate, so entwined with every act and relation of life, that some adequate knowledge of and insight into them are most needful alike for legislators and administrators, teachers and missionaries, who too often work in the dark without suspecting the hidden cause of much of their difficulties and want of success.[10]

[10] I have reason to think that the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, a scholar of profound learning, and also of great caution and reserve, had gone deeper into these subjects than perhaps any other European Orientalist.

THE EIGHTEEN SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM.

BY REV. S. BEAL, B.A.

One of the most interesting but intricate questions that can occupy the attention of the Buddhist student is the history of the eighteen sects into which the Buddhist Church was at an early date separated. A clear account of the causes that led to the schisms and the several tenets held by the separatists was, in the opinion of the late Mr. Spence Hardy, one of the great *desiderata* in the history of this religion. The Chinese and Tibetan books contain much valuable information on these points. Among other works in the northern copy of the *Tripiṭaka*, common in the monasteries of China and Japan, is one which contains three translations from Sanskrit of the treatise, written by Vasumitra, on the eighteen schools. This Vasumitra[1] was one of the Buddhist patriarchs who lived probably about the time of Kanishka, that is, as far as we know at present with any certainty, about 42 B. C.[2] His aim was evidently to reconcile the differences that existed in traditions, customs, and acknowledged scriptures; and it was probably under his auspices, or by his influence, that the Great Council was held that rearranged and revised the Buddhist Canon as it is known in the North. There are three translations of this treatise into Chinese; the first is anonymous, and is most obscure. The second is by Chin-ti, of the Tsin dynasty. The third is by Hiwen Thsang, of the Tang dynasty. It would be rash to attempt a translation of these tracts into English without aid or direction—nor would the present writer have undertaken such a task—but, unfortunately, there is a parallel translation from the Tibetan in Vassilief's *History of Buddhism* (Second Supplement, p. 222). This translation by the learned writer named above was prepared after careful comparison of the Tibetan text with the three Chinese versions. The result is no doubt an accurate, though most obscure, reproduction of the work by Vasumitra. It may perhaps be useful to attempt an independent version of the three Chinese translations. Not that we can hope to render all plain, but with the purpose of inducing scholars in China to look into this matter, and endeavour to throw some light on the subject by comparing these translations and working independently in the production of others. The matter may appear of little consequence to some, and needless labour to others, but in the presence of facts, which are daily coming to our knowledge, it becomes almost the duty of those who are interested in the religious development of the Eastern mind, not only in India, but in other countries more or less affected by Indian speculations, to search out the causes and the character of that development, and so connect it with the religious movements which occurred elsewhere about the same time. We proceed to give part of the translation by the anonymous Chinese writer, and which stands first in the Buddhist Canon.[3]

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 363.

[2] By some he is placed rather later.—ED. *I. A.*

[3] This translation is denoted as *C* by Vassilief.

An Account of the Eighteen Principal Schools of Buddhism, from the original Treatise of Vasumitra, translated into Chinese by three separate authors.

1. A treatise on the eighteen schools (translator's name unknown).

In the 15th section of the latter volume of the work known as the Queries of Manjuśrî (*Manjuśriparipṛichchhâ*), the subject being "The division into schools." [It is thus written:]

At this time Manjuśrî questioned Buddha thus: "World-honoured! Explain, I pray you, what will be the different schools into which your followers will be separated in the future after your *Nirvâṇa*, and from what original division these schools will be formed?"

Buddha answered Manjuśrî thus: "There will be twelve schools among my followers hereafter, in which (the separate interpretation of) my law will be preserved in the world. These schools will be the repositories of the diversified fruits of my Scriptures (*piṭakas*), without priority or inferiority—just as the taste of sea-water is everywhere the same—or as the twelve sons of one man all honest and true, so will be the exposition of my doctrine advocated by these schools. Manjuśrî! the two original germs of these separate schools will be found in the rendering of my doctrine by the Mahâyâna and the Prajñâpâramitâ systems. The Śrâvakas, Pratyeka Buddhas, and different Buddhas (*i.e.*, the doctrine which teaches these three degrees of religious advancement) will come from the Prajñâpâramitâ. Manjuśrî! as earth, water, fire, wind and space compose the material and visible universe, so the Mahâyâna and the Prajñâpâramitâ compose the material of the system in which these different degrees of Śrâvakas, Pratyeka-Buddhas, and Buddhas are entertained."

Manjuśrí asked Buddha this question: "World-honoured! and by what names will these schools be known?"

Buddha replied: "The two schools first formed will be 'the Mahâsâṁghikas[4] and the Pi-li'[5] (Sthaviras). Within a hundred years after my *Nirvâṇa* a school will be formed called 'Yeh-wu-in'[6] [Ekabhyohârikhâs (Burnouf, tom. I, p. 357), or Ekavyavahárikâs (according to Vassilief's *Buddhism*, p. 227, n.)]. Again, within a hundred years from the formation of this school, another will be formed called 'Ko-kiu-li'[7] [Kukkulikâs]. Within a hundred years from this another school will arise called 'To-man'[8] (Bâhuśrutiyas). Within a hundred years from this there will be another school formed, called 'Che-tai-ho'[9] [Chaitiyavâdâs]. Within another hundred years a school will arise called 'Eastern Mountain'[10] [Pûrvaśailâs]. Within a hundred years another school will arise from this called 'Northern Mountain'[11] [Uttaraśailâs]. These seven schools come from the Mahâsâṁghikâs, and including the original Saṁgha, or congregation, they are classified as eight schools.

"From the Sthaviras were formed eleven schools. Within a hundred years from the origin of the above school, there arose another, called 'Yeh-tsai-wu-in'[12] (Sarvàstivâdas). Within a hundred years from this school proceeded another, called 'Yun-shan'[13] (Haimavatâs). Within a hundred years from this school another will arise, called 'Vâtsiputriyas'[14] (sons of the calf). Within a hundred years after this another school called 'Dharmottarîyas.'[15] Within a hundred years from this another called 'Bhadrâyanîyas.'[16] Within a hundred years from this school will come another called 'Yih-tsai-sho-kwei'[17] (Sammatîyas). Within a hundred years another school will arise from this, called 'Jing-shan'[18] (Jungle-hill, *i.e.*, Shâṇṇagarika). Within a hundred years after this arose another school called 'Tai-puh-ho-ki'[19]

[4] This word means the great congregation, composed of young and old alike, the same as the school of "various and miscellaneous Moral Rules.."—[Ch. Ed.]

[5] This word means the congregation of old men only, it is the same as that which acknowledges the authority of the (*original*) *Vinaya* only.

[6] So called because they agreed in the main with the Mahâsanghikas.—[Ch. Ed.]

[7] From the name of the master who formed it.—[Ch. Ed.]

[8] So called from the "*famous* wisdom" of its founder.—[Ch. Ed.]

[9] So called from the locality in which the founder lived.

[10] So called from the locality in which the founder lived.

[11] Likewise from the abode of the founder.

[12] So called because the founder of the school held the positive existence of all things in the three worlds.—[Ch. Ed.]

[13] So called from the abode of the founder.

[14] From the name of the founder.

[15] From the name of the founder.

[16] From the name of the founder.

[17] So called from the great esteem in which the master was held among men.

[18] So called from the character of the place where the founder lived. The name in Sanskrit however means "of six towns," and so in Tibetan; see Vassilief, p. 231.—J. B.

[19] So called because the founder of this school was, when a child, cast into a well by his mother, and when his father sent to recover his body he was found uninjured.

(Mahîśâsakas). Within a hundred years from this arose the school called 'Fau'[20] (Dharmaguptâs). Within a hundred years another school arose called 'Ka-hi-pi'[21] (Kâśyapîyas). Within a hundred years from this another school arose named 'Sieon-to-lo-ku'[22] (Samkantikâs or Sautrântikâs). The above are the eleven schools derived from the Sthaviras, and including their mother-school, comprise twelve distinct branches."

Buddha spoke the following *gâthas*:—

"The school of the Mahâsâṁghikas
Will divide into seven parts,
The Sthavirâs into eleven,
This is what we term the twelve schools,[23]
The eighteen including the two original,
All these will arise from the Mahâyâna,
Which admits of neither affirmation or contradiction.
Now I say that in future time will appear,
The miscellaneous writings of the Master Kumârajiva
After the cessation (*nirvâṇa*) of the true Law,
Just one hundred years;
And by these various productions
The true Law will be gradually destroyed,
Everyone forming his own views,
Founding their opinions on heterodox sects,
Despising that which ought to be honoured.
A rebellious and discontented tone will arise
But now the *Sûtras* alone are the ground
On which to build the doctrine of Buddha,
Relying on the former truths.
Seeking a foundation on this solid basis,
Is like in the multitude of sand particles
Seeking for the true gold.
Thus have I heard former sages,
Who appear like suns among men."

"One hundred and sixteen years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha (*in a*) city called 'I-ta-fuh,' (*I* for *Pa*, therefore equivalent to Pa-ta-fuh, *i.e.*, Pâtaliputra) there shall be a king called 'A-yu' (Aśoka) who shall gather (as in a square) the whole of Jambudwipa as his empire. In his time the division of the great congregation into schools shall begin. There shall arise a Bhikshu called 'Nong' (able), and another called 'Yin-un' (Nidâna), and another called 'To-man' (Bâhuśrutiya ?)—these shall assert the necessity of teaching five propositions as a basis for religious instruction. The five points are these:—

Profit and increase from others.
Ignorance.
Doubt.
Words according to the religious formula.
To obtain reason.

"It was from a consideration of these questions that the first two schools arose, to wit, the Mahâsâṁghikâs and the Sthavîras.[24]

"In the middle of the century (*following*) the Mahâsâṁghikâs other schools arose as follows:—(1) 'Yih-shwo' [Ekavyavahârikâs], (2) 'Chu-shai-kan-shwo' [Lokottaravâdins], (3) 'Kiu-ku' [Gokulikas or Kukkutikas]. Again, in the middle of a century or so after the Mahâsâṁghikas will originate other schools, called 'Shi-chi-lun.'[25]

"Again, in the middle of the two hundred years, the heretical followers of the Mahâdêva, taking on themselves the vows of religious ascetics, fixed their abode in Mount Chaitiya. Again, from the Mahâsâṁghikas arose three other schools, viz. Che-tika, 'Huh-pi-lo' (Apara), and Uttaraśaila. Thus from the Mahâsâṁghika arose nine schools, viz. (1) Mahâsâṁghikas, (2) Ekavyavahârika, (3) Lokottaravâdin, (4) Gokulika, (5) Bâhuśrutîya, (6) Shi-chi, (7) Yan-ka, (8) Ho-lo, (9) Uttaraśaila.

"In the middle of the three hundred years from the Sthavira school, arose from controversies connected with the Canon of the *Abhidharma*, different schools, as follows: (1) Sarvâstivâdin, also called Hetuvâda, (2) Haimavatas. In the middle of the three hundred years again there arose another school called Vâtsiputrîyâs, from this school sprang another, called Dharmagupta (or Dharmottarîyas), another called Bhadrâyanîyas, and again, another called Mi-li (where *li* is evidently a mistake for *ti*), otherwise named Sanmi-ti (Sammatîyas), another school called the school of the six cities (Shannagarikas). Again, in the three hundreth year, the Sarvâstivâdins produced another school, viz., Mahîśâsakas, from which sprang the Dharmaguptas (so called from the Master of the school, whose name

[20] The founder's name.
[21] The founder's name.
[22] The founder rested his deductions on the Sûtras.
[23] That is the twelve schools that sprang from the Mahâsthavirâs.
[24] In Chinese, "high-seat."
[25] I cannot explain this title at present.—S. B.

was In-chi-lin).[26] Again, in this three hundredth year, another school sprang from the Sarvâstivâdins, called Yan-li-sha (Varsha), likewise named K â ś y a p î y a s. In the four hundredth year from the Sarvâstavâdins sprang another school called Seng-kai-lin-to (Saṁkrânti), so called from the name of its founder Yeou-to-lo (Uttara). this school was also known as S a u t r â n t i k a.

"Thus, from the school of the M a h â s t h a v i r a s branched off twelve schools, viz. (1) M a h â s t h a v i r a s, (2) H a i m a v a t a s, (3) S a r v â s t i v â d i n s, (4) V â t s i p u t r î y â s, (5) D h a r m o t t a r î y a s, (6) B h a d r â y a n î y a s, (7) S a m m a t î y a s, (8) The school of six Cities, (9) M a h î ś â s i k a s, (10) D h a r m a g u p t a s, (11) K â ś y a p î y a s; (12) S a u t r â n t i k a s."

We will now proceed to speak of the distinguishing tents of these various schools, both to their radical differences and also those held[27] in common.

The following schools, Mahasâṁghikas, Ekavyavâhârikas, Lokottaras, Kukkutikas, hold the views we are about to mention. They all say that the traditions respecting the Buddhas having been born into the world (*as men*) are incorrect—that the law is T a t h â g a t a, and the only one in the world. They all say that the (*system of religion known as*) 'turning the Wheel of the Law' is at an end. They say that "things exist," "relationships exist," "truth exists." They say that Tathâgata is infinitely extended, immeasurably glorious, eternal in duration, that to his power of recollection (*nim, smriti*), his power of faith (*srâddhabala*), his experience of joy, and his life, there is no end; he sleeps not, he speaks, asks, reflects not; they say that his existence is ever one and uniform (*one heart*), that all things born may obtain deliverance by having his instruction, that in his essential existence (one heart, *ekachitta*) Tathâgata comprehends all subjects (*laws*) in a moment by his own wisdom.

FOLKLORE IN THE PANJAB.

NOTES COLLECTED BY MRS. F. A. STEEL. WITH ANNOTATIONS BY LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

(*Continued from p. 282.*)

No. 5.—FOLK-TALE.

Baingan Bâdshâhzâdî.—Princess Aubergine.[1]

Once upon a time there lived a poor Brahman and his wife, so poor that they very often did not know where to turn for a meal.

One day in the jangal he saw a Baingan plant. He dug it up, planted it by his cottage door, and watered it. It grew wonderfully, and by and bye bore one large baingan fruit.

At last a day came when there was absolutely nothing in the house to eat. So the Brahman said—Wife, pick the baingan, and get it ready for dinner. Then the Brâhmaṇî took a knife and cut the baingan fruit off: as she did so she thought she heard a sort of moan come from the tree. However she sat down, and began to peel the baingan, when she heard a tiny voice, say quite distinctly "Take care please! oh do take care! peel more gently, or the knife will run into me." The Brâhmaṇî was terribly perplexed, but she peeled as gently as she could, and when she got through the rind, lo! out stepped the most beautiful little princess you ever saw.

The poor couple had no children, so they were delighted, and cherished her as their own, giving her the name of Princess Aubergine.

Now a king lived close by who had a beautiful wife and seven young sons. By chance a slave girl from the palace went into the Brahman's hut to ask for fire, and saw the beautiful Aubergine. So she went home, and said to her mistress, "Oh, in a hovel yonder, lives a princess so beautiful that if my lord the king clapped eyes on her for a moment, you would soon be forgotten." This put the queen, who was a sorceress, into a fearful rage, and she set about in her mind, to lay a trap for the beautiful Princess Aubergine. If she could only get her into the palace, she felt sure she could manage to destroy her. So she sent a message to say she had heard much of Princess Aubergine's beauty, and would like to see it for herself.

Now the princess was vain of her beauty, so

[26] *Vide* Vassilief, p. 232 n. 5.

[27] So I would translate "Chung-kan."

[1] بينگن بادشاهزادى *Baingan Bâdshâhzâdî*—Princess Aubergine. *Baingan*, also *baigan* and *bêgun*, and Bhaṇṭâ is the egg-plant, in French *aubergine*: scientific name—*Solanum melongena*. It is usually called *Brinjâl* by Europeans in India. This story abounds in various forms in the Panjâb; the version here given was taken from an old woman at Kasûr near Lâhôr, of Pûrbiâ origin.—R. C. T.

she, nothing loth, went to the palace. The queen pretended to be wonder-struck, and said, "Now you must never leave me. You are only fit to live in a palace. You are my sister henceforth." So the Princess Aubergine, nothing loth, stayed, and they exchanged veils and became sisters.[2]

But the queen saw at a glance that Princess Aubergine was no human being[3] but a fairy. Therefore she laid strong spells upon her while she slept, and asked "Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" Then the Princess, spell-bound, answered: "In the life of your eldest son. Kill him and I too will die." So the wicked queen went next day to where her young son was sleeping, and killed him with her own hand. Then she sent the slave girl to Princess Aubergine's apartments to see if she too were dead, but the girl returned, saying "She is alive and well, reading her *Kalâm-ul-lah*."[4]

Then the wicked queen was greatly incensed, and laid stronger spells on the princess, asking her again—"Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" And she answered, "In the life of your second son. Kill him, and I too shall die." So the queen next day killed her second son with her own hands, and sent the slave girl to see if Princess Aubergine was also dead. But the slave girl returned, saying "She is alive and well, reading her *Kalâm-ul-lah*." Then the queen was enraged and threw stronger spells on the poor princess, and this time when the queen asked, "Now tell me true, in what thing does your life lie?" she answered "In the life of your third son," and so it happened every day, till all the queen's seven young sons were killed.

Then the queen summoned up all her art, and laid such strong spells on the Princess Aubergine that she could no longer resist them, but when the queen asked, "Now tell me true in what thing does your life lie?" she sobbed and moaned—"In a river far from here, lives a fish red and green. Inside the fish you'll find a bumble bee, inside the bumble bee there is a tiny box, and in that box is the 'nine lâkh' necklace.[5] Put it on and I shall die."

So when the king returned from hunting, and came to visit the queen, she began to sob and cry.

"What is the matter, my queen?" asked he.

"Oh my life is wasted. I had better die," sobbed she.

"Not so," answered he, "tell me what it is you want."

Then she told him her life was bitter to her unless she possessed the "nine-lâkh necklace."

"But where is it to be found," said he.

So she said: "In a river far from here lives a fish. In the fish is a bumble bee, in the bee a box, and inside the box the nine lâkh necklace."

Now the king was kind to his wife, and grieved sincerely for the loss of his seven young sons, who, the queen said, had died suddenly of an infectious disease, and being anxious to comfort her, he ordered all the fishermen in the kingdom to fish for the queen's red fish. And when it was caught he had it opened, and sure enough inside was the bumble bee, and inside the bee was the box, and inside the box the nine-lâkh necklace. So the queen put it on and was happy.

Now when Princess Aubergine had told her secret, she knew her life was gone, so she returned sadly to the Brahman's hut. She told the kind old people she would soon die, and begged them not to burn or bury her body. "This is what you must do," she said, "dress me in my finest clothes, scatter flowers on my bed, and carry me to the wildest jangal. Place the bed on the ground, and build a mud wall round it so high that no one can see over. And leave me there."

So when she died (which she did at the very moment the wicked queen put on the nine-lâkh necklace) the old Brahmans did what Princess Aubergine had told them. Then the queen sent the slave girl to the Brahman's house to see if Aubergine were really dead and buried. She returned saying "she is *dead*, but not burnt or buried; they have carried her out to the jangal, and built a mud wall round her bed

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[2] Amongst the women of the Panjâb a formal exchange of veils and drinking milk together from one cup is the common way of swearing friendship.—F. A. S.

[3] آدمزاد *Âdamzâd*, descended from Adam (آدم) human.—R. C. T.

[4] کلام الله *kalâm-ul-lah*, that is God's word, the قران *Qurân*. This is another proof of the mixture of Hinduism and Muhammadanism in the Panjâb among the lower classes before noticed, for here we have a girl brought up in a Brahman's house reading the *Qurân*!—R. C. T.

[5] نولکھاہار *Nau-lakhâ hâr*, the nine lâkh necklace, this fabulous necklace of nine lâkhs of rupees appears to have no particular story attached to it, and is used in a vague way as we would use the "philosopher's stone." The necklace is well known in the Panjâb and occurs in many of the folk tales.—R. C. T.

and there she lies beautiful as the moon." The queen was not satisfied, but she could do no more.

Now the king grieved for his fine young sons, and every day to try and forget his grief he went out hunting. Then said the queen, "Oh my lord, hunt if it pleases you to the east, and to the west, and to the south, but towards the north do not hunt or evil may befall you." This she said for fear he should find the dead Princess Aubergine who lay towards the north. Now one day the king hunted to the east and the west and the south, but no game was to be found, so, without thinking of what the queen had said, he wandered alone to the northwards. Soon he saw a curious high enclosure with no door, and he wondered what it was; he climbed over, and lo! there on a bed decked with flowers lay the Princess Aubergine beautiful as the moon, or lovelier than any living woman. He could not believe she was dead, he became so enamoured of her beauty that he stayed beside her all day, praying and beseeching her to open her eyes. At night he returned to the palace, but with the dawning he took his bow, saying he was going out hunting alone, and ran to Aubergine. So he passed day after day kneeling by her bed, weeping and beseeching her to rise. Now after nine months had gone by, he one day found the most beautiful little boy imaginable lying by the side of the dead Aubergine. He was astonished, but taking the infant in his arms, he cared for it all day, and at night gave it back to its dead mother. After some time it began to talk, and one day the king said to it "Is your mother always dead?" Then the child answered "No! at night she is alive, and cares for me as you do in the day." Then the king bid the child ask his mother what made her die. The next day the boy answered "It is the nine-lâkh necklace which the queen wears. At night she takes it off, and hangs it up beside her. Then my mother becomes alive again, but dies when the queen puts on the necklace next morning." At this the king was puzzled. and said, "Ask your mother to-night whose son you are."

Next day the boy answered "Mother bids me say I am your son, sent to console you for the loss of the seven fair sons the queen foully murdered for the sake of Princess Aubergine." Then the king was very wroth, and said to the boy, "Ask your mother to-night how I am to recover the necklace from the wicked queen, and punish her."

Next day the boy said—"Mother says I am the person to take the necklace from the queen, only do you carry me to the palace to-night." So the king carried his little son back to the palace, and told all the courtiers that the child was his heir. Then the queen became mad with jealousy, especially when she thought of her own seven dead sons, and she determined to poison the child. So she prepared some beautiful poisoned sweetmeats, and caressed the boy, saying, "Here my son, eat these." But the child said "No, I will not eat them unless you let me play with that beautiful necklace you wear round your neck."

The queen was determined to poison the child, and seeing no other way of inducing him to eat the sweetmeats, she gave him the necklace; no sooner had he got it than he fled away so fast that no one could catch him. He ran to where the Princess Aubergine lay dead, and threw it round her neck; she immediately became alive again, lovelier than ever. Then the king came and asked her to go to the palace as his wife, but she said—"I will never come until the wicked queen is dead, she would only murder me and my son. This is what you must do. Dig a deep ditch on the threshold of the door, fill it with scorpions and snakes, fling the wicked queen into it, and bury her alive. Then I will walk over her grave and be your wife."

So the king had the ditch dug and filled with scorpions and snakes. Then he went to his wife, and said, "Come and see something wonderful;" but she suspecting a trick would not come. Then they seized and bound her and flung her into the ditch amongst the scorpions and snakes, and covered her over with earth. Then Princess Aubergine and her son walked over the grave, and lived happily ever after.

WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF AMBERA.

At p. 96 of Vol. VIII is given a transcription and translation of a grant of A m b e r a. By an oversight the facsimiles of the plates were not lithographed in time for that volume. They are now given in the accompanying plate for purposes of palæographic comparison.—ED.

WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF AMBERA.

IIb.

III.

THE KÂŚIKÂ.[1]

BY PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER, OXFORD.

The publication of this ancient commentary[2] on Pâṇini's grammar has long formed a *desideratum* of Sanskrit scholarship, and it reflected great credit on the editors and publishers of the *Paṇḍit* that they resolved on bringing out this text in the numbers of their journal. We are surprised that their journal, which contained so many valuable articles and *editiones principes* of Sanskrit texts, should have met with so little support in India and Europe that it had to be discontinued. It may be said that the Sanskrit texts were not always edited according to the strictest rules of European criticism, and that some of them hardly deserved to be drawn from the shelves of native libraries. Nevertheless, the *Paṇḍit* was a truly useful journal, welcome to all Sanskrit scholars, and its discontinuance is deeply regretted by those who have the progress of Sanskrit scholarship at heart.

The text of the *Kâśikâ* was one of the last works published in the *Paṇḍit*, and it has since been issued by itself in two volumes. There are few grammatical works which have been edited with greater care than has been bestowed on the *Kâśikâ* by Paṇḍit Bâlaśâstrî; and he deserves the thanks of all scholars in India and Europe who look on a right understanding of Pâṇini as the only safe foundation of Sanskrit scholarship. Perhaps the best return we can make to him is a slight contribution towards fixing the date of this important grammar, the authors of which have been referred by different writers to dates varying from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries A.D.

Prof. Boehtlingk, in the Introduction to his edition of Pâṇini's *Grammar* (p. liv.), referred the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti* to about the eighth century, on the supposition that Vâmana, the author of the *Kâśikâ*, could be proved to be the same as the Vâmana who is mentioned in the Chronicle of Kaśmîra (iv. 496). The evidence on which that careful scholar relied was as follows:—Kahlaṇa Paṇḍit, the author of the *Râjataranginî*, is evidently anxious to do full justice to Jayâpîḍa, who, after the battle of Pushkaletra, recovered the throne of his father, and became a patron of literature. He mentions, therefore, in full detail his exertions for the restoration of grammatical studies in Kaśmîra, and particularly the interest he took in a new edition, as we should call it, of Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*. He then passes on to give the names of other learned men living at his Court, such as Kashîra (author of *Dhâtutaranginî* according to Bühler), Damodaragupta, Manoratha, Śankhadatta, Châtaka, Saudhimat, and Vâmana. This Vâmana was supposed to be the author of the *Kâśikâ*. But if this Vâmana had been the author of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*—that is to say, of a complete commentary on Pâṇini's *Grammar*—would not Kahlaṇa have mentioned him as connected with the revival of grammatical learning in Kaśmîra, instead of putting his name casually at the end of a string of other names?

It ought to be stated that Prof. Boehtlingk has himself surrendered this conjecture. There is no better foundation for another conjecture, first started by Wilson (*Asiat. Res.* vol. XV, p. 55), that the Vâmana here mentioned at the Court of Jayâpîḍa was the author of a set of poetical *Sûtras* and of a *Vṛitti* or gloss upon them. The untenability of that view has been fully shown by Dr. Cappeller in the Introduction to his edition of Vâmana's *Kâvyâlankâra-vṛitti* (Jena, 1875). Vâmana, the author both of the text and of the gloss of this work, quotes Śûdraka, the author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ*; Kâlidâsa, the author of the *Śakuntalâ, Urvaśî, Mâlavikâ, Meghadûta, Kumârasambhava*, and *Raghuvaṁśa*; Amaru, Bhavabhûti, Mâgha, the *Hariprabodha*, the *Nâmamâlâ*, *Kâmandakanîti*, *Viśâkhila*, and Kavirâja. Now if this Kavirâja is intended for the author of the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya*, this would be sufficient to place Vâmana at least after 1000 A.D., while Jayâpîḍa, his supposed patron, died in 776 A.D.

After having assigned to Vâmana, the author of the *Kâvyâlankâra*, his date in the twelfth century, Dr. Cappeller proceeds to identify this Vâmana with Vâmana, the author of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*. His arguments, however, are hardly convincing; he relies chiefly on a statement of Bâlaśâstrin, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Kâśikâ*, where that scholar speaks of a third Vâmana, a poet, who wrote the *Lokottaralalita*, in Mahârâshṭra, and places him in Śaka 1595, *i.e.*, 1673 A.D., adding that the grammarian Vâmana lived 500 years earlier, *i.e.*, 1173 A.D. If Prof. Weber states that Bâlaśâstrin assigns the grammarian Vâmana to the thirteenth century (*Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* p. 226) this must refer to some other paper which has escaped my notice. Bâlaśâstrin, however, gives no evidence in support of his statement, nor does he, so far as I am aware, ever hint at Vâmana, the grammarian, being the same as Vâmana, the rhetorician.

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[1] This paper appeared in *The Academy* of Sept. 25, and Oct. 2, 1880, and is reproduced here as revised by the Author.—ED.

[2] *Kâśikâ, a Commentary on Pâṇini's Grammatical Aphorisms*, by Paṇḍit Vâmana and Jayâditya. Edited by Paṇḍit Bâlaśâstrî, Professor of Hindu Law in the Sanskrit College, Benares. (Benares, 1876, 1878.)

Prof. Goldstücker, in a similar manner—that is, without producing sufficient evidence—referred Vâmana, the grammarian, to the same recent period as the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî*, Nâgeśa, Purushottama, and other grammarians (Goldstücker, *Pâṇini*, p. 89)—therefore to a period later than the thirteenth century.

Before we try to fix the date of Vâmana, the author of the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*, it will be necessary to determine, first, whether he was the only author of that book. Colebrooke, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. ix) spoke of the *Kâśikâ* as the work of Jayâditya, or Vâmana Jayâditya. Bâlaśâstrin, the editor of the *Kâśikâ*, thought likewise at first that Vâmana and Jayâditya, who are mentioned as the authors, were one and the same person (*Paṇḍit*, June 1878, p. 20, l. 9). He found, however, afterwards that Bhaṭṭojidîkshita, the author of the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî*, clearly distinguishes between the opinions of Jayâditya and Vâmana (Sûtra v. 4, 42; ed. Tarkavâchaspati, vol. I, p. 727); and he might have learnt the same from Prof. Aufrecht's excellent edition of the *Uṇâdi Sûtras* (Pref. p. xv; Sûtra i. 52). Bâlaśâstrin afterwards assigned the first, second, fifth, and sixth books to Jayâditya, the rest to Vâmana, while in an ancient MS. of the *Kâśikâ*, discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kaśmir (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S.*, 1877, p. 72), the first four *adhyâyas* are ascribed to Jayâditya, the last four to Vâmana. (See also Kielhorn, *Kâtyâyana and Patanjali*, p. 12, note.) The evidence is therefore decidedly in favour of Vâmana and Jayâditya being two different persons and joint authors of the *Kâśikâ*. The next question is, can we determine their date, or at least the date of one of them?

In the Preface to the sixth volume of my edition of the *Rig-Veda* (p. xxix.), I endeavoured to show that the statement made by Bhaṭṭojidîkshita in the *Śabdakaustubha*, and by the author of the *Manoramâ*, viz., that Vâmana, whose fame had been eclipsed by Vopadeva, had been brought forward again by Mâdhava, was so far confirmed by the commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, that Vopadeva is nowhere quoted by Mâdhava, while Vâmana is quoted at least once in the commentary on the *Rig-Veda*, and more frequently in Sâyaṇa's *Dhâtuvṛitti*. Bâlaśâstrin concluded rightly from that verse that Vâmana must be older than Mâdhava, 1350 A.D., and older than Vopadeva, twelfth century. I added that Sâyaṇa quotes both Haradatta, the author of the *Padamanjarî*, an exposition of the *Kâśikâ*, and Nyâsakara, *i.e.*, Jinendra, the author of the *Nyâsa* or *Kâśikâ-vṛitti-pañjikâ*. This last book is likewise quoted by the author of a commentary called the *Kâvyakâmadhenu*, probably the work of Vopadeva, so that the interval between the authors of the *Kâśikâ* and those who could quote from commentaries on their works must be extended accordingly.

This was the state of uncertainty in which the date of the *Kâśikâ* had to be left. "It must be earlier than the twelfth century" (Burnell, *Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians*, p. 92); "it is not a modern work" (Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 73). Such were the last utterances of two of the most competent judges.

One other argument in favour of the comparatively early date of Vâmana and Jayâditya should not be passed over. It was produced by Bâlaśâstrin, who showed that both were evidently Jainas, or, what is the same with him, Bauddhas. Like the *Amarakosha*, the *Kâśikâ* begins without any invocation or exposition of the character of the book, a custom always observed by orthodox writers. Secondly, the authors of the *Kâśikâ* actually alter the text of Pâṇini, which no orthodox Brâhman would venture to do. In *Sûtra* iv. 2, 43, they insert *sahâya*, writing *grâmajanabandhusahâyebhyas tal* instead of Pâṇini's *grâmajanabandhubhyas tal*. Thirdly, they quote instances referring to Buddhist literature, which, again, no respectable writer would do. When giving an instance of the use of the verb *nî*, in the *Âtmanepada*, meaning "to be honoured," they say, "Chârva is honoured in the Lokâyata school." This Chârva (Chârvâka?) is said to be a name of Buddha, and means here a Buddhist teacher, who is honoured in the Lokâyata school. An orthodox writer would have quoted authorities from orthodox, never from nihilistic, schools. And Bâlaśâstrin adds that there were other distinguished grammarians too at that time who were Jainas—for instance, the author of the *Nyâsa*, Jinendrabuddhi—but that their works were afterwards eclipsed by those of orthodox grammarians, such as Bhaṭṭojidîkshita, Haridîkshita, Nâgeśabhaṭṭa, &c.

After thus having established two points—viz., that Vâmana and Jayâditya were joint authors of the *Kâśikâ*, and that they were Jainas or Bauddhas, we return to the question as to their probable age. Much light on Indian chronology has been received, as is well known, from Chinese writers, whether from translators of Sanskrit texts, or from travellers, such as Fa-Hian, Sung-yun, Hiwen-Thsang, and others. Meeting in Mr. Beal's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (p. 94) with the title of a work called *Nan-hae-ki-kwei-chouen*, being "Records concerning Visits and Returns to the Southern Seas," I consulted Mr. Kasawara on the contents of the work. He informed me that it was written by I-tsing, one of the best-known Chinese pilgrims, who left Guanchau, in China, in the eleventh lunar month

of the year 671 A.D., arrived at Tâmralipti, in India, after a long voyage, in the second month of 673, and started from that place for Nâlanda in the fifth month of the same year. After the lapse of some years, he returned to Tâmralipti, and sailed to Si-ri-fa-sai, in the Southern Sea countries.

It seems that he wrote his book, "The Accounts of Buddhist Practices sent, being entrusted to one who returns to China, from the Southern Sea Countries," in Si-ri-fa-sai, for he generally compares the practices of India with those of the Southern Sea countries. His work consists of two volumes, containing four books and forty chapters. Though he does not mention how long he was in India, yet, as he refers to the usurper Queen, Tsak-tin-mo-hau, whose date is 690, we see that he must then have been absent from China twenty years, and have spent eighteen years in India. We may gather, in fact, from remarks occurring in his work that he was born about 635, that he left China in 671, arrived at Tâmralipti in 673, and was still absent in 690, at the time of the usurpation of Queen Tsak-tin-mo-hau. That usurpation lasted till 705, when the Tang dynasty was restored. It is stated elsewhere that I-tsing died in 713, 79 years old, and that he had returned to China in 695.

In the thirty-fourth chapter of his work I-tsing treats of learning in the West, and chiefly of grammatical science, the *Śabdavidyâ*, one of the five *vidyâs* or sciences. He gives the name *Vyâkaraṇa*, grammar, and then proceeds to speak of five works, generally called grammar in India.

I. The first is called elementary *siddhânta*, and begins with *siddhirastu*. It was originally taught by Mahêśvara, and is learnt by heart by children when they are six years old. They learn it in six months.

Most likely this refers to the *Śiva Sûtras*, granted by the favour of Mahêśvara. But, from the description given, this *siddhânta* must have contained much more than the fourteen *Śiva Sûtras*. "There are forty-nine letters," I-tsing writes, "the compounds of which are divided into eighteen sections, and of which altogether more than 10,000 words are formed. These words are arranged in 300 ślokas, of thirty-two syllables each."

II. The second grammatical work is called *Sûtra*, the foundation of all grammatical science. It is the work of Pâṇini, and contains 1,000 ślokas. He was inspired by Mahêśvara, and is said to have been endowed with three eyes. Children begin to learn it when they are eight years old, and learn it in eight months.

III. *Dhâtu*. This consists of 1,000 ślokas, and treats of grammatical roots. Evidently a *Dhâtupâṭha*.

IV. Three so-called *Khilas*:—(1) *Ashṭadhâtu*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on declension and conjugation); (2) *Man-cha*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on Kṛit suffixes?); (3) *Uṇâdi*, consisting of 1,000 ślokas (on Uṇâdi suffixes).

Boys of ten years learn these parts of grammar, and finish them after three years.

Without dwelling on some difficult questions connected with these *Khilas*—which are rightly rendered by "uncultivated pieces of land"—we proceed at once to No. V., which is called *Vṛitti Sûtra*, a commentary on the foregoing *Sûtra*. We are told that "it is the best among the many commentaries. It contains 18,000 ślokas, citing the words of the *Sûtra*, and explaining intricate matters very clearly. It exposes the laws of the universe and the precepts of Heaven and man. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand it completely in five years. This commentary is the work of the learned Jayâditya, who was endowed with great ability. His literary talent was so excellent that he understood matters of literature hearing them once, and did not require to be told twice. He revered the three venerable ones, and performed all religious duties. Since his death it is nearly thirty years."

If we take the lowest date for I-tsing's work, viz., 690 A.D. (because he mentions the usurpation which took place in that year), he would have been four years, as he says, in Si-ri-fa-sai, and thirteen in India, when he wrote the thirty-fourth chapter of his work; and there is no reason why he should not have known, and, if he cared, have been able to ascertain the exact date, of the death of the author of one of the most famous grammars of that time, moreover a grammar which he recommends all true students, coming from China to India, to learn by heart. On the whole, his description of that grammar agrees well with the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*, and it is almost impossible to imagine that he should have fixed by accident or fraud on the real name of one of the authors of that grammar, Jayâditya. Unless the whole of I-tsing's work be shown to be a spurious compilation, we are justified in assuming that he knew a commentary on Pâṇini's *Sûtras* by Jayâditya, and that he believed Jayâditya to have died not later than 660 A.D.

I do not wish to disguise some difficulties connected with I-tsing's accounts of grammatical literature in India. After having mentioned the five principal works on grammar, he mentions what he calls a commentary on the *Vṛitti Sûtra*, in 24,000 ślokas. The title seems to be *Juni* or *Chuni*, and the author's name Patañjali. This,

therefore, could only be Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*, which may, in a certain sense, be called a commentary on the *Kâśikâ Vṛitti*, because it is a fuller commentary on the same text. But why should it be called *Juni?* Is this possbily a name connected with Goṇikâ, the mother of Patañjali, who calls himself Goṇikâ-putra (Goldstücker, *Pâṇini*, p. 235), or with Gonarda, his supposed birth-place, from which he takes the name of Gonardîya? (Goldstücker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 235, 236).

Equally difficult is the next statement, viz., that he knew a commentary on the *Juni* by Bhartṛihari, in 25,000 ślokas. He calls it Bhartṛihari-discourse.[3] Is this meant for Bhartṛihari's *Kârikas?* It cannot be meant for the *Vâkyapadîya*, because that is described afterwards. I-tsing speaks of Bhartṛihari as a Buddhist. After stating that this work of his in 25,000 ślokas treats of the principles of human affairs and of grammar, and also gives a history of the rise and decline of many families, he adds that Bhartṛihari "was familiarly acquainted with the principles of the doctrine of 'only mind,' and a student of logic. His name and virtues were very famous throughout the five divisions of India and every neighbouring country. He believed deeply in the Three Ratnas, and meditated on the Two Śûnyas. He was a follower of the excellent religion, and belonged to the priestly order. But overcome by worldly desires, he became seven times a priest, and seven times returned to the laity. He was a contemporary of Dharmapâla, and forty years had elapsed since his death."

The next work mentioned is "the Vâkya-discourse, in seven hundred ślokas and seven thousand words, treating of observation and inference, according to the scriptures." As it is likewise a grammatical work, we can hardly be wrong in taking it to be Bhartṛihari's *Vâkyapadîya.*

The last grammatical work defies, as yet, all identification. It is called *Pina*, or *Pinya*, or *Pida*, or *Vina*. It contains three thousand ślokas by Bhartṛihari and fourteen thousand in prose by Dharmapâla. It fathoms the deep secrets of heaven and earth, and treats of the philosophy of man (Vinaya?).

This must suffice for the present, but I hope that the work of this Chinese traveller which has helped us to fix the date of the *Kâśikâ* will soon be rendered generally accessible by a translation which is now being prepared by Mr. Kasawara, and which will throw an unexpected light, not only on the life of the Buddhists in the famous colleges of Nâlanda and Balabhi, but likewise on Buddhism as established at that time in the "islands of the Southern Sea." It was in one of these islands that I-tsing spent a number of years and composed his works on the manners of the Buddhists on the continent and on the islands, and it is important to observe that those islands of the Southern Sea do not include the island of Ceylon.

MISCELLANEA.

SOLAR ECLIPSE OF FEB. 10, 780 A.D.

This eclipse, referred to *ante* p. 254, as possibly being that mentioned in the Morvi plate (vol. II, p. 258), has been computed by a correspondent with the following results. The eclipse was an annular one (the sun's semidiameter being 16′ 9″ and the moon's 14′ 54″·7), and was central at noon in Arabia, a little to the south-west of the Persian Gulf, Lat. 24° 45′ N. long. 49° 11′ E.[1]

Greenwich mean time	h. m. A.M.	Long.	Lat.
Partial beginning ...	5 33·1	9° 38′ E.	4° 52′ S.
Central eclipse began	6 49·6	6 27 W.	7 57 N.
„ middle	8 28·2	42 33 E.	17 22 N.
	8 58·2	48 52 E.	24 24 N.
	9 28·2	57 8 E.	33 21 N.
	9 58·2	75 1 E.	46 45 N.
„ ended	10 6·8	101 20 E.	56 32 N.
Partial ended	11 23·2	89 51 E.	44 42 N.

The line thus traced passes close to El Katif on the Persian Gulf, Shiraz, Yezd, Meshd, Merv, and Bokhara, and the eclipse would be central in Arabia, Persia, and Turkistan, while it would be seen as a large partial eclipse in the Panjâb and Western India.

In long. 71° E. lat. 23° N. it began at 0h. 55m. P.M. (local time), the greatest obscuration was at 2h. 21m. P.M. when the magnitude was 0·509 of the sun's diameter, and the end of the partial eclipse was at 3h. 47m. P.M. J. B.

NATIVE HISTORIES OF INDIAN STATES.

Sir Salar Jung has furnished to the Government of India a list of 224 historical MSS.[2] of which copies are found at Haidarabad, and of which transcripts are procurable for Prof. Dowson's supplementary volumes to Sir H. M. Elliot's *Historians of India*, in which he is to give the history of the Musalman dynasties of the Dekhan.

[3] Dr. Bühler informs me that fragments of Bhartṛihari's commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* exist in the Royal Library at Berlin and in the Dekhan.

[1] The statement in note 2 p. 254 is in error owing to the ecliptic conjunction having been used by mistake for the conjunction in R. A.

[2] February 23, 1880; see Allen's *Indian Mail*, Oct. 20.

In doing so, Sir Salar Jung requests, in return, to be furnished with a list of all similar works obtained elsewhere by Prof. Dowson, and of all the Oriental historical works which are found in the libraries of the different Native States in India, and in European collections.

This is a step in the right direction to revive an interest in the past history and local annals of Native States, which we hope may be followed up by all of them. Much has been done by Government for the cataloguing and transcription of rare Sanskrit MSS., and the results have been important and valuable. May we not hope that an effort will also be made to catalogue the valuable libraries of Persian and Arabic works in India, and to secure copies of the most important and least known historical MSS.?

AN APPARITION SEEN BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF INDIA.

The Rev. Bourchier Wrey Savile has issued a second edition of his valuable and interesting book on "Apparitions," (published by Longmans and Co.,) and in it he gives fresh instances of the seeing of spontaneous apparitions by persons not Spiritualists. In the preface he says:—

"I am indebted to the kindness of George Sparkes, Esq., of Bromley, Kent, for the following very singular incident connected with that eminent statesman, Warren Hastings, who together with Lord Clive and the recently deceased Lord Lawrence have done more than any other of our great men to found and preserve to our descendants the finest empire in British India, which the world has ever seen. Mr. Sparkes informs me that one evening, when his great-uncle, Joseph Cater, Esq., then secretary to Warren Hastings, was sitting with the Supreme Council of India in the Council Chamber of Calcutta, Mr. Shakespeare, one of the members, suddenly looked up, exclaiming, "Good God, there is my father!" The whole Council then saw a figure of an unknown person glide through the chamber into another room which had no outlet, and disappear. What particularly attracted the attention of the Council was the fact that the figure appeared with a hat of unusual shape, commonly known in our day by the name of "chimney-pot." The Governor-General was so struck with the occurrence that he ordered a minute to be made of the matter, and placed in the record-chest; and where it may possibly still remain. In course of time a ship from England arrived, bringing the news of the death of Mr. Shakespeare's father; and likewise a cargo of "chimney-pot hats," the first ever brought to India.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

2. PROPER NAMES (*ante*, p. 229).—In addition to the *Note* on Proper Names by Mr. G. A. Grierson in the *Ind. Antiquary*, ante p. 141, I beg to state that the following names are given in the Canarese country of Maisûr, to children born after the death of two or more immediately preceding, and if not already published, the information may be of interest:—

Tippiâ—from *tippé*, meaning dung-hill,—a coincidence with "Gobardhan" in vogue in similar cases in Bengal.

Giriappâ—from *giri*, a mountain.

Gunḍappâ—from *gunḍu*, a rock.

Kalliâ—from *kallâ*, a stone.

Kaḍappâ—from *kaḍâ*, wilderness, jungle, or forest.

Kappia or Kappaṇṇa—from *kappâ*, blackness.

Besides this, parents and relatives call children also by affectionate terms which in course of time are generally adopted instead of their proper names. Such terms are—

Chikiâ—from *chikâ*, small.

Puṭṭiâ or Puṭṭu Râo—from *puṭṭâ*, small.

Appaṇṇâ or Appâ Râo—from *appâ*, father.

Ṭhummiâ—from *ṭhammâ*, younger brother.

Aṇṇiâ or Aṇṇappâ—from *aṇṇâ*, elder brother.

Saṇṇappâ—from *saṇṇâ*, small.

Doḍḍappâ or Doḍḍaṇṇâ—from *doḍḍâ*, large.

I may add that these names are also made use of by females, when their husbands go by the same names as the children, and which they are precluded from uttering.

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7. CHOWKÂ.—For long, my attention has been drawn to the custom of *Chowkâ* so rigidly observed by the Hindustani or Northern Brâhmaṇs and they thus explain its signification. In preparing his meals the Brâhmaṇ cleans the ground (or gets it cleaned), draws lines to form an oblong or square figure wherein he must place every article of food to be cooked, including firewood, and when he bathes and has once got into the *Chowkâ*, he is not to come out of it until he has finished his meals; but if he is compelled to come out, the food is given away to a *Śûdra*, and everything is prepared afresh.

They say it is a custom corresponding with *Svayampâka* in Sanskrit, but the Brâhmaṇs in this country take this term to mean "to prepare his own meals," and *Chowkâ* does not occur in their observances. I shall be glad if any up-country or Bengal Brâhmaṇ will kindly enlighten me (one of them) as to the full object and observances of *Chowkâ*.

M. R. TIVÂRI.

Chikmaglur, 22nd July 1880.

ASIATIC SOCIETIES.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. X, No. II.—Besides an interesting account, by Mr. J. H. Hall, of a collection of some thirty Cypriote inscriptions belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, with facsimiles of these documents, this number contains two papers of considerable importance to Sanskṛit scholars. Professor John Avery, of Iowa College, in his 'Contributions to the History of Verb-inflection in Sanskrit,' proposes to furnish a general view of the development of the system of verbal inflection in Sanskrit, based on a critical analysis and tabulated statement of the verbal forms of representative works of the three successive periods of Sanskrit literature, viz., the Vedic, the Brâhmaṇic, and the classical periods. The works selected for the purpose are the *Ṛigveda*, the *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa*, and the *Nala* and *Bhagavadgîtâ*. The verbal forms quoted from these works include 18,216 from the *Ṛik*, 7,159 from the *Brâhmaṇa*, and 2716 from the two remaining works. The current arrangement of the present stems or 'special tenses' in ten classes has rightly been discarded and a more scientific one has been adopted; viz., I, Simple Root class (2nd Indian class); II, Reduplicating class (3rd Indian); III, Nasal classes (5th, 8th, 9th, and 7th Classes); and IV, the *a*-classes (1st, 6th and 4th Indian classes). The tenth Indian class has been thrown together with the causatives. The author also gives a list of the roots found in these works.

A still more elaborate paper is the one by Professor C. R. Lanman of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, which contains a 'Statistical Account of Noun-Inflection in the Veda.' The nominal forms (not including, however, the infinitives, the verbal absolutives, and the pronominal forms) of the *Ṛigveda* are here put together and scientifically classified in the most complete and exhaustive manner. The nominal bases or stems are grouped by the author in three classes, viz. 1, Stems whose suffixes end in vowels; 2, Suffixless stems (including however, for convenience sake, some bases formed with such suffixes as *-aj, -ij, -it, -ut, -vat*); and 3, stems whose suffixes end in *-t, -n* and *-s*. The nominal forms, brought together under these groups, and further classified according to the respective suffixes as well as to gender, number and case, amount to upwards of 96,000. In additional notes, interesting inferences are drawn from these results in regard to the relative ages of different Vedic texts and the different Maṇḍalas of the *Ṛigveda*, on the whole bearing out the views on these points prevalent among Sanskrit scholars. The authors of these papers deserve the heartiest thanks of all Sanskrit and linguistic students for the able manner in which they have carried out their laborious researches.

The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society No. 2, 1880, opens with a long paper by Dr. A. F. Rudolph Hoernle containing a collection of Hindi Roots with remarks on their derivation and classification. The collection was originally intended for the author's *Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages*, and the introductory remarks to this paper give the substance of the chapter on 'Roots' (pp 159–179) of that work. The root of *dekh* has been a subject of controversy; in Kâśmirî it is *deshun*, Gipsy *dikâva*, and Singhalese *dikanava*. Childers derived the Pali *dakkhati* from the Sanskrit *drakshyati* the future from the root *driś*, of which the present is not in use; and he shewed that in earlier Pâli writings it is always used in a future tense, and only in later times as a present. Pischel supports the views of Childers; but Weber controverts them and derives *dekkh* from the desiderative *didṛakshate*. P. and S. Goldschmidt explain it as a denominative from the past participle *drishṭa*. Dr. Hoernle agrees with Childers and Beames that the original form *dakh* was, in course of time, changed to *dekh* in order to assimilate it to another very common root *pekh*, also meaning "see." From the transitive pair of roots *pekh* and *dekh*, another similarly assimilated pair *pikh* and *dikh* are derived with meanings generally intransitive "be seen," "appear." Two instances of a similar process of derivation from the future base of a Sanskrit root are adduced in O. Hindi *nakh* or *nañkh* "destroy," or "throw away," Skr. *nañkshya* (fut. of *naś*); and O. Hindi *krakkh* "draw," and H. *khech, khaich* or *khench* "draw," Skr. *krakshya* (fut. of *krish*). The Sanskrit future *nañkshyati* would be Pr. *nañkhaï* or *nakkhaï*, whence in Hindi *nañkhai* or *nakkhai* with a present meaning, while it is to be noted that the sense of the root has become transitive.

The Sanskrit root *preksh* "see," becomes *pekkh* or *pechchh* in Prâkrit; the Skr. fut. base *drakshya* "will see," becomes *dakkha* or *dachchha* in Prâkrit, and similarly the Skr. fut. base *krakshya* or *karkshya* in Prâkrit would become *kakkha* or *kachchha*; and the Sanskrit compound future base *âkarkshya* (*â* + *krish*) would become *âakkha* or *âachchha*. With the insertion of the usual euphonic *y*, the latter would become *âyachchhaï* or (with the not unusual nasalization instead of the reduplication) *âyañchhaï*; and, on Childers' theory, this might be used as a present, equivalent to Skr. *karshati*. Hemachandra in his Grammar (iv. 187) gives *âyañchhaï, ayañchhaï, âiñchhai* as equivalents of

karshati: Hindi has *aiṅchai* or *eṅchai*. Now the root *krish* would yield a Prâkrit from *kachchhai* or *kañchhaï*, which, in Hindî, by transferring the lost aspiration of *chh* to *k* and by assimilation to *aiṅchai* and *eṅchai*, would result in the modern forms *khaiṅchai* or *kheṅchai* and *khaichai* or *khechai*.

The lists of Roots are arranged in two parts, the first contains the primary, and the second consists of secondary roots.

The second paper is on some Coins supplementary to Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, by C. J. Rodgers, and gives an account of about forty previously undescribed coins with two plates.

The third and last paper is a memorandum on Coins of the Sunga dynasty by H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E., supplementary to Mr. Carlleyle's paper in the previous number, with 3 plates representing 29 of these coins, belonging to Bhânumitra, Agnimitra, Bhûmimitra, Phâgunimitra, Bhadraghosha, Sûryamitra, and Indramitra. Those of Agnimitra seem to be the most plentiful. Bhadraghosha, Mr. Rivett-Carnac suggests, may be the Ghoshavasu whom Wilford supposes to be interpolated as the father or predecessor of Vikrama, and the Bhûmimitra of the Pauranik lists of the Kâṇwa dynasty may be the same as the king of that name on his coins.

The corresponding part on "Physical Science" is chiefly occupied by a paper on the Water-supplies of Calcutta. We wonder the many students of Physical science in its various branches have not established for themselves a separate journal. Many of them can have as little interest in Hindi roots, and Sanskrit literature, as the Orientalist has in Calcutta Water-supply or *Helomoia Roepstorfii*. Were those interested in Geography, and the Natural and Physical sciences all over India to form a Society (it might still continue in connexion with the Bengal Asiatic) with branches in Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Panjab, and the North-West, each with an energetic Secretary, it might do immense service to science. The branches would help and incite one another to work, and instead of several ill-supported journals, they would be able to publish regularly one really good one, representing the work of all, and forming a medium of communication between them. Each local secretary would be a sort of joint editor under the guidance of the working editor, who would be responsible for the printing and publication. A journal of the kind is needed, and would be supported by numbers who care little for the contents of Part I of the *Journal of the A. S. of Bengal*, and who are not members of that Society. An Indian journal of Physical and Natural Science is a want that might and ought to be supplied.

In the *Journal Asiatique* for August–September 1880, M. Harlez gives his sixth and last article on the sources of Zoroastrianism. The paper, like those that have preceded it, is scholarly, searching, and satisfactory. His conclusions are supported by the most cogent reasoning, while he shows that the early Zoroastrian writings contain no trace of a knowledge of a resurrection of the body,—*frashokereti*, which some authors have translated in that sense, meaning properly 'the act producing immortality,'—he points out that they do speak of immortality itself and the restoration of the world at the end of time; and that, while there are points of apparent resemblance between some Zoroastrian doctrines and certain leading tenets in the Jewish religion, the resemblances only help to shew how independent and essentially different were the views of the early Magians and the Hebrews. The real though imperfect monotheism of the Zoroastrians differed in kind and in its place in the system from the absolute monotheism of the Jews, which was the very principle of the constitution of their system; creation *ex nihilo* was the necessary result of the fundamental principle of the Jews, whilst by the Iranians it was attributed to other spirits besides Ahuramazda; and Satan, M. Harlez shews, has a very subordinate place in the one system to that of Anromainyus in the other. The whole paper deserves to be translated into English.

M. Gatteyrias gives a translation, from the Armenian, of an Elegy on the sufferings of Armenia and the martyrdom of St. Vahan of Kogthĕn. M. Senart follows with a continuation of his study of the inscriptions of Piyadasi, giving the fourth and fifth edicts, accompanied by a copy of General Cunningham's two plates of the Kapur-di-giri inscription. To the miscellany, M. Imbault-Huart contributes translations from the Chinese of apologues, anecdotes, bon-mots, tales, maxims, and aphorisms. The part concludes with a notice of the *Annales auctore Abu Jafar Mohammed ibn Jarir at-Tabari*, published under the supervision of M. de Goeje.

The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for Oct. 1880 commences with a long paper (pp. 435–541) on the early history of Tibet by Dr. S. W. Bushell of Peking, being a literal translation from the official histories of the T'ang dynasty which was founded in 618 A.D. The annals contained in this paper cover the period from 634 to 866, and give us the names of the Tibetan sovereigns in their Chinese forms, differing considerably from those in the lists of Georgius, Schmidt, Csoma de Korös, and E. Schlagentweit. The following is the list,—

A.D. 634. Ch'itsunglunt san sent the first mission to China.
650. Ch'ilipapu, his grandson.
679. Ch'inushsilung, his son, aged 8.
705. Ch'lisotsan, son, aged 7, killed on an expedition against Nepâl and India.
—— Ch'ilisulunglichtsan, Khri-srang-*l*de-*b*tsan.
755. Sohsilunglichtsan, son.
—— Ch'ilitsan reigning in 780.
797. Tsuchihchien, eldest son.
798. —— second son of Ch'ilitsan, died 804.
816. K'olik'otsu, who reigned under the title of Yit'ai.
838. Tamo (Dharma) brother of K'olik'-otsu.
842. Ch'ilihu, a nephew of the consort of Tamo; civil war.
849. Shangk'ungjê, declared himself *tsanp'u*; killed by the Uïghur Turks, 866.

In an appendix, Dr. Bushell gives rubbings and a restoration of an inscription from a stone monument in front of a large temple in Lhasa, dated in the 2nd year of the Ch'ang-k'ing period (822), and engraved both in Tibetan and Chinese.

Mr. G. Le Strange contributes 'Notes' on some inedited coins from a collection he made in Persia in 1877–1879. Among them is a tribolos of Seleukos Nikator, on the reverse of which is a horse drinking or feeding in front of Zeus's feet. A drachm of Seleukos III (he thinks), bears on the exergue of the reverse the letters ΕΦ; and on the reverse of a drachm of Antiokhos III, Great, above the head of the seated Apollo, are the letters MEN.

In Khorasan he obtained three copper coins of Sanabaros, on which he reads—ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC CANABAPHC, instead of *Σαναβαρος*. Among about seventy Parthian drachms, is one, apparently of one of the satraps of Mithridates I; on the obv. is a head to the right (usually to the left), bearded and bound by a tiara; on the rev. is the usual king seated on a stool, and round him is written ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. On a drachm of Artabanos II. (like pl. ii, No. 13 *Numism. Orient.*: *Parthian Coins*), the inscription reads—*βασιλεως μεγαλου Αρσακου θεοπατρου νικατορος*.

Among dinars and dirhems of the Khalifate he found a much-clipped dinar of Al-Mutawwakel, dated A. H. 237 and minted at Sana'a; also a rare dinar of Beni Aghlab of A. H. 296; and a unique dinar of Al Hasan ben al Kasem the Alide. At Tehran he bought a dinar which proves to be a well executed forgery, dated A.H. 314, coined at 'Ani, and bearing on the reverse—

ابو العباس بن المقتدر بالله امير المومنين

Among others are three dinars of Nuh ibn Naśr, the Samanide Amîr, of A. H. 331, 333 and 337, all differing; a beautiful dinar of Majd al Dauleh Buyeh of 398, coined at Muhammadiyeh; and a dirhem of A. H. 131 coined at Ash-Shamiyeh.

The third and last paper consists of three Pali *suttas* on the Buddhist *Nirvâṇa* and 'the Noble eightfold Path,' by Dr. O. Frankfurter.

BOOK NOTICES.

DIE KIRCHE der THOMASCHRISTEN. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Orientalischen Kirchen, von Dr. W. Germann. (Gütersloch, 1877.)

MEDIEVAL MISSIONS (Duff Missionary Lectures—First Series) by Thomas Smith, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880.)

The Syrian Church of Malabar has often attracted attention, and has been the subject of numerous papers and even of separate volumes.[1] In the first of the works named above Dr. Germann has done good service by going over the whole ground again, and collecting into a volume of 792 pages all the information available on so interesting a subject, and presenting a detailed history of these Christians from the earliest times till the present day.

The vexed question of the origin of the Church and the visit of the Apostle Thomas is discussed afresh with all the evidences from Syriac and other sources, some of which will be new to the English reader. For example, from Dr. Land's *Anecdota Syriaca* (vol. I, p. 123) he derives this:—"In the year 52 of our Lord Jesus Christ the lord Thomas came into India and arrived at Mailapur. Here he preached the gospel to many whom he made disciples and baptized in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. Thence he set out and travelled in Malabar, where he reached Moljokaro.[2] He preached also to the people of this district and there set up an altar to the Lord, to whom moreover he gave two presbyters. From that he went to Kutkayet,[3] where he founded

[1] *E. g.* Geddes's *History of the Church of Malabar*, 1694; La Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, 1723; Hough, *Hist. of Christianity in India*, 1839, vols. I and II; Raulinus, *Hist. Eccl. Malab.* 1745; Lee's *Brief History*; and Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light*, 1873; J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches*. London: 1846; see als III, p. 3(... *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. I, p. 175; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Bd. II. S. 1119.

[2] Elsewhere spelt Maljomkare: this is Malankara, a small island in the lagoon S. E. from Koduṅgalûr.—ED.

[3] Evidently Kôṭṭakâyal.

a church, as he also did at Irapeli[4] and Gukamaglam[5] and Nernam[6] and Tirubokut. Next he returned to Mailapur, where he was stabbed with a spear by the unbelievers" (p. 43).

Dr. Smith in the 7th lecture of his popular little volume has made large use of Dr. Germann's work, and gives the following version of another quotation from the same source (vol. I, p. 124)[7]:— "Afterwards, when 160 truly Christian families of Malabar Christians were so long without presbyters and leaders, a dissention arose among them, for what cause I know not, but some of them renounced the orthodox faith, and others did not. Those who renounced it were 96 families, and those who retained it were 64. At the same time a vision appeared by night to the metropolitan of Edessa, who arose in the morning and went to the Catholicus of the East, and told him of the vision which he had seen, and when the Catholicus had heard it, he sent messengers to all the churches and monasteries and cities of the diocese, and convoked an assembly. And when many flocks had met, with their bishops, and with merchants belonging to them, he told them what the bishop had seen, and related to them his words. Then one of them arose, viz., a merchant, whose name was T h o m a s of Jerusalem, who answered, saying, 'I have ere now heard from foreign places and travellers a report about Malabar and India.' When the patriarch heard this answer, he rose from his seat, went to Thomas, embraced him lovingly, and thus addressed him, 'I entreat thee my very dear son, to go to Malabar, to visit the inhabitants of the country, and to bring me back word as to what has befallen them.' Therefore T h o m a s of Jerusalem set out for Malabar, and coming to Maljomkare he saw the Thomas-Christians; and they were mutually pleased, the Christians telling him of the state of their affairs, which when Thomas had heard, he gave them courage and exhorted them with kind words, and straightway he embarked and returned into his country. On his return he went to the patriarch, and said to him, 'Lo! I have seen with my eyes the Thomas-Christians, and we have spoken together with mutual satisfaction, and I left them hopeful and returned!' The patriarch answered, 'Although I am ready to lay down my life for them, I ask you to be pleased to point out what these my children would have me do for them.' Then he stated to the patriarch what the Malabarian brethren desired. Therefore, not long after, yea in these very days, with the help of the adorable God, and by order of the patriarch of the East, T h o m a s of Jerusalem, the merchant went forth again, and with him the bishop who had seen the vision, and at the same time presbyters and deacons, and also men and women, young men and maidens, from Jerusalem and Bagdad and Nineveh, and they entered into a ship and set sail for Malabar, and arrived at Maljomkare the year of the Lord 345."

Germann devotes the 2nd chapter of his work to P a n t æ n u s and his mission; the 3rd to T h e o p h i l u s and this T h o m a s of Jerusalem; the 4th to the M a n i c h e a n s and their connection with Malabar; the 5th to K o s m a s I n d i c o p l e u s t e s and his mission in 529 A.D.; another to the Jews in India, &c.;—and the early history is brought down, in the first division of the work, to the close of the middle ages. The second division (pp. 315—770) gives a careful history of the church from 1498 to 1875, and is followed by a useful chronological table, of which we give the first portion:—

B.C. 150. Hindus visit the valley of the Euphrates.
,, 31. Alexandria taken by the Romans, a centre of communication.
,, 20. Nikolaus of Damascus met with an Indian embassy at Daphne of Antioch.
,, 30 to A.D. 14. Embassies of the Tamil̥ Pâṇdyas of Madurâ and of the ruler of Malabar, to Augustus.[8]
–[9] Hippalus discovers the south-west monsoon.
?? Jewish trading colonies in India. The Black Jews. The Beni-Israel.[10]
A.D. 40. King Yndopherres in the Indus valley.
cir. 52. The Apostle Thomas in India.
55. King Gondopherres or Gundaphorus.
41—54. Claudius receives an embassy from Ceylon.[11]
? Brahman pilgrims to the Island of the Whites (śvetadvipa).
cir. 69. Emigrant white Jews build Mahâdevapattanam (Koḍâṅgalûr).
,, 200. Pantænus in north-western India.
,, 233. Request of the Edessans for the transfer of the bones of the apostle Thomas from India.
— Thomas the Manichean sent to India: he returns back.

[4] Yerapalli near Eddapalli, N. E. from Cochin.—ED.

[5] Probably the modern Kothamangalam in Cochin, or possibly Kajonkambalam at Udiampêrûr.—ED.

[6] The modern Neranam S. W. of Cochin called Naranam by Menezes, and Nernote by DuPerron.—ED.

[7] Germann, pp. 84, 85, in Smith's *Med. Miss.* pp. 255, 256; Mar. Gabriel in the account given to the Rev. J. C. Visscher, a Dutch chaplain, *Letters from Malbar* (1743) makes a similar statement; see Whitehouse's *Ling. of Light*, p. 61n.

[8] This seems to be a mistake; Strabo speaks of only *one* embassy from one king, Pandion (XV, i. 4); and Florus says it was four years on the road (*Hist. Rom.* IV, 12); see Priaulx's *Apoll. of Tyana*, p. 68.—ED.

[9] Probably about A. D. 47; conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VIII, p. 338.—ED.

[10] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 322.

[11] Priaulx (*u. s.* p. 99) indicates 43-47 A.D.

cir. 302. Controversy on religion between Hindus and Christians in the Euphrates valley.
" 325. John Bishop of Persia and Greater India at Nicæa.
" 340. Theophilus of Diu visits the congregations of the Indian continent.
" 345. Thomas of Jerusalem takes a Christian colony to India. The first native Indian bishop Joseph or Italoho (Abatalla) of Edessa.
" 354. Theophilus of Diu banished and employed beyond the Roman territories.
A.D. 360. Theophilus condemned by the Arians at Constantinople.
" 361-363. Embassy to Diva and Serendiva under Julian.
" 364-378. Valens, at the Tomb of Thomas in Edessa.
— In the 4th century, privileges to Rabban Joseph. Rule of the Anjuvannam.
? 369. Jewish colony to Majorca.
? 489. New Jewish emigration to Koḍângalur.
— Quarrel of the White and Black Jews in the 5th century.
" 498. Synod of Seleucia, the Persian church under Babœus separates from the orthodox church.
" 500. Temptation and apostacy through Mânikjavâchaka.
" 508. Syriac version of the Bible. The Philoxenian version for the Jacobites.
— Privileges granted to Ravi Korttan. Rule of Manigramam.
" 520. Kosmas Indikopleustes returns from India.
" 550. The bones of the apostle Thomas brought to the great church in Edessa.
" 550. Attempt of the sect to get the Indians to have a Monophysite bishop.
" 570. Bud Periodeutes visits the Indian Christians.
" 580. Theodorus visits the cloister and church of the Apostle Thomas in India.
" 636. The Nestorian Patriarch Jesujabus Gadalensis sends missionaries to India and China.
650-660. Simeon of Persia sets himself free of Seleucia and neglects the Indians.
cir. 690. Embassy of the Indian Christians to the Julianist Bishop Theodorus at Alexandria.
" 750. Persian Christians at Mailapur. The Pahlavi Cross.[12]
A.D. 778. Before this year the Indians had an independent Metropolitan.
" 780. Repeated schisms of the Persians of the Patriarchate of Seleucia.
" 800. The Patriarch Timotheus sends Bishop Thomas to the Indians.
— In the ninth century, Persians at Kottayam. Pahlavi Cross.
" 823. Separation between the Christians at Koḍângalûr.
" 825. Era of Quilon. Marvân Sapor Iśo obtains a grant to the Tarîsapalli. Sapor and Peroz.[13]
" 841. Shortly before this year the Arab merchants (Sulaiman) visit Beit-tuma—House of Thomas.
" 878. Massacre of foreigners in Kanfu in China.
" 883. Mission from Alfred the Great to the Thomas Christians.
" 980. A Nestorian missionary sent through India to China.
" 1122. John of India (?) at Rome.
" 1143. The Catholicos of Romagyri in India, mentioned by Nilos Doxapatrios.[14]
" 1154. Edrisi mentions Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans in India.
" 1173. Somewhat before this year, Benjamin of Tudela at Gineala (Koḍângalûr).[15]
" 1222. Establishment of the Pilgrim societies.
" 1274. Kazwini mentions Jews and Christians at Saimur.
" 1288. The Indian governor occupies the building of the Church of St. Thomas. Mailapur a place of pilgrimage.
" 1290. Marco Polo's first visit to India.
" 1291. Theodosius Doria and the brothers Vivaldi seek a sea-route to India.
1291-1292. John of Montecorvino in India. Nikolaus of Pistoja killed.
— Marco Polo's return through India.
cir. 1300. Haitho Armenus on the decline of the Indian Christians.
A.D. 1307. John of Montecorvino, first bishop of Cambalik; seven suffragan bishops appointed.
" 1308. Andreas of Perugia and Peregrinus pass through India to China.
" 1310. Menentillus of Spoleto in Upper India and Santo Tomeo.
" 1320. Four Franciscans martyred at Thâṇâ.
1320-23. Missionary visit of Jordanus to Thâṇâ, Supârâ, and Bharoch.
1324-25. Odoricus of Pordenone and James of Ireland in India, Mandeville.

[12] See Burnell's *S. Ind. Palæog.* 2nd ed. p. 57; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 311 ff.
[13] Land, *Anec. Syriaca*, t. I., p. 125, Visscher, *Letters from Malabar* (Madras, 1862), p. 107.—ED.
[14] Conf. Weber in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 40.—ED.
[15] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. II, p. 678; Gildemeister, *Script. Arab.* p. 185.—ED.

A.D. 1328. Jordanus consecrated as Bishop of Columbo, *i.e.* Quilon.
„ 1330. Bishop Jordanus a second time in India. Prince of the Nascarines (Nazarites).
„ 1332. The preaching friars restored by the Pope and organized.
— In the 14th century Antonius and Thomas in India.
1348-50. John of Marignola in India.
cir. 1370. Cessation of the Romish missions to China and India.
— Bakkaraya of Vijyanagar grants land to the Church of St. Thomas at Mailapur.
„ 1440. Nicolo di Conti at Mailapur.
„ 1455. Quarrels between the Christians and Muhammadans at Mailapur.
„ 1464. Pius II. renews the missionary society for India.
„ 1487. Pedro de Cavilhao as Portuguese Ambassador in India.
„ 1490. George and Joseph of the Thomas Christians sent to the Patriarch. Mar Thomas and John sent to India with Joseph.
„ 1492. Joseph accompanies Thomas back to Mesopotamia.
„ 1493. Joseph returns back to India.
„ 1497. Vasco da Gama sails for India in July.
„ 1498. In April finds Thomas Christians (?) at Melinda.
1490-1503. Purushottama of Orissa overruns the Carnatic to Conjeveram, destroys Mailapur before 1500.

This work is by far the fullest yet written on the subject, and forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge.

The seventh lecture in Dr. Smith's little volume is a popular résumé of the history of the same sect, and of the missions to India in the middle ages, in which he has made use of Dr. Germann's work; his sixth lecture is on the missions to Central Asia and China: the others relate to the more noteable missionaries and their work in Europe and Africa. They are addressed to the general reader, and are vigorously written.

CHINESE BUDDHISM: a volume of Sketches, Historical, Descriptive, and Critical, by Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

This new volume of Trübner and Co.'s *Oriental Series* is one of considerable value, and, as the author remarks, "there is room for new information on the entrance, progress, and characteristics of Chinese belief in the religion founded by Śakyamuni." It is "the fruit of many years' studies. Some parts of it were written nearly twenty-five years ago; nearly all is the fruit of Chinese reading." And whilst Dr. Eitel of Hongkong and Mr. T. Watters have in this interval written on the same subject, the author's mode of treatment is different from theirs, and in his revision he has had the advantage of studying their researches, whilst his stock of information has been steadily augmented. Exclusive of the indexes, &c. the body of the work contains 419 pages, and is divided into an introduction and 26 chapters: the first four are devoted to a life of Buddha; the 5th to the Patriarchs of the northern Buddhists; the 6th to the history of Buddhism in China; the 7th and 8th to Schools of Buddhism; the 9th to its moral system; the 10th to the 13th, to the Calendar, Hindu mythology, and Buddhist cosmogony; the 14th to the 16th, to Images, Monasteries, and Ceremonials; the 17th to the 19th, to Buddhist Literature, with specimens; the 20th, to the effect of Buddhism on the Sung philosophy; the 21st, to the Wind and Water superstition; the 22nd, to Buddhist phraseology in relation to Christian teaching; the 23rd, is a notice of the Wu-wei-kiau, a reformed Buddhist sect originated about 270 years ago; the 24th, is on the popular aspects of Buddhism and Tâoism; the 25th, on Sanskrit words in Chinese literature; and the 26th, on some of the Books and papers which have been published in Europe on Chinese Buddhism. These subjects are not all treated with equal fulness and accuracy, but on most of them there is more or less of new information drawn from original sources. In the 5th Chapter (pp. 60-86) the information respecting the Patriarchs is much fuller than we have met with elsewhere. As Mr. Beal has given a list (*ante* p. 148), compiled chiefly from Târânâtha, and Mr. Edkins's differs in some names, and gives long details about many of them we extract here, for purposes of comparison, little more than the bare list, completing it from Rémusat's and Lassen's (*Ind. Alt.* Bd. II, 2nd ed. S. 1200ff):—

1. Kaśyapa, a Brahman: to him, the Chinese allege, was entrusted the deposit of esoteric doctrine, the symbol of which, communicated orally without books, is the *svastika*. He taught for 20 years.

2. Ânanda, the son of Śuklodana, the uncle of Buddha. According to Târânâtha, he presided 40 years.

3. Śâṅgnavâsu, Śâṇakavâsa, or Śâṇavâsika of Râjagriha. Some say he was a Vaiśya born at Mathurâ. He went to Manda mountain and thence to Kipin (Kandahar), propagating the doctrines of Buddhism, about 80 years before the conquests of Alexander.

4. Upagupta was a native of the Mathurâ country. Some say he was a Śûdra

5. Drikata or Dhṛitaka, a native of Central India, was given by his father to Upagupta as a disciple, and received to the vows at 20 years old.

6. Michaka or Kala was born in Southern India. By Eitel he is called Mikkaka, and in the *San-kiau-yi-su*, Misuchaka.

7. Vasumitra, who is omitted by Edkins's authority[1] (see *ante*, p. 149 also). He was president of the synod under Kanishka of Kâśmir B.C. 153 (?).

8. Buddhanandi, a native of Northern India.

9. Buddhamitra, converted the king and a Nirgrantha.

10. Pârśva,

11. Puṇayaja or Puṇyayaśas—the Funa-ya-shi of Wong-puh.

12. Aśvagosha or Ma-ming, born at Banâras, but taught chiefly at Pâṭaliputra. In his time the king of the Getae led an army to besiege Pâṭaliputra, but was bought off, and got Ma-ming, Buddha's rice-bowl, and a cock that would not drink water having insects in it. The king of the Getae was afterwards attacked by the Parthians but defeated them.

13. Kapimâra spread the Buddhist religion in Southern India. Rémusat (*Mél. Asiat.* tom. I, p. 122) calls him Kabimâra.

14. Nâgârjuna or Lung-shu, born of a Brahman family in Southern India (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 141), was one of the most prolific writers of the Mahâyâna school.

15. Kanadeva, a native of South India, murdered by the disciple of an opponent. This is the Âryadeva of other lists (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 142); Lassen calls him Kaṇadeva, and a Vaiśya.

16. Râhulata or Râgurata, a native of Kapila.

17. Sanghanandi of Śrâvasti, the son of a king.

18. Saṅgkayasheta or Gayaśâta, a native of northern India. He died B.C. 13; Julien (*Mém. sur les. Cont. Occid.* tom. II, p. 316) places this B.C. 74.

19. Kumârada or Kumârata, died A.D. 23.

20. Jayata, born in northern India, died 74 A.D.[2]

21. Vasubhanda, generally made contemporary with Prâditya the son of Vikramâditya (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV, p. 142 ff.); he died A. D. 175.[2]

22. Manura or Manorata,—was well skilled in the analysis of alphabetic sounds, and was recommended by a learned Buddhist, named Yaja, to proceed to Western and Southern India to teach Buddhism; and Dr. Edkins thinks he would aid in giving alphabets to the Tamil and other languages. He found Western India under the control of king Toda. He afterwards went "to the kingdom of the Indian Getae, who, retreating westward before the Hiung-nu, B.C. 180, conquered the Panjâb and Kaśmîr in A.D. 126. Manura taught in Western India and Ferghana in the third century A.D. He is the author of the *Vibhâsha Sâstra*." Others place his death in 167 A.D.

23. Haklena or Padmaratna of the country of the Getae (Yue-ti—Kandahar?); he went to Central India and died 209 A.D.

24. Singhalaputra, a native of Central India, the Âryasinha of other accounts (Rémusat, *ut. sup.* p. 124; and Lassen; see also *ante* p. 149). He went to Ki-pin (Kâbul ?) where he was beheaded by the king. Lassen places his death between 240 and 283 A.D. Some terminate the list of great teachers here.

25. Bâsiasita or Nâśaśata, a Brâhman and native of Kandahar; he travelled in Central and Southern India, and died A.D. 328.

26. Putnomita or Punyamitra, a Kshattriya of Southern India. He visited Eastern India, and died A.D. 388.

27. Prajñâtara, a native of Central India, who travelled in the south and instructed Bodhidharma the second son of the king. He ascended the funeral pile A.D. 457.

28. Bodhidharma left Southern India for China in A.D. 526, where he died (see *ante* p. 149).

This last was the founder of the contemplative school in which the distinction of virtue and vice is lost. The teaching of this school, so prevalent in China, says Dr. Edkins, "has failed to produce high morality among its votaries. The mass of the people have gained from Buddhism the notion of a future retribution, but what is the use of this when the promised state beyond death consists merely of a clumsy fiction? The metempsychosis, administered by a moral fate, has only provided them with a convenient means for charging their sinfulness and their misfortunes on a former life. What virtue the people have among them is due to the Confucian system. Buddhism has added to it only idolatry, and a false view of the future state, but has not contributed to make the people more virtuous" (p. 290). "Though the Buddhists have good precepts they are very much neglected even in the teaching." Its moral code "is feebleness itself compared with the Confucianist."

The educated Chinese despise the popular development of Buddhism, "as consisting of image worship and procuring for money the protection

[1] The *Fo-tsu-t'ung-ki*, which, to fill up the vacancy, mentions Madhyantika, a disciple of Ânanda who converted Kâśmir.

[2] The 20th and 21st are omitted by the *Fo-tsu-t'ung-ki* followed by Dr. Edkins.

of powerful unseen beings." The "Sacred Edict" cites the judgment pronounced by Chu Hi, the philosopher and critic of the Sung dynasty, saying, "that the Buddhists care nothing for heaven or earth, or anything that goes on around them, but attend exclusively each to his single mind. They are then condemned for fabricating groundless tales of future happiness and misery. They are charged with doing this only for gain, and encouraging for the same object the large gatherings of the country population at the temples ostensibly to burn incense, but really to practise the worst forms of mischief" (p. 152).

Such being the Chinese opinion of Buddhism, we can easily understand that the intellectual vigour once connected with it is now dead, past all hope of resurrection.

The work of Dr. Edkins will be found replete with information respecting the history and tenets of Buddhism in its northern form of development. It is somewhat defective in parts, from the incompleteness of the author's knowledge of Southern Buddhism: but this will hardly mislead the reader.

LES RELIGIONS et LES LANGUES de l'INDE ANGLAISE, par Robert Cust (Bibliothèque Orientale Elzévirienne; Paris: E. Leroux, 1880).

A SKETCH of the MODERN LANGUAGES of the EAST INDIES, accompanied by two language-maps. By Robert N. Cust. (London: Trübner & Co. 1878.)

Mr. Cust is an old Indian of superabundant energy if not of accurate scholarship. The first of the works before us is a tersely written little volume, not very learned, but pleasant reading for any spare hour. The author's long residence in India has given him opportunities, of which he has availed himself, to become acquainted with the present popular religious beliefs of the country, and the first part of the volume contains many remarks and suggestions founded on personal observation that thoroughly deserve the attention even of advanced students of the history of the development of the religious sects in India, while the book as a whole will supply a good deal of information in a popular form. It is not, however, in all cases so accurate as references to the latest authorities might have enabled the author to make it.

The chapter or section on the languages is of the most popular character, and reads like a magazine article. There is no index, and the only two foot-notes in the book, one at the beginning of each part, give an undigested list of books and authors on the subject of each; had these lists been given in more detail they would have been useful to the student in looking for what he might want. Among the authorities on page 2 is "Tree and Serpent Worship, by John Fergusson:"—we do not know "John." References might also have been given either as foot-notes, or at the end of each part to the authorities for important statements, and to fuller discussions on points of interest which there was not room to do more than refer to in so small a volume.

The volume of Trübner's Oriental Series on the Modern Languages has already been some time before the public. It is a much more ambitious performance, but like the other its value is much less than it might have been from the want of references. The subject is much too large to be discussed satisfactorily in a volume of 200 pages, inclusive of seven appendices; and the class of students to which a book on the languages of India would be really useful, want not merely a brief general outline of the various families of languages and their branches and subordinate dialects such as could be compressed into a volume like this, but also full details of the literature of the subject as connected with each branch and dialect. This is all the more needed as many statements in this volume seem much in want of verification or correction.

We can only afford a short specimen of Mr. Cust's style and mode of dealing with the separate languages. After giving the boundaries of the Marâṭhi language, according to the late Dr. John Wilson, he says (p. 58):—"Of this language there is a Dictionary by Molesworth and Candy with a Preface by Wilson. Of ordinary Primers there are many, and in 1868, a Student's Manual has been published by a native of India anonymously, based on scientific principles, and with a Preface of importance. . . . Although it possesses 20,000 words, it has admitted a great many loan-words from Arabic, Persian, as well as Sanskrit. No inscriptions are found in it. The Orthography is unfixed. It is described as copious without order, energetic without rule, and with no fixed standard of classical purity. . . The dialects of the tableland are opposed to those of the coast below the Ghâṭs or the Koṅkaṇ. I have tried in vain to get precision. . . The tableland round Poona is the centre of the Deśi, and to the South is the Dakhini. The Dialect of Nâgpuri is separate." The Koṅkaṇi of the Goa territory, he adds, "known as Goadeśi or Gomantaki, is illustrated by a large Literature formed by the Jesuits, consisting of a Grammar in Portuguese, and a Christian religious book called *Purâṇ*, the work of a Jesuit named Estava, said to have been Stephens, an Englishman."

Now this might all be retailed table-talk: the high character of Molesworth and Candy's Dictionaries ought to have been indicated; some of the best of the many Marâṭhi Grammars in English, and Krishṇa Śâstri Godbole's excellent scientific one in Marâṭhi, might at least have been named; some of the statements following are incorrect and others sadly want "precision," while the vagueness of the information about Father Thomas Estevaõ (†1619)[1] is hardly creditable to the author.

[1] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. VII, p. 117.

We are glad to see a first attempt at a handbook on so interesting a subject, and hope it may yet be recast and thoroughly corrected so as to be a trustworthy guide to the student, supplying him with a basis of fact, and directing him to the best information on all details, while mapping out clearly the many blanks that have to be filled up by future labourers.

The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, second Viceroy of India, translated from the Portuguese edition of 1774, with Notes and an Introduction by W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L. vols. 1—3. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1875-80.

The volumes of the Hakluyt Society, established for the purpose of printing rare or unpublished voyages and travels, are not offered for sale in the usual way, and it may not be out of place here to inform our readers that the volumes issued for the year are only obtainable by subscribers who pay a guinea per annum in advance.[1] Usually two volumes are published annually, so that since 1848, sixty-two have been issued, including such valuable works for Indian readers as the *Marvels described by Friar Jordanus; Travels of Ludovico di Varthema;* Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither;* the *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama,* &c.

The *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque* were compiled by his natural son, from the despatches forwarded to the king D. Manoel, and were first published in 1557. A second edition corrected and augmented by the author was issued in 1576[2]; and the third, which is the text here translated, was prepared by Nicolao Pagliarini and published in 1774, containing several original despatches and letters written by the hero himself. It was intended that the translation should have been contained in three volumes, but a fourth will be required to complete it, as the third, which was to have contained Parts III and IV of the Portuguese edition, only brings us down to the end of Part III, which concludes with the departure of Afonso Dalboquerque for the Straits of the Red Sea in pursuance of his intention of conquering Ormuz and establishing Portuguese rule in that part of Persia.

The translator prefaces each volume with lengthy and most valuable introductions on the character of Dalboquerque, the foundation, rise, progress, and decay of the Portuguese empire in India, and bibliographical information in reference to the Indian cycle of Portuguese Literature." And the volumes are illustrated with valuable facsimiles of old maps and portraits from MSS. in the British Museum.

"There is no doubt," says Mr. Birch, "that whoever will give some time and attention to the learning of Portuguese will find his labour amply requited by the advantages to be derived from the great mass of literature which the language possesses." And we heartily join with him in the desire to see more translations of standard Portuguese historical works. "The true position of the English rule in India," he adds, "and the traditions it maintains, the point of view from which it is looked upon by the native races, can never be rightly understood until a better knowledge is acquired concerning the first impressions conveyed to, and made upon, the minds of the inhabitants by the first European nation which effected any extensive settlement among them. This fact alone, one out of many quite as pertinent which might be adduced, ought to convince us of the importance of examining the classical literary productions of a nation justly celebrated at all times for enterprise and military prowess."

We trust the publication of the concluding volume of these most instructive *Commentaries* will not be long delayed. They form a very valuable addition to the history of the Western Coast of India. Any attempt to analyse their contents would occupy more space than we can spare: we must refer readers to the book itself.

Kaumudî-Mahotsâha, by Râmachandra Bhikâjî Gunjîkar and Kâśînâth Pâṇḍurang Parab. (Parts 1—6.) Bombay, Nirṇayasâgar Press.

This publication, when complete, is to contain the text of the *Siddhânta-Kaumudî* with a Marâṭhî commentary by the first named editor; further Pâṇini's *Sûtras* printed continuously, and a second time with the *anuvrittis* (or words supplied from preceding *sûtras*) compiled by the same scholar; the *Gaṇa* and *Dhâtupâṭhas*, the *Pâṇinîya Śikshâ* and the *Uṇâdisûtras* ascribed to Śâkaṭâyana (edited, with Ujjvaladatta's commentary, by Aufrecht); Śântanava's *Phiṭsûtras* (edited by Kielhorn); Kâtyâyana's *Vârttikas*; and indexes by Kâśînâth. Though all these works are already accessible to scholars in one form or another, it will no doubt be useful to native students to have them combined in a cheap and handy volume. Most of the works mentioned are already finished, and a few more parts will complete the compilation. In the place of the first reprint of Pâṇini's *Sûtras,* the editors would have done better to have given them in alphabetical order, with the *Vârttikas* in smaller type, worked into the same list. In the *Gaṇapâṭha*, various readings are given in brackets after the respective words; but the list is apparently a mere reprint of the one contained in Boehtlingk's edition of Pâṇini, a semblance of originality being effected by the rather ingenious expedient of an interchange of Boehtlingk's various readings with his respective *gaṇa*-words. Though we are far from imputing to the editors any intention to mislead others in this respect, we think it would have been as well if they had explained the nature of this part of their publication. E.

[1] The Society's agent is Mr. Richards, 37 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

[2] This was translated into French by J. Marnef, Paris, 1579.

INDEX.

Abbreviations:—

Andh.—Andhra dynasty.
c.—city.
ca.—caste.
Chô.—Chôla.
co.—country.
d.—district.
E. Chal.—Eastern Chalukya.
Early Chal.—Early Chalukya.
g.—god, goddess, or supernatural being.
k.—king.
l. m.—land-measure.
mt.—mountain.
Nê.—Nêpâla.
o.—official.
Pall.—Pallava.
q.—queen.
r.—river.
Râsh.—Râshṭrakûṭa.
s.—sect.
Śil.—Śilâhâra.
Sin.—Sinda.
t.—town.
tr.—tribe.
v.—village.
Va.—Valabhî.
Vi.—Vijayanagara.
W. Chal.—Western Chalukya
W. Châl.—Western Châlukya

ADDITIONAL ERRATA.

p. 218, l. 2, *for* Alung Goa *read* Alun Goa.
p. 218, l. 4, *for* Begontiei *read* Begontei.
p. 315*a*, l. 12, *for* Bakkaraya *read* Bukkarâya

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